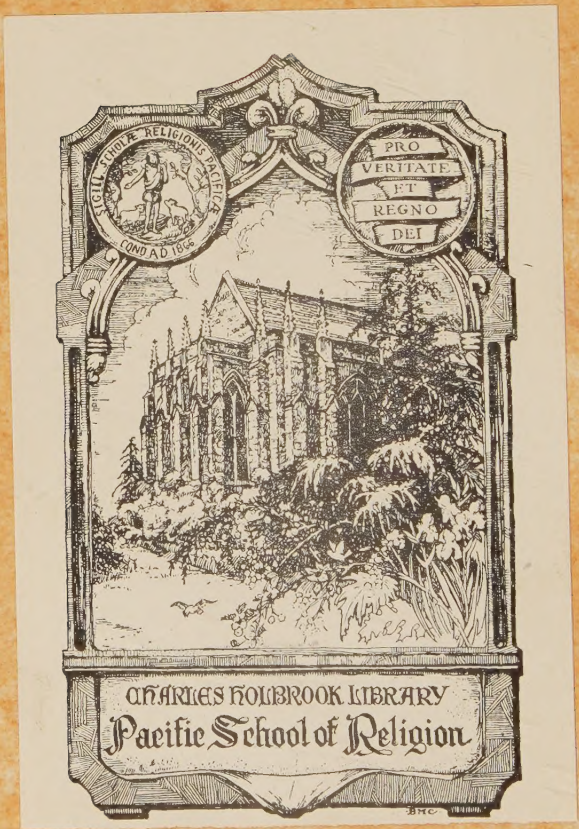
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Addresses and essays

F. N. Foster.

DISCOURSES

AND

ADDRESSES

and Essays

AT THE ORDINATION OF THE

REV. THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY, LL. D.

TO THE

MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL,

AND HIS INAUGURATION AS

PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE,

October 21, 1846.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CORPORATION.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

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At the Annual Meeting of the President and Fellows of Yale College, August 18, 1846, the Rev. Pres. Day, resigned his office, in a communication, by the terms of which, his resignation was to take effect whenever his successor should be ready to be inaugurated.

On the following day, the Fellows made choice of Theodore D. Woolsey, LL. D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, to be the President, and requested him, in the event of his acceptance of the office, to unite with the Prudential Committee in making the necessary arrangements for his ordination to the Christian Ministry, and for his inauguration to the Presidency of the College.

The views of the President elect were entirely coincident with those of the Corporation as to the religious and ecclesiastical nature of the office to which he was elected. Accordingly he regarded his election as a call to the work of ministering in the word of God; and when after due deliberation, he had accepted the call, he united with the Prudential Committee in requesting the ministers of the Gospel in the Board of Fellows, to act as a council of ministers for his ordination.

The Corporation having been convened on the 20th of October, this arrangement was reported by the Committee, and accepted; and the ordaining council was constituted accordingly. Dr. Woolsey was then presented to the council as a candidate for the ministry of the Gospel; and having been examined by them, respecting his belief and doctrine and his personal fitness for the work, according to the usages of the Congregational Churches and pastors of Connecticut, he was unanimously approved.

On the following day, at ten o'clock, A. M., the public solemnities of the ordination were performed in the house of worship belonging to the First Church of New Haven. Af-

ter singing the Psalm, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," (Ps. 137, 3d version,) prayer was offered by the Rev. Abel McEwen, D. D. After singing the Hymn, "Go, preach my Gospel, saith the Lord," (Hy. 557,) the sermon was preached by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D. The act of ordination, by the laying on of hands, was performed, while prayer was offered by the Rev. David Smith, D. D. The charge was given by the Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., and the right hand of fellowship by the Rev. Theophilus Smith. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Samuel R. Andrew. Then after singing the Psalm, "The harvest dawn is near," (Ps. 126, 3d version,) the assembly was dismissed, with the benediction by the President elect.

At two o'clock, P. M., a procession was formed, from the College buildings to the same Church, in the usual academic order. At the Church, after the singing of an anthem, prayer was offered by the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, D. D., Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology. The ceremony of induction was then performed by the Rev. Jeremiah Day, LL. D., D. D., late President, acting as Senior Fellow in behalf of the Corporation; and the inaugurating address to the President was followed with a discourse to the audience. A congratulatory address in Latin was delivered by James L. Kingsley, LL. D., Professor of the Latin Language and Literature. An anthem was then sung; after which the President pronounced his inaugural discourse. At the close, the vast assembly, having united in singing the Christian doxology, was dismissed with the benediction by the President.

In the evening, at the request of the students, and by the permission of the Corporation, the College buildings were illuminated in honor of the occasion.

SERMON

AT THE

ORDINATION.

BY

REV. LEONARD BACON, D. D.,

Pastor of the First Church in New Haven.

SERMON.

Acts xvii, 18.—Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him. And some said, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods; because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection.

Luke's picturesque record of Paul's travels shows us that Apostle in all sorts of places, and in all sorts of company. The special character of every community in which the Apostle labored, seems to be portrayed incidentally, with remarkable correctness, as well as with the most striking effect. Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, pass before us, each with its peculiarities, as in a moving panorama. And the classical and studious reader can hardly fail to perceive that as the narrative, turning from the more Oriental regions in which its earlier scenes are laid, passes over towards the original seats of the Greek race, around the Egean sea, the author seems to be more at home, and these descriptions are more full and striking. Most of all do we observe this, if I mistake not, when the story reaches Athens.

In the context Paul is represented as visiting that wonderful city, and apparently for the first time in his life. The historian, however, if we may make such an inference from the manner in which he names one locality and another, and the familiarity with which he sketches the habits of the people, knew Athens well—perhaps had lived and studied there. The chief characteristic of that city was that it was a grand emporium of art, of letters, and of philosophy. There the concourse and discussions of learned men—the resort of

students from all the countries of the civilized world—and the magnificence of the arrangements which were made for the encouragement of teachers whose celebrity might attract the greatest possible number of learners—were more like what we now call a university, than any thing else which then existed in the world. The city itself, shorn of its ancient political importance, and favored with no special advantages for commerce or the acquisition of wealth—seated in a picturesque but naturally unproductive plain, with its fortress-rock towering in the midst, with its distant harbor in front, with mountains rising as if to guard it in the rear, and with its bright shallow rivers on the east and west—depended more on its distinction as an emporium of the arts and of universal learning, and on its attractiveness as a place of education, than on any thing else, for its commerce, its wealth, its influence, and its living renown.

Though Paul was a stranger there, he was not ignorant of the language, the history, or the philosophy of Athens. Jew as he was by descent, and learned as he was in the learning of his nation, by having studied at Jerusalem under Gamaliel, the language of Athens, as spoken on the opposite side of the Egean in his native city of Tarsus, was his mother tongue not less than was the holy Hebrew; and in the schools of Tarsus, which almost rivaled in renown the schools of Athens itself, he had become acquainted with the literature and the boasted wisdom of the Greeks. He knew what Athens was; and though he could not but have something of a scholar's feeling there, he does not seem to have considered it a very eligible place for the prosecution of his work. Brought thither accidentally, as it were, while making his escape from the malice of the Thessalonian Jews, he was waiting for his associates, Silas and Timothy, to overtake him, having sent them word to come to him with all speed, apparently with the design of proceeding forthwith to some other place. But while he waited for them,

"his spirit was stirred within him." I seem to see him moving along those streets with an impatient step. I see the restless spirit gleaming from his eye, as he looks on temples and statues the wonder of the world. I see the expressive working of his countenance, as he pauses in his walks, from time to time, to read the inscription on some old monumental altar—here one to *Zeus*—there one to *Athene*—and there another 'to a god unknown.' I see him going up by those long flights of marble steps that lead to the Acropolis; he stands before the Propylæa; he walks around the Parthenon; he looks down on the unrivaled beauty of the city and the plain; but it is not the outward and visible alone that fills his thoughts. He thinks to what gods these glorious structures are devoted. He thinks what worship is offered at those altars by souls created for the knowledge and the service of a holy God. He remembers that in the centuries that have passed since Socrates here argued and died for common sense, philosophy, in all its schools, and with all its wranglings, has done nothing to dethrone these idols, nothing to make the myriads of Attica acquainted with that invisible and holy One whose eternal power and godhead shine through all the frame of the created world. He thinks of the mission in the performance of which he has been brought to Athens; and as the great ideas and facts that are every where the burden of his preaching, rise to his mind amid the exciting associations of the place—as he remembers him in whom "God is manifest in the flesh;" him "in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace;" Christ "raised from the dead," and exalted "far above principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come"—as he muses on "the heavenly vision" that summoned him to be Christ's "minister and witness," and the voice that said to him "I send thee to the people and to the

Gentiles, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them who are sanctified, by faith that is in me,"—the fire burns within him; and he says to himself, "I am under obligation (ὀφειλέτης εἰμί) both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise;" "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek." No! Christ himself hath brought him hither; here he is under Christ's commission; and here, amid the pride and atheism of this vain philosophy, here amid the splendor of this inveterate and bigoted idolatry, he will preach Christ's gospel.

Accordingly he enters into the synagogue, as he was wont to do in other cities; and there he raises discussions with his Jewish brethren. There too, as in the synagogues of other cities, he meets those inquiring Israelites who, renouncing the idolatry of their fathers and acknowledging the God of Israel, had not yet put themselves within the pale of Judaism—those "devout" yet unproselyted men, whose existence as a class indicated the influence of Moses and the prophets already diffusing itself throughout the Gentile world. But these efforts in the synagogue are not enough to satisfy the activity of his spirit. At Athens, he attempts what he does not appear to have attempted any where before. He goes directly into the Forum, where all sorts of people met for all sorts of business, and which was naturally the resort of all who were inquiring after something new; and there addressing himself to the Gentiles who knew nothing of the Jewish Scriptures, he begins to teach by entering into free discussion with such as gathered around him to hear, or to dispute,—just as Socrates had taught upon the same spot four hundred years before. The garden of Epicurus, and the picture gallery of the Stoics were near the

Forum; and as the report went abroad in the crowd that a new philosopher—a stranger with something of a foreign accent in his elocution, but with great vehemence and sublimity in his discourse—was teaching there, the followers of those opposite systems of philosophy most naturally encountered him; the Epicureans with characteristic gibes,—the Stoics, with more gravity, taking up the argument against him, that he was introducing foreign gods in opposition to the established religion of the state.

In the course of such debates, the curiosity of Paul's hearers was so excited, and the number of those who were inquiring about this new philosophy was so great, that for the sake of giving him a better opportunity to expound his views in the hearing of the multitude who were disposed to listen, they withdrew by common consent, from the noise and disturbances of the Forum, to the comparative stillness of the Areopagus. And there they invited him to address them. "May we know," said they, "what this new doctrine which thou speakest is?—for thou bringest some strange things to our ears; we desire therefore to know what these things mean." New indeed was that doctrine at Athens. Never, in all the discussions of philosophy, had those ideas, so simple, so sublime, so central to the universe of thought, been uttered there. Strange—strange to every school—were the things which the Apostle proceeded to set forth in a discourse which even now, though we read it only in an outline, charms the mind with its rhetorical beauty, while it dilates the soul with the grandeur of its argument.

What then were the new ideas—the "strange things"—the 'things not dreamed of in the philosophy' of Athens—which Paul announced there as the apostle of Jesus Christ? And what are the legitimate relations of those things to science? In other words, our general subject is THE BEARING OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION ON THE INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF MANKIND.

Before attempting to answer directly the first of these inquiries, let me say that, if I do not entirely misapprehend the facts, it is difficult for us adequately to conceive to what extent even the most gifted and cultivated minds, in that most cultivated city of the world, were ignorant respecting God, and the relations of the universe, and especially of man, to God and to eternity. Our minds, even from earliest childhood, are illuminated with the great truths of the Christian revelation; and when we study the writings of Grecian or Roman philosophy, something of the light which we have thus received is reflected from our minds upon the pages before us. As we read the imaginative metaphysics of Plato, the dialectic subtleties of Aristotle, or the graceful argumentation of Tully, we unconsciously forget that all this speculation had in it no particle of substantial knowledge; and that, after all, the world by wisdom knew not God. To us, the great ideas of Paul's discourse at Athens seem like the most familiar and unquestionable axioms; and we can hardly realize, without some deliberate effort, that to that auditory it was far otherwise. It is not unimportant then to inquire distinctly, what are the things which Christianity announces as first principles, but which were "strange things" to those philosophers? And in pursuing the inquiry we need not refer to any topic which is not included, either expressly or by some strong implication, in the outline which we have of Paul's discourse.

1. First among the "strange things" which Christianity announced to the scholars of Athens, is the existence of *one God, the Creator of the Universe.* "God that made the world and all things therein," was to them "a God unknown," as unknown to the speculations of the learned as he was to the superstition of the multitude. That simple historic statement given in the first sentence of the Bible, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth"—that truth which the primeval record preserved by Moses brings

within the category of historical facts, and which is the one grand lesson of the cosmogony in the first chapter of Genesis—was beyond the reach of all the schools of ancient wisdom. All the speculations of philosophy, in whatever school, took it for granted that the substance of the universe was eternal, and rejected the idea of creation as a mere absurdity. They admitted the existence of 'the gods,' and speculated about the nature of those superior and unknown beings and their agency in the construction of the material world; they admitted that something divine, some primary source of intelligence and power, must have existed from eternity; but of the one, eternal, living God, creating all things material and spiritual by his power and according to an intelligent purpose and plan, they did not even dream. It was a "strange thing" to the ears of the philosophers of every school, when Paul began to speak among them about the God, the one God, the historic God, "who made the world and all things therein."

2. Another of those "strange things," was the doctrine of *the universal presence and perpetual providence of God, caring for the happiness of men.* "God"—said Paul, pointing to the temples of the Acropolis, and using almost the very words which he had heard from the lips of Stephen in reference to the holier temple that glittered with marble and with gold on the acropolis of Jerusalem,—"God the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is he served (θεραπεύεται) with men's hands as if he needed any thing; he it is that GIVETH to all men life and breath and all things." Philosophy, as then taught, had no acquaintance with such a providence as this. It admitted indeed—though in some sects it denied—that the gods, the invisible powers superior to men, were actively concerned in the affairs of this world, and that therefore it was well to propitiate their favor by offerings and acts of worship; it reasoned sometimes with great eloquence

to show that some divine principle of intelligence and beneficence must be concerned in maintaining the regularity with which the world holds on its course; but of such a providence as that which Christianity reveals—the care and the unresting power of one Omnipresent God whose tender mercies are over all his works, and who is continually doing good to all men from the fullness of his love—of such a providence, universal and yet one, comprehending the vast and yet not overlooking the minute—the Academic and the Stoic had almost as little knowledge as the Epicurean.* The one intelligent, personal God, filling the universe with his presence, and watching over all men every moment, to uphold them and to bless them, was to all those schools "a God unknown."

3. Involved in the statement of this perpetual and universal providence of a beneficent God, there is another of those Christian truths so strange to the ancient philosophy, namely, *the unity of the human race.* The genius of all the polytheistic religions, was exclusively local and national, with no sentiment or aspiration of universality. Each country, each people, had its own gods, and its own origin from its parental and guardian divinities. As the Athenians boasted that they were indigenous to the soil of their own Attica and had no common ancestry with those whom they despised as barbarians; and as they proudly identified their city and their republic with Minerva, their special tutelary goddess; so it was with every people and every state. The unity of the human race, which the Bible presents as a historic fact, was every where forgotten. Every religion of the world rejected the thought; and philosophy could do nothing towards restoring it. In those eras and epochs of time, which mark the ebb and flow of empire and the growth and decay of national life, philosophy could trace no

* The Stoic interlocutor in Cicero's dialogues "de Natura Deorum," says expressly (II, 66) "Magna Dii curant, parva negligunt."

law of unity, no slowly unfolding plan of an eternal providence. Those natural divisions of the habitable earth into distinct lands, by mountains, or by intervening waters, which distribute mankind into separate communities with varieties of language and of hereditary character,—presented to the eye of philosophy, no arrangement of Almighty providence, measuring the earth, and sundering the nations, for its own purposes in reference to the welfare of the universal family of man. There was in the world no inward feeling, and not even a speculative recognition of universal humanity. While the unity of the tribe, of the state, of the nation perhaps, was felt with the force of a passion, the unity of the entire human race was not dreamed of. Thus in a meaning more literal and more intense than the Christian poet could easily have conceived,

> "Lands intersected by a narrow frith
> Abhorred each other;—mountains interposed
> Made enemies of nations that had else,
> Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

It was a "strange thing" then to philosophy as well as to superstition, when Paul as the apostle of Christianity announced at Athens, not some speculative conclusion touching the natural history of the genus *homo*, but the matter of fact that God who created the world and who rules it in his beneficent and universal providence, "hath made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having defined both their predestined periods and the boundaries of their dwelling places."

4. And here is introduced another great truth which philosophy had not grasped. Christianity first announced to science *the true dignity of human nature* as made in God's image for intelligent communion with God. The providence of God towards men, in all ages and in all lands, is conducted with reference to one end—"that they may seek the Lord, if only they would feel—take hold as with their hands—and

find him; though indeed he is not far from every one of us, for we live and move and have our being in a most intimate relation with him,*—as certain, even of your own poets, with some dim consciousness of this great truth, have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" And so the Apostle goes on to rebuke the anthropomorphism of the Greeks who made the creations of art the objects of their worship, and to bid them learn what God is by tracing the image of his being not in their forms but in their souls. This then is the true dignity of man, that by the constitution of his nature he stands in a relation to God, so peculiar, so august. The end for which man was created, and for which an Almighty and loving providence is every where and ever watching over him, is that he may be led to an intelligent, obedient and blessed communion with God. At the flash of this great truth into the sphere of human thought, the misty speculations of philosophy about the *summum bonum*—the chief end of man—vanish in a moment,

5. Next, in the sketch which Luke has given us of Paul's discourse, we find the announcement of *God's interposition, to recover men from the degradation and misery of their universal apostasy.* The apostasy of all nations of men—including their extreme ignorance of God and their consequent moral degradation—is involved and assumed in the whole discourse, as something which, in the light of the facts and principles brought forward, must needs be too plain to require a distinct assertion. Nor was there any thing in that—though there might have been much in the full definition and illustration of it—that could be counted strange to Athenian philosophy. But the matter of fact that God, having long endured the ages of ignorance, had now at last interposed by the manifestation of himself in human nature for the world's recovery, and was commanding all men

* Ἐν αὐτῷ—compare the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ. See also Kuinoel, in loc., and Neander, Planting and Training of the Church, p. 117. Philad., 1844.

every where to repent, was something new; the announcement presented to the mind of every hearer, not a God merely poetical or fabulous, framed by the creative power of the imagination to meet the mind's instinctive yearning after an object of worship—not a God merely abstract and metaphysical, propounded as a hypothesis by the reasoning faculty—but a God brought into the category of historical realities, —a known, living, present, personal God.

6. The announcement of God's interposition for the recovery of men from their universal apostasy, involves another great fact which philosophy had never truly received, but which lies at the foundation of Christianity, and which, while it illustrates all the doctrines of the Christian revelation, is itself illustrated by every one of them in return. I mean the fact of *God's moral government over the world.* "God now commandeth all men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he has designated, having given evidence of it to all, in that he hath raised him from the dead." The fact of God's moral government—the fact that he rules the universe of intelligent beings by moral laws addressed to their voluntary nature, and sustained, as the very idea of a law requires, by penalties to be dispensed in righteousness,—ought indeed to be known and recognized of all men; for God has no where left men without evidence that it is so. Yet philosophy did not apprehend that fact; for the world by wisdom knew not God, and knew him least of all in the glory of his moral government, that is, in the glory of his holiness as the upholder of purity and love throughout the universe, and the dread punisher of sin. Philosophy had its speculations, as guilt had its instinctive fears, about the justice of the gods; but all was unsubstantial—all too weak, too confused, too shadowy, to restore the ruin of man's moral nature. Oh! how unlike the clear, sharp, definite lines, in which that great foundation-fact of

the universe stands out before the mind, in the announcement that God hath fixed a day for which all other days were made—a day to which, in the progress of slow centuries, all the lines of universal providence are steadily converging—a day when he will judge in righteousness a world which he created in wisdom, and which he redeemed in mercy—a day in which those who have despised his summons to repentance, and have rejected that Redeemer whose resurrection from the dead was the crowning proof of his authority as Lord of life, shall see that Redeemer on the throne of universal judgment!

Such were the "strange things" which the Christian Apostle declared in the hearing of men assembled from the schools of Epicurus and of Zeno, from the Academy and from the Lyceum. Little did that unprepared and unreceptive audience apprehend the vast reach of what was thus announced to them. Little did they imagine that in the statements which that stranger so earnestly asserted, there was truth that was to triumph over all their systems, and was to illuminate the world with a brighter, purer light than ever shone in the halls of their philosophy. Had they been prepared, by the discipline of their schools, or by some "prevenient grace," to receive that which they heard and to acknowledge it as truth, what a revelation would it have been to them! How would it have filled their whole range of intellectual vision with its radiance! In their confused chaotic minds, it would have been, if I may borrow the strong phrase of another, "like a sun shot into chaos."*

We proceed then to inquire more distinctly into the relations of these truths to science, that thus we may see the bearing of the Christian revelation on the intellectual progress of mankind.

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* Hawes, Religion in the East, p. 61.

1. Putting ourselves to this inquiry, as believers in the gospel, we find our minds immediately occupied with the great thought that by the disclosures of Christianity, the unseen becomes substantial, in a sense and with an impressiveness before unknown;—the invisible, instead of being to us mere speculation spun out of our own thoughts, becomes an objective reality. The existence of God, and his relations to the universe, to the material and the spiritual, to the physical and the moral—are brought into the region of known and established verities. They take their place as matters of fact, and become the central facts of all knowledge. Before these central facts were established and received as facts, there was no science worthy to be so called; science was in a sense impossible. There was art, consisting of empirical rules or æsthetical judgments, in rhetoric, in logic, and in morals. There was geometry,—for the reason that science purely mathematical is purely speculative, drawn out of the mind itself; but with all the progress that geometry had made, there was no recognition of God's geometry in the heavens and on the earth. That science which is not merely speculative and hypothetical—that science which sees principles as revealed in facts, and which therefore really knows something—had no existence. But now there is a basis for science; the universe is one; and all knowledge, into whatever department of thought or of existence it may extend itself, is related to the knowledge of the one infinite whole. The universe—the created and the uncreated—is one system, in which God is the center of illumination, of support, of motion, and of life; and throughout that boundless system there is a subordination of matter to spirit, of the present to the future, of the finite to the infinite. The visible is every where related to the invisible. Time is embosomed in eternity.

2. As we think of the special relations of Christianity to particular departments of human knowledge, the most ob-

vious is its relation to the science of duty. Strike out of existence that knowledge which the Christian revelation gives us respecting God, and respecting man as created in God's image, and respecting God's moral government as reaching into eternity with its awards, and as spreading its jurisdiction over all worlds; and what *science* of duty will remain to us? There may be indeed the instinctive feelings of the mind pronouncing upon the *pulchrum* and the *honestum* in specific instances of moral action; and the equally instinctive tendency of the understanding to classify and generalize all that the mind perceives, may form these perceptions of the moral sense into rules of action; and besides all this, there may be the endless jangling of words about the contingency of volition, the essence of virtue, and the reasons why a man is under obligation to do right;—but what substantial knowledge will there be of those relations of man to his Maker, and to eternity, and to the universe, which constitute the grandeur of his nature as a moral being? True, the first great principle of mutual duty among men—the law of doing to men whatsoever we would that they should do to us—is inscribed ineffaceably upon the conscience, and ought to be read and obeyed of all men even though God had given no other revelation. But yet that law of love—who does not know it?—is never seen in its grandeur, as eternal *law*, till it is seen enthroned over the universe in the moral government of God. The science of duty, with no knowledge of God as he has made himself known in the person of his Son, and with no impulse or illumination from eternity upon the mind of the inquirer, is a science, if we may call it such, the very subject-matter of which cannot be adequately conceived of.

3. The relations of Christianity to the science of government and civil polity are, perhaps, equally obvious. How can the state be adequately conceived of, if God is unknown? If the powers and duties of the state are not of

God, they have no foundation but force. That they are of God and have some divine warrant, may be inferred in a speculative way from their necessity to the welfare and even the existence of man, and from the very nature of man as a being whose constitution is not complete in the individual and cannot be developed save under the protection and power of the state. But how uncertain is such speculation—how unstable the basis of political science—till that light appears, in which God is known, not as a hypothesis, but as a reality, and in which earth and time are seen in their relations to eternity. How is the majesty of the state ennobled—in how serene and holy a light do all the great topics of civil polity present themselves to view—when the unity which constitutes the state, is regarded not as a mere aggregation of individuals seeking to protect themselves against each other's violence and fraud by their united strength, but rather as God's arrangement, planned in his creating wisdom and carried out in his beneficent providence; his arrangement for the welfare of those whom he has made in his own image, and over whom he watches with a father's care, that he may train them to the knowledge of himself and to the resemblance of his holiness.

4. The time would fail us if I should attempt to trace out particularly the relations of Christian truth to all those various studies, the subject-matter of which is derived from the constitution of man. I might speak of the science of thought and of the human mind—of the science of language the vesture and the wings of thought—of the science of human industry and commerce, as embodied in those laws, deep-seated in the constitution of the human race, which, within the limits of external nature, control the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth; and in respect to each of these departments of universal science, I might show how peculiar a light is thrown upon the whole field of vision, when the mind of the inquirer has received,

as matters of fact, the grand realities of the Christian revelation. The mind that has become acquainted with God, and has learned to see all things as related to his wisdom and his will, sees in all the principles which it traces out in relation to any of these subjects of inquiry, the wise ordinances of him who made the world and all things therein; in whom, men, made in his image live, and move, and have their being; who gives to all, life and breath and all things; who distributes the one race of man into kindreds and nations, and plants them over all the earth, assigning to each its era and the boundaries of its habitation; and who now rules the world in his providence of care and mercy, calling men every where to repentance, that in the end he may judge the world in righteousness. But we may not dwell upon these illustrations of our subject, for there are others more important and more striking.

5. Shall we speak then of the science of history? But is there such a science? How can there be a *science* of history? There was indeed no possibility of such a thing in the old times when that philosophy flourished, which knew nothing because it knew not God. Then history was the *art* of telling a story well—the art of portraying characters and events, and sending down to coming times some remembrance of the men and the achievements of the past—the art, perhaps we should say, of drawing some rude moral from the story, as the moral is appended to a fable. But now "God is in history;" and all history has a unity, *because* God is in it. God hath made of one blood all nations of men; and he it is who allots to the nations their eras and their boundaries. He is conducting the scheme of his eternal providence, with steady reference to his grand design of restoring that ruin which the world has suffered by apostasy from him. Thus, as "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," so the kingdom of Christ, the progress of God's great redeeming work from age to age through all the vicissi-

tudes of empire and of civilization, is the one supreme fact of history—that which blends all history into unity—that, the discovery of which, in the changes of time, makes history a science. It has been well said by one of the most distinguished of living historians, speaking of universal history, that "the first conception of its office" was in the mind of our own Edwards, when he conceived of "the sum of all God's providences" as comprehended in the history of redemption.* In such a history, says Edwards, "we begin at the head of the stream of Divine providence, and trace it through its various windings, till we come to the end where it issues. As it began in God, so it ends in him. God is the infinite ocean into which it empties itself. Providence is like a mighty wheel whose circumference is so high that it is dreadful, with the glory of the God of Israel above upon it; as it is represented in Ezekiel's vision. We have seen the revolution of this wheel, and how, as it was from God, its return has been to God again. All the events of Divine providence are like the links of a chain; the first link is from God, and the last is to him." "If we behold events in any other view [than in connection with God's redeeming work,] all will look like confusion, like the tossing of waves; things will look as though one confused revolution came to pass after another merely by blind chance, without any regular or certain end. But if we consider the events of providence in this light," they are "all wisely directed in excellent harmony and consistence, tending all to one end. The wheels of providence are not turned round by blind chance, but are full of eyes round about, as Ezekiel's vision represents them, and are guided by the Spirit of God; where the Spirit goes, they go. All God's works of providence, through all ages, meet at last as so many lines meeting in one center. God's work of providence, like that of crea-

* Bancroft, iii, 399.

tion, is but one."* Thus it is that in the light of the Christian revelation, and in that light only, history becomes a science.

6. But we must not fail to notice the bearing of Christianity on the science, or, as we commonly speak, the sciences, of material nature. The material universe of God's creation is made up of facts—facts that have their first cause in God's power, and their final cause in his designs. Those facts, observed, analyzed, traced out in their relations to each other, lead us to principles, laws, forces, which proceed directly from the mind of God, and the knowledge of which is science. But the observation and analysis of facts in order to science seems not to have been distinctly thought of,† till God, and creation, and providence, and the divine moral government, and the resemblance of the human mind to the

* Edwards, Works, iii, 428, 9. New York, 1829.

† I do not mean that there was no observation of facts in the ancient world, and no knowledge acquired by observation. There are facts in nature which force themselves upon the attention of mankind. No race of men is so barbarous as not to have observed something of the phenomena of nature,—such as the rising and setting of the sun, the changes of the moon, the seasons of the year, and the obvious characteristics of familiar objects and classes of objects. And wherever facts even so obvious as these have been observed, the human mind, moved by some irresistible impulse, attempts the construction of some theory by which the facts may be accounted for. Such beginnings of philosophy are every where,—more or less advanced, according to the intellectual constitution of the people. Among a people so shrewd and quick-witted as the ancient Greeks, there could not but be much of this spontaneous observation. The ancient Physical philosophy theorized—and often theorized with great ingenuity, upon the facts which spontaneous observation had discovered, or which accident had ascertained. Indeed there is no philosophy, however transcendental or "absolute," which does not start from some recognition of facts. But the grand error of the ancient philosophy was, that it did not apply itself steadily, patiently, and by system, to the observation and analysis of facts *in order to* science. Its generalizations were therefore hasty and unsound; and its spirit, while it attempted to apply its hasty and erroneous generalizations as infallible criteria of truth, became essentially dogmatical, disputatious, unteachable, and therefore incapable of progress. Lord Bacon has well described it in the 19th Aphorism of the First Book of his Novum Organum.—"Duæ viæ sunt at-

Divine, had been manifested and established as matters of fact, in the light of the Christian revelation. The old blind philosophy which Paul encountered at Athens, and which, within a century from that time, had begun to entrench itself even within the church, drowning with its noisy jargon the voice of God's own oracles, and piling up those masses of speculative dogmatism and of dry and empty metaphysics under which the simple verities of revelation were so long buried,—assumed, in its pride, that the mind must evolve all knowledge from itself; and therefore *that* philosophy knew nothing. It was ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of truth. As it was ignorant of the great fact of creation, it presumed that the mind of man, instead of being created and placed amid the magnificence of these material worlds for the end that it may seek after God and learn his thoughts and ways, is itself a spark or effluence of the divine; and therefore that philosophy, instead of putting the inquirer to the diligent and reverent observation of facts in which all science lies enveloped, put him to the Tartarean toil of trying to find out all truth by speculation—as if one should grow old and gray in the folly of attempting to remember what he never knew. The Apostles wisely warned the church against "the profane babblings and controversies of science falsely so called;" and, for a while, the warning was not utterly forgotten.* But gradually, as Christian-

que esse possunt, ad inquirendam et inveniendam veritatem. Altera a sensu et particularibus advolat ad axiomata maxime generalia, atque ex iis principiis, eorumque immota veritate judicat et invenit axiomata media. Atque hæc via in usu est. Altera a sensu et particularibus excitat axiomata, ascendendo continenter et gradatim ut ultimo loco perveniatur ad maxime generalia; quæ via vera est, sed intentata."

* A passage in Lactantius (Div. Inst. iii, 6, Oxford, 1684,) is referred to by Prof. Milman, (History of Christianity, p. 502, American edition,) who takes the reference from Brucker (Hist. Phil. iii, p. 357) to show that the Christian fathers were hostile to the study of nature, and that the Bible misunderstood was an obstacle to the progress of physical science. But it seems to me that Lactantius, in that passage, instead of discouraging the study of nature, main-

ity was diffused and handed down among men, that very philosophy enthroned itself beside the altar of God, and gave laws even to Christianity. Thus the legitimate effect of revelation upon science in general, and upon the sciences of material nature in particular, was defeated for ages. In all those ages there was no lack of intellectual activity—no lack of philosophy such as it was, a philosophy which scorning the observation of God's facts, and attempting to know all

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tains, against the skepticism of the later Academy, that there may be a science of nature; and even indicates unconsciously, as if under some prophetic impulse of the Christian spirit, the true method of investigation. Some expressions in that part of his argument which is aimed against the hasty generalizations and arrogant hypotheses of the ancient Physical philosophers, seem almost like a glimmering of the true philosophy before its time. "Sunt enim multa, quæ natura ipsa nos scire, et usus frequens, et vitæ necessitas cogit. * * Nam solis et lunæ varii cursus, et meatus siderum, et ratio temporum deprehensa est; et natura corporum, a medicis, herbarumque vires; et ab agricolis natura terrarum, necnon imbrium futurorum, ac tempestatum signa collecta sunt. Nulla denique ars est, quæ non scientia constet. Debuit ergo Arcesilas, si quid saperet, distinguere quæ sciri possent, quæve nesciri. Sed si id fecisset; ipse se in populum redegisset. Nam vulgus interdum plus sapit; quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit. A quo si quæras utrum sciat aliquid, an nihil, dicet se scire quæ sciat; fatebitur se nescire quæ nesciat." * * "Academici contra Physicos ex rebus obscuris argumentati sunt, nullam esse scientiam; et exemplis paucarum rerum incomprehensibilium contenti, amplexi sunt ignorantiam, quasi scientiam totam sustulissent, quia in parte sustulerant. Physici contra, ex iis quæ aperta sunt, argumentum trahebant omnia sciri posse, contentique perspicuis, retinebant scientiam; tanquam totam defendissent, quia ex parte defenderant." And in the sentences quoted by Prof. Milman, he says of Arcesilas, the founder of the Academic "non philosophandi philosophia," as he sarcastically calls it, "Quanto faceret sapientius, ac verius, si exceptione facta, diceret causas rationesque duntaxat rerum cælestium, seu naturalium, quia sunt abditæ, nesciri posse, quia nullus doceat; nec quæri oportere, quia inveniri quærendo non possunt. Qua exceptione interposita, et Physicos admonuisset, ne quærerent ea quæ modum excederent cogitationis humanæ," *etc.* He who remembers by what methods, and by what sort of evidence, the Physical philosophers of old undertook to know "causas rationesque rerum," and to what results they came, will hardly blame Lactantius for thinking that it would be wiser for them to stick to the observation of *things* as more within the "modus cogitationis humanæ."

things by the force of logic, knew nothing. Thus there must needs be a reformation of Christianity as a prerequisite to the reformation of science. There must needs be an "*instauratio magna*" of revelation by the ministry of Zuingle and Luther, before there could be an "*instauratio magna*" in the science of nature. It was not till the reformation had given not only a new impulse, but a new direction to the human mind—it was not till religion, renouncing, in part at least, the usurped dominion of metaphysics, had fallen back on God's facts in the Bible for the knowledge of God and things divine; that the great revolution began, in the forms and aims of scientific inquiry; and the facts of nature began to be sought for, as the only revelation of the ideas and principles of nature. It was not till the voice of Paul had been heard once more, as at Athens, along the streets and in the forum, compelling a pause in the noisy conflicts of the schools, and bidding the man of God avoid the babblings and disputations of science falsely so called; that Copernicus, throwing off the yoke of authority and applying himself to facts, learned the earth's motion and bade the sun stand still.* It was not till the spell cast upon the human mind by that vain and false philosophy had been broken by the reformers; that Galileo turning his tube into the sky, brought down intelligence from the stars; and Kepler, tracing and 'thinking out the thoughts of God,' revealed the laws of planetary motion; and cotemporary with them both, the great prophet and legislator of science went up into his mount of vision, and thence as from Sinai gave forth the law, and as from Pisgah surveyed the beauty and the riches of the land of promise.

Christianity is a religion of reverent inquiry and of faith,—inquiry after the facts of revelation, and faith in Him who can be known only as facts reveal him to the soul. This is

* The monument to Copernicus in the Church of St. Anne, Cracow, has the inscription, from Joshua x, 12, "Sta sol! ne moveare."

the very spirit of true science that finds truth in facts,—God's truth in God's facts. That old philosophy against which Christianity proclaims perpetual war, and with which it can make no alliance but at its peril, is a philosophy essentially dogmatizing, speculative, dreamy—not less so when it denies than when it affirms—not less so in the school of Epicurus or of Pyrrho, than in that of Plato or of the Porch. Its trust is not in God nor in God's facts, but in itself, and in its own power to command the truth without the revelation which is made of it in the facts which God gives forth in nature. It is as if a man should attempt to lift himself up into the skies by pulling at his own ears. But the true science is that which seeks after God in nature, if haply, by feeling and handling the phenomena of nature, it may find him. It is the only philosophy of faith and dependence; and, so far, its genius, when it is rightly conceived and followed, is identical with the genius of Christianity. Who does not see this when he reads those sublime words in the opening of the Novum Organum? "Man, the minister and interpreter of nature, performs and understands so much as he has observed of the order, operation and mind of nature; and more than this he neither knows nor can perform. Nor is it possible for any power to loose or burst the chain of causes; nor is nature to be overcome except by submission." "All depends upon our fixing the mind's eye steadily upon things themselves in order to receive their shapes plainly as they are. And may God never permit us to give out the dream of our fancy as a model of the world, but rather in his kindness grant that we may write a revelation and a true vision of the traces and signatures of the Creator on his creatures."* Who does not see the connection between the res-

* "Homo enim naturæ minister et interprest antum facit et intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, opere vel mente, observaverit; nec amplius scit aut potest. Neque enim ullæ vires causarum catenam solvere aut perfringere possint; neque natura aliter quam parendo vincitur." "Atque in eo sunt

toration of true Christianity and the new era of science, when he beholds the inquisition and the Vatican hurling against Copernicus and Galileo the same thunders that had fallen innocuous at the feet of Luther? Who does not feel that the genius of true Christianity is one with the genius of true science, when he reads the lofty yet lowly exultation of Kepler, "I may well wait a century for a reader if God has waited six thousand years for an observer of his works;"* —or that seraphic praise, "I give thee thanks, Lord and Creator, that thou hast given me delight in thy creation, and I have exulted in the work of thy hands. I have revealed to mankind the glory of thy works, as far as my limited mind could take in that infinite glory." "If I have given forth any thing that is unworthy of thee, or if I have sought my own fame, wilt thou, gracious and merciful, forgive me."† Who does not feel it when, more than a century later, he hears Linnæus in his researches among plants and mosses,

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omnia, siquis oculos mentis a rebus ipsis nunquam dejiciens, earum imagines plane ut sunt excipiat. Neque enim hoc siverit Deus, ut phantasiæ nostræ somnium pro exemplari mundi edamus; sed potius benigne faveat, ut apocalypsim ac veram visionem vestigiorum et sigillorum Creatoris super creaturas, scribamus." Bacon's Works, i, p. 19; ed. London, 1730.

* "Jacio en aleam, librumque scribo, seu presentibus, seu posteris legendum, nihil interest: expectet ille suum lectorem per annos centum; si Deus ipse per annorum sena millia contemplatorem præstolatus est." Kepleri Harmonices Mundi, p. 179.

† "Gratias ago tibi Creator Domine, quia delectasti me in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exultavi. En nunc opus consummavi professionis meæ, tantis usus ingenii viribus quantas mihi dedisti; manifestavi gloriam operum tuorum hominibus, istas demonstrationes lecturis, quantum de illius infinitate capere potuerunt angustiæ mentis meæ; promptus mihi fuit animus ad emendatissime philosophandum. Si quid indignum tuis consiliis prolatum a me, vermiculo, in volutabro peccatorum nato et innutrito, quod scire velis homines, id quoque inspires ut emendem. Si tuorum operum admirabili pulchritudine in temeritatem prolectus sum, aut si gloriam propriam apud homines amavi, dum progredior in opere tuæ gloriæ destinato; mitis et misericors condona. Denique ut demonstrationes istæ tuæ gloriæ et animarum saluti cedant, nec ei ullatenus obsint, propitius efficere digneris."—*Ibid.* p. 243.

crying out as if in response to Kepler's exultations shouted from among the spheres, "*Deum Sempiternum, Omniscium, Omnipotentem, a tergo transeuntem vidi, et obstupui.*"*

7. There is one more illustration of the relations between Christianity and science, which may not pass altogether unnoticed. Christianity teaches men to judge aright concerning the value of science and the honor to be put upon it, and thus it gives to science a right direction in respect to results. It teaches that God has created the world for the residence of man; that he has filled it with riches for the use of man; that he giveth to all life and breath and all things; that his glory in the highest welfare of his creatures, is the end for which the world is maintained and governed. The immediate aim of Christianity—the end for which it was given—is the recovery of lost degraded men to the knowledge and service of their Maker, and thus to that high happiness in God and in God's works, for which they were created. And in so doing, it seeks to bless not the few but the many—not the great and the mighty and the noble of this world, but the poor, the debased, and the neglected. Its genius is beneficence. Its spirit and tendency may be seen in the person of Jesus Christ who went about doing good, and whose miracles were wrought, not to astonish or amuse, but to heal disease, to wipe away the tears of sorrow, to multiply loaves for the hungry, and even to brighten the countenance of gladness. Christianity then, if it has influence on science, will teach it to seek the welfare of mankind. It will demand that science, in every department, be pursued not for the sake of showy and empty speculation, not for the sake of barren strifes and wordy disquisitions, ever renewed and never ending, but for the sake of "fruit" by which mankind, through successive ages, shall be more and more enriched to the glory of the Giver of all good.† The philosophy that sneers at utility,

* Linnæus, Systema Naturæ, i, p. 10. See Quinet, Roman Church, p. 78.
† See Macaulay, Miscellaneous Writings, ii, p. 441.

and frowns in offended dignity, and sometimes rises into unphilosophical anger, at the question *cui bono*,—is a philosophy which Christianity repudiates, for it has no communion with him who doeth good continually and whose tender mercies are over all his works. But it is not so with that science which has come into being since the period of the reformation. The genius of that science is like the genius of Christianity itself, universally beneficent. Its labor is to explore and possess the utilities of the creation. Its faith is that as God has made all things well, there is nothing which God has made, the knowledge of which, if attainable by man, will not augment the means and facilities of human welfare. And thus, as it proceeds from age to age, and from one great achievement to another, it brings the treasures of the creation more and more into the possession of man for whose use God made them. Whence was it that science learned this lesson of homely and universal utility—a lesson never dreamed of by the old philosophy? In what school was it that the author of the Novum Organum learned to say, "We admonish all that they think of the true ends of science; and that they seek it not for gratification of the mind, nor for contention, nor to look down on others, nor for emolument, nor for fame, nor for power, nor for any such low ends, but for its worth and the uses of life; and that they perfect it and direct it in charity."* Where learned he that prayer in which, at the opening of his work, he commits it to God? "Thou therefore, Father, who gavest the visible light as the first fruits of creation, and, at the completion of thy works, didst inspire the countenance of man with intellectual light, guard and direct this work, which proceeding from thy

* "Postremo omnes in universum monitos volumus, ut scientiæ veros fines cogitent; nec eam aut animi causa petant, aut ad contentionem, aut ut alios despiciant, aut ad commodum, aut ad famam, aut ad potentiam, aut hujusmodi inferiora, sed ad meritum et usus vitæ; eamque in charitate perficiant et regant." Bacon's Works, i, p. 11.

bounty, seeks in return thy glory. When thou turnedst to behold the works of thy hands, thou sawest that all were very good, and restedst. But man, when he turned towards the works of his hands, [the achievements of his creative philosophy,] saw that all were vanity and vexation of spirit, and he had no rest. Wherefore if we labor in thy works, thou wilt make us partakers of thy vision and of thy sabbath. We pray that this mind may abide in us; and that by our hands, and the hands of others to whom thou shalt impart the same mind, thou wilt be pleased to endow with new gifts the family of man!"* How plain is it that this new and true science that is filling the world with its beneficence, is the influence of Christianity triumphing at last over a blind and blinding philosophy, and producing its legitimate effects upon the intellectual progress of mankind.

With one inference from all that has been said, I will bring the discourse to a conclusion. I trust I have led you to see what is the legitimate place of Christianity in seats of learning and of public education. The university should be, visibly and effectively, in form and in spirit, a religious institution. Christianity should be enthroned there, high above the chairs of human learning and philosophy. All the sciences should pay their homage to her beauty, her majesty, and her light from heaven; and they should do this not for her sake only, but also for their own.

* "Itaque tu Pater, qui lucem visibilem primitias creaturæ dedisti, et lumen intellectualem ad fastigium operum tuorum in faciem hominis inspirasti; opus hoc quod a tua bonitate profectum tuam gloriam repetit, tuere et rege. Tu, postquam conversus es ad spectandum opera quæ fecerunt manus tuæ, vidisti quod omnia essent bona valde; et requievisti. At homo conversus ad opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent vanitas et vexatio spiritus; nec ullo modo requievit. Quare si in operibus tuis sudabimus, facies nos visionis tuæ, et sabbati tuæ participes. Supplices petimus, ut hæc mens nobis constet; utque novis eleemosynis per manus nostras, et aliorum quibus eandem mentem largieris, familiam humanam dotatam velis." Bacon's Works, i, p. 19.

Wherever science, whether as taught to pupils in the class room, or as extended into new discoveries by its professors and votaries, refuses to rest upon the verities of revelation, it is liable to either of two contrary tendencies in respect to God and nature; and it is sure to fall, sooner or later, into one or the other, according to the circumstances, employments, or idiosyncrasies of the minds that cultivate it. On the one hand, it becomes gross materialism and atheism. On the other side, it runs off into pantheistic views; and is sublimated at last into the transcendentalism which makes every thing subjective, and which regards God and the universe as a mere phantasmagoria produced in its own addled brain.

In like manner, the science which disconnects itself from Christianity, is liable to either of two opposite tendencies in relation to utility and the welfare of society. On the one hand it is in danger of shutting its eyes against all that is moral and spiritual in the universe, all that concerns man's highest and most substantial interests; and so it degenerates into a coarse, sensual, Epicurean utilitarianism. Or if it falls under the opposite influence, it withdraws from sympathy and friendly connection with mankind at large; it grows ashamed of ministering to the homely wants of human nature; it seeks its own elegant amusement and intellectual enjoyments; it discusses trifles with a languid and gentlemanly air; and it sinks into contempt in its proud seclusion.

These tendencies Christianity, enthroned in the university, and thus exerting its proper influence throughout the sphere of knowledge, will effectually counteract. Do you ask, How? I answer, Not by forbidding inquiry or examination. Christianity—true Christianity which is spirit and life—has nothing to do with such prohibitions. Its vital element is thought, inquiry, intellectual freedom. Its challenge to the world is, "Prove all things"—"believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God." Do you ask, How then? I answer again, Not by undertaking to settle ques-

tions without evidence, putting the *ipse dixit* of the teacher, or the confused echo of tradition, or the commandment of the church, in the place of argument. The religion that makes faith essential to salvation, and at the same time bids us call no man master, resorts to no such expedients. No; it is in altogether another method that Christianity, enthroned in the university, directs the tendencies and guards the destinies of science. It brings into the sphere of knowledge its own *prime* facts, supported and substantiated to the mind by their own legitimate proofs. It holds up its own light, high over every region of human thought; and by a force as silent yet resistless as that which binds the rolling worlds to their appointed orbits, it compels all the sciences to know their places in the universal system, and to fulfill their duties of reverence to God and of charity to man.

I need not show from history, nor from the nature of the case, that a true Christianity must and will have its own schools, its institutions of universal learning, presided over by its own ministers duly inaugurated to the holy work of expounding and vindicating the oracles of God. Nor need I argue that a Christian people will prefer such institutions, above all others of whatever pretensions, for the training of their youth to the high offices of science, of the state, and of the commonwealth of Christ. Facts, too notorious to need a repetition here, have superseded the necessity of any argument to prove that in these United States, if in no other land beneath the sun, the institution of learning in which the Christian religion in its doctrine, in its discipline, and in all its influences, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, is most effectually enthroned, is the only institution that can long command, or that can widely command, the suffrages of the people.

By such considerations as these, would I illustrate the theory and the working of the constitution which our fathers gave to Yale College, and which it has maintained through

all its eras to this hour. This College has always been essentially a religious—yes, essentially an ecclesiastical institution. Christianity was enthroned here at the beginning, and has never been cast down from its eminence. These halls have never yet been—and, God helping us, they never shall be—ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. By all the prayers and hopes with which holy men have laid the foundations, or have toiled to rear the massy structure, this institution is consecrated to Christianity. Nor do we use the word in that vague sense in which Christianity has no form, no body, no spirit other than some volatile quintessence, and therefore no power. The Christianity enthroned here, is Christianity in a definite appreciable shape and system—the Christianity not of tradition, but of the Bible—the Christianity not of a hierarchy, but of freedom and of "light and truth"*—the Christianity not of forms and ceremonious pomp, but of the spirit penitent, believing, praying, and of love communing with God.

The transaction then, to which we are now proceeding, is not an empty ceremony, nor an unmeaning compliance with local precedents and prejudices. No! ye who sustain the responsibility of guardianship and legislation over this institution of our fathers—ye who in the various faculties of the University are entrusted with the high function of training youth for the service of God and their generation, "both in church and civil state"†—ye too, young men, brought hither

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* Lux et Veritas,—the motto of the College Seal.

† The petitioners for the charter of the College, who were "a large number of ministers and other principal characters in the colony," represented to the legislature in their petition, "that from a sincere regard to, and zeal for, *upholding the Protestant religion*, by a succession of learned and orthodox men, they had proposed that a Collegiate School should be erected in this Colony, wherein youth should be instructed in *all parts of learning*, to qualify them for public employments *in Church or civil State;* and that *they* had nominated ten ministers to be trustees, partners, or undertakers for the founding, endowing and ordering the said school." The preamble to the original charter, granted in October, 1701, rehearses this representation, and makes it the basis upon which the charter rests.

as learners, from all the regions of this wide union—ye all, as ye behold the transaction now to be performed, are witnesses of its significancy. It signifies to you—it signifies to all the concourse of the people here—that this is none other than a Christian University; and that he who is to preside over all these studies and teachings, may not enter into that high place till he has given to Christ and to the Church those pledges, and taken upon his soul those vows, which are involved in his being set apart, in the apostolic form, to the ministry of Christian truth, and the defense of the Gospel.

To you, my brother, faithful and beloved—yes, I will say it in your name to all here present—to you this ordination is no empty ceremony. That voice which in your youth you seemed to hear, and in obedience to which you made so thorough a preparation of yourself in all the branches of sacred learning, has now called more distinctly; and in answer to the call, you offer yourself to a work, from the grandeur and holiness of which you still shrink with a sense of insufficiency. Your ordination is not to be for nothing. As a minister of the word of God, you are to be charged with the constant oversight of all the religious interests which are involved in this institution. As a minister of Christ, the Redeemer, you are to be charged with the moral education and the spiritual welfare, as well as with the intellectual culture, of the young men who come to enjoy these privileges. Not only in your public preaching, but also in your teaching—and not only there, but in all your intercourse with your pupils or with your colleagues, with the church or with the world, you are to be the minister of Christ. Upon the minds of these young men, as they present themselves before you, class after class, through the long succession of years in which we hope that you will exercise your office, you are to stamp impressions for eternity.

Wonderfully—more wonderfully, doubtless, than you have ever thought—has God been training you, from your child-

hood, for that special service, as a minister of Christ, to which you are designated. If in the grammar school where I first met you three and thirty years ago, it had been told by some prophetic voice that one of the scholars would be President of Yale College, the master and the pupils would have thought of none other than that bright-eyed modest boy whose image is in my mind's eye now. And if in that hour when we and our college classmates went forth together from this house as graduates, it had been announced that one of that class of 1820 would be President, all eyes would have turned to the one—*facile princeps*—whose voice had just spoken our farewell to each other, and to our *Alma Mater*. From your earliest years, you had every advantage for the acquisition of that universal knowledge after which your nature thirsted, and for the culture of those fine powers with which the predestinating God had endowed you. And in later years, when others were compelled to grapple with the rude labors of life, your lot has been so ordered that all the while, by unceasing and most various study, by experience in the instruction and government of the College, by foreign travel, by personal inspection of the great seats of learning in the old world, by opportunities of intercourse with learned men of various languages and nations, you have been unconsciously accomplishing yourself for this calling. Nay, those inward conflicts—that torture of a depressed and struggling mind—that hidden anguish—which compelled you to give up your early aspirations toward the ministry of Redemption—have had their value through the grace of him who leads us by paths which we know not. For now, at last, when your academic duties, in their steady round, so long pursued, together with the cares, affections and joys—aye, and the sacred sorrows—of your home, have slowly formed your mind to healthier and more natural habits of religious feeling, and have made you better acquainted with yourself and more conscious of your trust in Christ, you come at

God's call; and with that deep experience which has cost you so dear, you take upon yourself the care of souls—souls to be trained for the highest services on earth, and for yet higher ministries in heaven.

And yet you feel, I know—and I will not deny that we who have placed you here, feel, too—that there are particulars in which your preparation for the work might have seemed more perfect. But perhaps that which you have not, could not have been gained without involving some positive disqualification. Had your boyhood known the harsh discipline of poverty, forcing the stronger and sterner elements of character into a premature development—had you, by the voice of inexorable duty, been called away from academic leisure, and placed, while yet a stripling, in some high post of militant service for the church—had you been found, as in such a case you would surely have been found, doing your part, and quitting yourself like a man, in the moral conflicts upon which our age has fallen—had you thus taught the infidel, the drunkard, the profane to hate you, and to mingle your name with their ribaldries—had ultraists and radicals of one sort and another, dreading your influence, spit out their venom against you—had the apostles of godless and destructive dogmas that would demoralize society and undermine the state, honored you with their maledictions—had the guardians of lifeless traditions in theology, the money-changers in the temple courts, and the setters up of images and hollow impositions in the church, learned to fear you as the scourge of God—then, though doubtless you would have had some qualifications which as yet you have not, you would have gained those qualifications at the expense of something of that accurate and thorough scholarship; and not only so, but you might have been, perhaps, in some respects, too much of a man for us; we might have feared, and wisely feared, to put you in this place; we might even have thought, and you might have thought with us, that

your influence had grown too high to be transplanted, and that you had shaped for yourself a sphere of light and power from which you could not well be spared.

You have already been admonished by the feeble but empoisoned shafts which sectarian jealousy has pointed at you, that it is one thing to be an inoffensive professor of Greek, and quite another thing to be, even in prospect, a Puritan minister of the Gospel. Yes, brother, it is so. You cannot be faithful as a minister of Christ in that high post where we are placing you, without being a mark at which the enemies of the great moral and religious interests for which this College has its being, will hurl their missiles. No! such an exemption from the ordinary lot of conspicuous fidelity to Christ and truth, cannot be accorded to more than one man in a century. Your ministry for Christ, instead of being like that of your immediate predecessor, whose venerable presence, still in the flesh, adds so peculiar a dignity to this occasion,—may be expected (such is the crisis to which we are coming) to resemble more the ministry of *his* predecessor, your own illustrious kinsman, and of every other one in that bright series of the dead, whose unseen presence we seem to feel mingling with these glad solemnities. Yes, Woolsey! be a man—a man of God—in that post of duty; and you will not be long in learning what it is to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ." You shall partake of the same experience, of which others, once your youth's compeers, have already partaken. You too shall know how hard it is, to have men fear you and hate you because you stand the sworn servant and champion of obnoxious truth. You too shall groan in your night watches, with something of a prophet's agony when he feels the burthen of God's word upon his soul, "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast born me a man of strifes!" And yet in all that "hardness" you shall have joys which, in services less arduous, you have not tasted. There is a high exulting joy, in being thus identified

with those immortal and emancipating truths in which lies all the promise of the soul's salvation and of the world's deliverance from the curse. There is a joy, like that of warrior angels, in contending earnestly for the faith,—a joy, all sympathy with heaven, in ministering for Christ to instruct and guide and protect them that shall be heirs of salvation, knowing the while that the eternal strength of truth and of God surrounds us. This pays for the smart of wounds in "the good fight," and turns the defacing scar into a glorious record. "In the world," saith the Savior—and it is a word for all his true apostles to the end of time—"in the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." We thank thee, Savior, for that cheering word. Thine, O Lord, is the victory; and thou wilt make us conquerors in thy conquests. "He that goeth forth weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves."

CHARGE

AT THE

ORDINATION.

BY

REV. NOAH PORTER, D. D.,

Pastor of the First Church in Farmington.

CHARGE.

As ministers of Christ, we are divinely admonished to assume no authority over each other. "One is our Master, even Christ, and all we are brethren." Yet custom and fitness suggest the giving of a charge as one part of the form of induction into office. The charge, however, which Christ's ministers give to the brother whom they recognize and set apart as called of Christ to partake with them in their ministry, is only the recognition of that charge which he who is the "Head of all principality and power," and who has appointed the ministry itself, gives to those whom he calls to serve him in the work of the Gospel.

As you then, my beloved brother, receive the office to which you have now been consecrated by the ministers of Christ assembled in council for this purpose, not from them, but from Christ, who has called you; so also the suggestions which it is devolved on me to address to you in their behalf, will be authoritative to you only by virtue of their accordance with his instructions. We who give you this charge are only his servants, acting under the same responsibilities with you. Your peculiar relations may differ from ours; but our ministry is the same with yours. As the ancient prophets received their charge from God to go and teach and warn men in his name; as the Apostles went forth preaching the Gospel, charged by Him of whom the Eternal Father had said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and as Timothy received it in charge from Paul as an

inspired Apostle "to preach the word;" so you, called by the grace of God to the same office with them, will consider yourself as having received your charge from the same authority, and will often recur to it in the instructions which our Lord gave to his more immediate disciples when he addressed them as his witnesses to mankind, and in their corresponding instructions to their associates and successors; —and while it is only to a very small part of these that the present occasion will permit me particularly to refer you, you will consider yourself charged no less with those of which I make no express mention, than with those which I may distinctly present to you.

It has been already said that it is with particular reference to the office to which you are called in this College, that you are ordained a minister of Christ; and it is in prospect of your induction into that office and your discharge of its high functions that the present solemnities have their peculiar interest, and as we believe a special pertinency and impressiveness.

It is not to be forgotten that this institution was founded by the churches of Connecticut, and preëminently for the service of the churches, and with the primary design of its furnishing them with a succession of thoroughly educated Christian ministers; and that it was therefore put under the instruction and direction of Christian ministers, as its President and Fellows. And although in the assumed relations of the College to the civil state, and its wider bearing upon the interests of our country and the world, this design has not the same proportionate share in the economy of the College, it has yet never lost any measure of its importance; nor is it less dear to the churches; and were it now to be abandoned, or to be merged in objects merely secular, the institution would lose its peculiar hold upon their affections, and, at no distant period find itself no longer the *alma mater* of their sons. It will then belong to you, brother, as a Christian minister, presiding over this venerable seat of learning,

to be true to the design of its founders,—to preserve its purity as "a school of the prophets" in connection with its varied learning and comprehensive scope as a University.

Nor do we deem it less important for the other ends of a liberal education, than for the Christian ministry, that this institution be under a decidedly Christian influence. The relation of our great literary institutions to all the important interests of our country and the world cannot be unknown to any one who is at all acquainted with them, though it is duly appreciated by few and can be fully comprehended by none. Forming as they do the educated mind, they also form, through the mind which they educate, the mass of the common mind; and so their influence, like the air of heaven, is all pervading and carries life or death with the healthful or noxious principles that impregnate it. But it is the Gospel alone that can make or preserve these fountains pure. The Gospel is the wisdom of God in its adaptation to the social and intellectual renovation and improvement of man, as well as his spiritual emancipation and perfection; and to his civil relations and all his useful enterprises, as well as his eternal salvation. With these views we consider ourselves bound, as guardians of this institution, to secure, as far as we are able, to all who may resort to it, a Christian education; to provide that Christian principles and a Christian spirit may imbue its instructions and discipline, and by that means to diffuse the healing power of the Gospel into all the relations and departments of society as far as the influence of the institution may reach. We therefore charge you, our beloved President, in whose agreement with our views in this respect, and in whose wisdom and integrity to carry out the design we entirely confide, to be faithful to this trust. Depending on the coöperation of your respected associates, the most of them long tried, we charge you to preserve this institution of learning, in the character of its instructions, in the direction of its studies,

in the administration of its discipline, in its religious faith and worship, in its entire influence, a Christian institution. This obligation would be incumbent on its President were he only a Christian layman. But we give it in charge to you distinctly and especially as being ordained, with reference to this high trust, a Christian minister. And if, in this view you feel the responsibilities of the office to be surpassingly great, so also will be the honor and the everlasting blessedness of a faithful discharge of it. For my own part, I can hardly conceive of a station more to be desired, by man or angel, with grace sufficient for it, than that of presiding over some hundreds of gifted minds, in a course of liberal and Christian education, to go forth year by year into all quarters of the world, and to exert upon its millions, destined to immortality, the power which such an education imparts. Here, brother, you will find scope for all the endowments that God has given you, and, leaning on his grace, will rejoice in your increased advantages for holding up to the world, the instructive contrast which reformed Christianity is presenting between a truly liberal education and one fettered by superstition or perverted by Infidelity :— between the education which gives to learning all its rights —full freedom and independence to minister light and aid to our spiritual nature, and that education which holds learning in subjection to the purposes of an ambitious priesthood, or that which robs it of its noblest bearings and mightiest incentives under the influence of an unbelieving rationalism. Such an employment with such an object, surely is not incompatible with the sacred calling to which you are now ordained. If tent making did not interfere with the sacred work of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, "working with his hands," surely the work of educating the youth of our country, if it be rightly performed, will not at all interfere with your sacred calling as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. "Thou therefore—be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus."

As the head of the College, you will be a spiritual guide to the students. Though not formally the pastor of the Church, you will yet, from the nature of your office, share with the pastor in his responsibilities. From their instructors generally, and from you as the head of the College especially, they will borrow their religious character much in the proportion of your hold upon their confidence and affection. With what peculiar impressiveness, will they be led by your ministrations to the throne of divine mercy and receive from your hands the emblems of the great sacrifice for sin! Who that witnessed similar ministrations by Dwight, or by your immediate predecessor, does not recall them with grateful recollections of their sacredness and utility? Who is ignorant of the peculiar facilities which your predecessors have had as Christian ministers, for impressing the Gospel upon the minds of the students? What friend of religion can consent that in your administration, these facilities shall be lost? How naturally will the students listen to the Gospel from your lips, as from a common father, on whatever occasions you may address it to them! In the hours of thoughtfulness and inquiry, how naturally will they seek the spiritual guidance of those whom they are accustomed to meet and to venerate as their guides in the paths of science! And must it not be an interesting office to afford them that guidance, removed as they are from paternal care, in the spring time of life, and as the years pass along that are blessed above all others with the influences of divine grace? Oh yes—their guardians and teachers—more especially those of them who have been set apart to the Christian ministry—have a responsibility in this matter which eternity alone will fully reveal. That you, as the head of the institution, may the more distinctly recognize that responsibility, and that your responsibility may be more distinctly recognized by others, and especially by those committed to your paternal care, you have now been ordained to this office; and we do accordingly charge you to fulfil it with all tender-

ness and faithfulness. "Feed my lambs:" "Feed my sheep:" is the charge of the Great Shepherd, when he asks the proof of your love.

This College, founded by immediate descendants of our Puritan fathers, cherishes their faith, and their mode of worship and of Church Government and discipline. Yet does it not less cherish the spirit of catholicism, as opposed alike to spiritual intolerance and sectarian favoritism. It would hold sacred the universal right of private judgment; it would welcome to its privileges, all, with no distinction of faith; and would allow them the free enjoyment of the modes of worship and of Church Government which they judge most agreeable to the word of God. The known liberality of the College, in these respects, we have no occasion to urge you, in the discharge of your appropriate functions, as a minister of the Gospel, to maintain. Nor, on the other hand, will you give countenance to that mis-named liberality, which makes nothing of Christianity, more than what belongs to the religion of nature. Especially, in preaching to the students, (for you will not fail to consider yourself bound, as you may be able and occasion shall be offered, to preach to the students,) you will preach the true Gospel of the grace of God; will preach it fully and plainly; will preach it in the adaptation of its glorious truths and high demands to the character and circumstances of your charge;—thoughtfully but not abstrusely;—with great dignity and yet with great simplicity; not to man in general, nor to the busy world, nor yet to the world of philosophers, statesmen or divines; but to the world of students,—the most peculiar, in some respects, of all worlds—intellectual and yet impulsive—emancipated, in great measure, from the restraints of the family, and not yet owning the restraints of society—encompassed with multiplied dangers, and moving forward to the stage of active life with some of the highest hopes that belong to man.

Yet as a minister of the Gospel, you will not lose sight of the extensive object of your commission. While the principal scene of your labors must of course be here, you will feel that you sustain a new and important relation to the religious world; and that you have been set apart, by these solemnities, to such public duties indicated by that relation, and you may be able, amidst your many official cares and labors, to perform. Especially will you consider yourself as sustaining a new and important relation to those churches of this state and of sister states, with their pastors, to which this beloved seat of learning has so long been a bond of union, and a fountain of light and life; and you will be drawn into an intercourse and sympathy with them, which, as it will be to them most welcome, to you, we trust, will be encouraging and enlivening. In view of all these things, you will perceive that we do not make you a minister, that you may be the President of the College, but that as President of the College, you may do the work which belongs to a minister of Christ.

I know, brother, the oppressive sense of responsibility which these suggestions may tend to produce; but I also know who hath said, "As thy days so shall thy strength be;" and I doubt not that in the experience of his promised strength, renewed day by day, you will find your new sphere as full of happy and healthful excitement, as it will be of responsibility and care.

And now I have only to add the words of Paul to his son Timothy:—"Be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Take heed unto thyself and unto the doctrine; continue in them, for in so doing thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."

ADDRESS

AT GIVING THE

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP.

BY

REV. THEOPHILUS SMITH,

Pastor of the Church in New Canaan.

ADDRESS.

My dear Brother:

You have been already fully ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry. That ordination, of itself, makes you one of our number, and entitles you to all the rights and privileges of a minister in our connection. But it is our custom, and it accords well with Apostolic usage, publicly to greet those whom we introduce into the sacred office, and bid them welcome to our society. This pleasing duty has been assigned to me. In behalf, therefore, of this ecclesiastical council, and of all the ministers of this State, in our connection, I give you the right hand of our fellowship. Receive it, dear brother, as a token of our strong confidence in your piety, your soundness in the faith, your ability and aptness to teach, and your fidelity in respect to the great spiritual trust now committed to your charge. We cordially welcome you to the work of watching for the souls of men, and preaching to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Receive, also, this right hand as a pledge that we will be faithful to you. We will give you our best counsel and assistance. We will be faithful to your good name. We will interpret your words and actions, in the spirit of Christian charity. We will hope well respecting your success. And, remembering the important relation which you are to sustain to our youth, our churches, and our common country, we will *pray for you*, that God may preserve your life and health,

that he may illuminate your understanding, that he may strengthen you with might, by his Spirit, in the inner man, that he may help you to open your mouth boldly and speak as you ought to speak; and finally, that he may accept your ministry, and crown it with success in the salvation of the young men committed to your charge.

THE

INAUGURATING ADDRESS.

BY

Rev. JEREMIAH DAY, D. D., LL. D.,

Senior Fellow and late President.

ADDRESS.

TO THE PRESIDENT ELECT.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—As you have been duly elected President of Yale College, and have signified your acceptance of the appointment; the Board of Trust have authorized me to perform, at this time, the ceremony of your induction into office. In their name, therefore, I put into your hands, and commit to your charge, the charter, the laws, and the seal of the College, and I declare you to be invested with authority to preside over, to instruct, and to govern the College; and confer on you the powers, the responsibilities, and the privileges which, by the charter, and the laws of the institution, belong to the Presidency.

Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, not that you are introduced to a situation of literary ease, for you will find an ample field for the employment of your intellectual powers, and stores of learning, and physical ability;—not that you have received an appointment of dignity and distinction, for the honor of the place belongs not to the mere possession of it, but to a faithful and successful performance of its duties;—not that the act of the Trustees invests you with *qualifications* not previously possessed: But I congratulate you, that you have now an opportunity of bringing all your powers, and treasures of literature, to bear upon the single purpose of *doing good;* of enlarging and influencing the minds of hundreds of youth, gathered from all parts of our widely extended country, to be expanded and moulded, under your

superintendence and guidance. I congratulate you, that you have the advantage of long experience, in the government and instruction of the College: that in encountering obstacles which will undoubtedly be thrown across your path, you may rely on the firm support of a wise and unwavering Board of Trust, and the efficient coöperation of an harmonious band of Instructors. I especially congratulate you, that you will be engaged in a cause in which, with humble dependence on aid from above, you may expect the sustaining power of Him who is every where present, and the rewards which he alone can bestow.

TO THE AUDIENCE.

I have now to ask the indulgence of the audience, while I make a plain statement of the appropriate duties of the President of a college. He is to have a general supervision of all the interests and literary pursuits of the institution; and to take such part in its instruction and government, as is not allotted to the other officers associated with him. To do this successfully, he must have a distinct apprehension of the nature and object of an American college; of such a college as this is intended to be.

What then *is* a college? It is not, or ought not to be, a mere academy or high-school, with the trifling appendage of a legal authority to confer degrees. It is a wide departure from the appropriate design of a college, to make its course of instruction practically the same as that of a thousand schools of learning in our land: to undertake to compete with them in teaching, with rail-road expedition, a little of every thing.

On the other hand, a college is not, in the proper sense, a university. Each of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in England is a collection of numerous colleges. In Germany, a university consists of instructors and students in the three professions of theology, medicine, and law, togeth-

er with a fourth class, prosecuting advanced studies in the higher departments of science and literature. The branches taught in our colleges are requisite for *admission* to the German universities. The institution which, in that country, most nearly corresponds to an American college is the gymnasium, in which are taught the *elements* of literature and science, preparatory to the higher studies of the university. We have, in New Haven, the professional institutions of Medicine, Law, and Theology. If to these were added, under the same Board of Trust, a philosophy class, consisting of students far advanced in the higher departments of learning; we should then have, even without the College, the form of a German University. But in this country, we are too ready to be satisfied with the name, without even the form, certainly without the substance of a university. Some which are chartered with this high sounding title, are inferior, in point of literary attainment, even to the gymnasia or grammar schools of Europe. Was there ever a people more under the influence of unmeaning sounds? The Chancellor of one of our chartered universities, who, so far as appears, is its only instructor, states that as the institution has no public buildings, he has taught the students in an apartment in his own dwelling house.

The arrangements in some of the seminaries of learning in this country have been most absurdly copied from institutions in Europe, to which ours have scarcely any resemblance, except in name. But whether we have, or have not, in New Haven, a claim to the title of a university, the labors and responsibilities of the President are almost wholly confined to the College proper. This is his appropriate sphere of action, though as a member of the Board of Trustees, he may have a nominal relation to the professional departments.

What then is the specific object at which the President of a college, not the Chancellor of a university, should aim, in the discharge of the duties of his office. It is not to *begin*

the education of the students. That has previously been done, in the preparatory schools. I should rejoice to be able to say, that the preparation for admission into College is commonly made as it ought to be. But here is the radical defect, in the course of a liberal education in this country. It is idle to think of elevating the character of our colleges, as long as the students are admitted into them, with hurried and superficial preparation. The fault is not to be charged to the instructors of the preparatory schools. They would do their duty well, if not prevented by the preposterous demands of *parents*, who are ready to forfeit the privilege of a thorough education for their children, for the sake of gaining a few months of time. In this country, speed is every thing; superior excellence, a secondary consideration.

It is not, however, the proper design of a collegiate course, to *finish* a liberal education. It is impossible to teach every thing in four years. It should be the aim of a college to lay a solid *foundation*, upon which an elevated superstructure can be afterwards reared; not such a foundation as can be laid by every school in the country; not the basis of such an education as every individual throughout the community can obtain; but a foundation deep and broad, capable of sustaining the highest standard of literary eminence which can any where be found.

A collegiate course is not intended to embrace, but designedly excludes those particular branches which belong respectively to the different professions, occupations, and practical arts. It comprises those only which ought to be well understood by *every* man of liberal education. It should be the aim of the instructors to send forth their pupils well furnished with the *elements* of literature and science.

But to store their minds richly with the materials of knowledge, is not the only, nor even the principal object of the undergraduate course. Intellectual *discipline* is a higher attainment than acquiring learning by instruction. The stu-

dies and literary exercises of a college should be adapted to call into full play the inventive powers of the students; to task their capacity of controlling and invigorating their own habits of thought; to develop and regulate the imagination, to strengthen the reasoning faculties, to form the judgment to the exercise of nice and correct discrimination.

A still more imperative demand of a public course of instruction, is the bringing of the whole, as far as practicable, under the guidance of *moral* and *religious* principle; rendering the students familiar with inspired truth; giving vigor to the regulating influence of conscience; cultivating benevolent and spiritual affections; presenting the motives which are drawn from divine and eternal realities; training the soul for heaven, and the blissful rewards of immortality.

Moral and religious principles are not cultivated, as many suppose, at the expense of intellectual improvement. Though there are instances of students of good talents, who have a perverse ambition to show the possibility of uniting superior scholarship with habits of dissipation; and on the other hand, some who are pious are too remiss in their efforts to extend the influence of their piety, by rapid advances in knowledge; yet these are exceptions to the general rule. Long observation has shown, that the poorest scholars are commonly found among the idle and vicious; and that close application to study is one of the most effectual guards against the temptations to which students are exposed.

The *geographical* position of a college is not to be disregarded by those to whom its interests are intrusted. The President and his associates have occasion to look well to their latitude and longitude, to enable them to adapt their measures to the region from which their pupils are to be drawn, and the field of action upon which their graduates are to enter. Yale College is not a German University or Gymnasium, filled with young men who must either be successful in their studies or starve; accustomed to be gov-

erned, not by the influence of their instructors, but by civil authority, enforced by military sanctions; looking for future promotion, not from the patronage of fellow citizens of a free republic, but from the favor of an absolute monarch.

It is, and ought to be, very different from a college in a large commercial *city*, where most of the students remain in the families of their parents, and under their immediate inspection; and where the plan of education is accommodated to the peculiar tastes, and pursuits, and interests of a mercantile population. It is not situated in the *interior* of New-England, where the students in the colleges belong mostly to the neighboring agricultural region; and where, from the similarity of their condition in early life, a good degree of uniformity in their character may be expected. But it is on the coast, in a place of easy access from all parts of the United States; bringing together young men of great diversity of character, early education, and habits of life. It has its location in the rural city of New Haven; a place distinguished for its quiet, and good order, and moral and religious character; but still containing numerous haunts of dissipation, ready to allure to perdition the youth who dares to enter their fatal inclosures.

A subject which requires much of the attention and solicitude of a President of this College, is that of providing and applying the *pecuniary means* which are necessary for sustaining the institution. We are not in the vicinity of an opulent city, abounding in men of ample fortunes and liberal views, who may be relied upon to contribute bountifully all that is wanted, not only for the necessary support of a college, but for its splendid endowment. What we can expect to receive from the generosity of individuals, must be in moderate sums, and on the condition that it be expended with very strict economy. If we can be supplied with the essentials of a literary establishment, we must be willing to dispense with some of its elegancies and luxuries. Unceas-

ing vigilance over the financial department is necessary, to prevent the annual expenditure from overbalancing the income. It is extremely hazardous to rely upon charitable contributions, for the payment of old debts.

The main dependence of the College for its pecuniary support, must be the term bills of the students. It would be unwise to throw upon them the *whole* expense of their education. The public have provided for them buildings, philosophical and chemical apparatus, a library, and a cabinet of minerals. But the expense of *instruction* is to be defrayed principally from the charges for tuition. If these are not kept at a moderate rate, the privileges of the College will be mainly confined to the rich. Young men in moderate circumstances will resort to cheaper colleges for their education. But in literary institutions, the rich and the poor should meet together. While the one class aid in defraying the expenses of a college, the other render it more important service, by elevating its moral and religious character. The best materials for a seminary of learning, are the youth who are dependent on their education for professional success, and elevation in society. The point in which a college situated as ours is, is in most danger of failing, is in the preservation of good order, sobriety, industry, and economy. Success in maintaining these must depend very much upon the character of those who are admitted here. As the government is one of *influence*, not of restraint and terror, it is essential to its preservation, that there be a majority of the students on the side of good order, and assiduous application. It is the wise policy of our Northern colleges, to give special encouragement to those who are in moderate or indigent circumstances. These, by their salutary influence, induce others to resort to the same institutions. We have a line of colleges in the interior of New England, mainly supplied with students of this character. It is a point of great moment to the interests of Yale, to adhere to a course of meas-

ures which will secure a fair proportion of this class. The sons of the opulent too frequently bring discredit on the College, by setting examples of extravagant expenditure and dissipation. To this general remark, however, there are many honorable exceptions.

There are two very diverse methods of filling a college with students. One is adapted to *immediate* effect. The other has a *permanent* operation. The former accomplishes its purpose, by making it easy for the student to gain access to the college, and even to any stage of advanced standing; by not making the examinations of the classes so strict as to rule out any who have once gained admittance; by rarely cutting off any for disorderly conduct; by making its course of instruction popular and dazzling, rather than solid and useful; by conferring degrees on all who can be kept in the institution, till the appointed time of receiving these testimonials of literary merit. This system of measures has its intended effect for a time. Who would not enter a college in which the terms of admission and continuance and graduation are so accommodating?

But there is another side to the account. The graduate who has been hurried into and over his collegiate course, when he enters a professional seminary, or goes abroad among men of solid attainments, has occasion to measure himself with those who have been more substantially taught, and discovers that there is a difference between a partial and a thorough education; that as he has conferred no great honor on his diploma, it has conferred little on him; that distinguished scholarship is not the result of hasty and superficial study. Parents also who have sons to be educated begin to inquire, whether there is not a *difference* between one seminary of learning and another; whether all diplomas are of equal credit, in public estimation; whether labor-saving colleges, like many patented machines, do not turn out an article of secondary value; whether that which costs little, of either money or study, is not cheap, in more senses than one.

The youth who aspires to any thing above mediocrity will *pass by* the college in which he can obtain little more than the name of an education; and will go on, till he finds one which actually teaches what it professes to teach. Novel projects of hasty and partial courses of instruction, in our literary institutions, are received with special favor, when first proposed. The colleges or academies which adopt them increase in numbers, for a short time; and as rapidly decline, when the merits of the new measures are tested by their results.

The way, then, for a college to secure an adequate and *permanent* supply of students, is to place its reliance for numbers wholly on its literary, and moral, and religious *character;* not to receive any who have not the requisite qualifications for admission; not to retain an unworthy member, for the sake of swelling the number on the catalogue; not to confer degrees on any who are undeserving of this testimony of merit. The way to render a diploma an object of ambition, is to make it a voucher for real scholarship. It is hazardous for a college to act upon the plan of acquiring numbers first, and character afterwards. If its character is well established, the numbers will come. It is neither probable nor desirable, that a college without character should be permanently supplied with students.

There is one expedient for gaining favor and patronage for a college, which may be considered a measure of very questionable policy;—that of being liberal in the distribution of *doctorates.* Where one individual is gratified, by receiving this mark of distinction, ten others may be disappointed that they themselves are overlooked. Besides, these academic honors are so plentifully bestowed, by our hundred colleges, that the commodity is very much cheapened in the market.

Among the various interests which come under the superintendence of the President of a college, that which will

probably give him the least anxiety is the *instruction.* If none but able, judicious, and faithful men are appointed to office in the institution; if there is a systematic division and allotment of the subjects to be taught, so as to preclude the interference of one with another; and if these are so distributed, that each instructor may know distinctly the part which he has to perform, and will feel the responsibility which belongs to it; there is little danger that the instruction will not be carried on with ability, and ardor, and success. Under these conditions, the motives presented are sufficient to secure intense and assiduous application of the powers and literary resources of those to whom the several departments are assigned.

The most difficult problem by far, in the management of a college, is its *discipline.* Were there no necessity for this, the business of the instructors might justly be ranked among the most eligible of all employments. But the discipline which they are called to maintain requires so much skill, and such incessant and self-denying vigilance, that in some institutions of learning, particularly in Europe, it seems to be nearly abandoned as impracticable. It would be far better to abolish our colleges at once, than to attempt to carry forward intellectual education, at a sacrifice of the moral character of the students. If at the age when they are commonly admitted, they are left to corrupt each other, and to plunge into dissipation and vice; they will be prepared, when they go forth into the world, to spread a moral pestilence, wherever their literary superiority will give them a commanding influence. There was good reason for the deep solicitude of that most distinguished instructor and guardian of youth, President Dwight, on this subject. When, in his last hours, he was inquired of, whether he had any directions to give respecting the College, he merely expressed his desire that its discipline might be preserved. Parents will not send their sons, at this critical age, to an institution

in which no effectual provision is made for their moral and religious interests.

All will agree that order and morality must be maintained in a college. But it is not so easy to determine *how* this is to be effected. It is not by relying solely or mainly upon the law of the land, as is the case in the German universities, where, according to the report of travelers, even the theological students are in the practice of fighting duels on the Sabbath. The statutes of a state or a city might as well be relied on, for the regulation of a family of children, as for the discipline of a college.

The early age of our students, which renders college government necessary, determines what should be the *nature* of that government. The imminent dangers to which they are exposed are to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the fact, that at this most critical period of life, they are withdrawn from the immediate superintendence and influence of their parents. The government in a college, which becomes a substitute for government in the family, should resemble it, as much as possible, in its peculiar character. What then is the nature of the discipline, in a well regulated family? It is not mainly a government of restraint and terror, but of mild and persuasive influence. It maintains its authority, not by commands and threatenings, but by that winning and all-pervading kindness which touches, more powerfully than law and penalty, the springs of voluntary action. That respect and affection for teachers which are essential to the best administration of college government are mostly secured by daily intercourse with the students, in the way of giving them instruction. For this reason, it is a practical principle in Yale College, that no one is to have any share in the government who is not also an instructor.

Although moral and persuasive influence should be the chief agency, in the police of a college; yet this is not to be relied on, as superseding *entirely* the necessity of punish-

ment. In seminaries of learning, as well as in political communities, there are refractory spirits, which nothing but the penalties of law will restrain. In a state, a family, or a college, that must be a defective government if it deserves the name of government, which admits of *no* punishment. On the other hand, where punishments are frequent, there must be a great deficiency of that moral influence upon which the prevention of crimes principally depends. It has been said, by an eminent philosopher and statesman, with a near approximation to the truth, that the great art of government consists in *not governing too much.* It would be more correct to say, that it consists in governing *just enough;* neither too much, nor too little: and still more exactly true, that it consists in conducting the government in *such a way,* that it shall be as *little felt* as possible, except in its successful results. This by no means implies, that a government thus administered requires less mental labor, than any other, less constant vigilance, less application of wisely concerted measures. On the contrary, it calls for all the resources of wisdom and benevolent effort, so to adapt the means to the end, as to secure the desired results, with the least possible interference with the interests and feelings of the governed. It requires incessant supervision, but not incessant action. It imitates the example of a distinguished member of our revolutionary Congress, who was a silent observer in his seat, as long as he saw that the proceedings were taking a right direction. His voice was heard only when he observed that something was going wrong. A faithful and discreet officer of the college has his eye upon the minutest deviations from correct deportment. But he may suffer them to pass without censure, if he sees no danger that they will grow into evils of formidable magnitude. He distinguishes between the harmless light of the glowworm, and the spark which is falling on a magazine of powder.

The best college government is that which occasions the least observation, except by its success. Public punishment

may be sometimes necessary. But the benign influence which is continually moulding the character, and regulating the deportment of students, is like the silent dew, which manifests itself only by the charm which it spreads over the verdure of the morning. All *display* of authority, all discipline proceeding from the love of power, is to be scrupulously avoided.

It is not sufficient that this College be maintained in its present position. It must not only be preserved from declension, but must be continually advancing. This is no time for giving it the monotonous stability of a monkish institution. The world around us is in motion: While other colleges are pushing forward, with ardor and energy, in the career of improvement, Yale must not be stationary. Sciences, and departments of literature, unknown to a former age, are claiming a rank among long established courses of study. There is an unprecedented demand for the application of scientific principles to the practical arts of life. The rapidity with which mechanical operations are performed, and the social and commercial intercourse of the world are effected by steam, seems to call for some corresponding power wheel, in our plans of education.

But improvements in the course of study in a college are among the most difficult and perplexing subjects presented to the consideration of its guardians and officers. Of the endless variety of projects proposed, probably not one in ten will be adopted, without essential modifications, by an experienced and judicious board of instructors. A man of sound judgment who looks attentively at the subject, in its various relations, will soon come to the conclusion, that by no combination of modes of instruction, can every thing be taught in four years; that innovation is not of course improvement; that every change is not a *forward* movement; that many proposed methods of teaching are adapted to academies, rather than colleges; that others belong to the professional departments, or to the period in which the student is to

finish his own education, after having laid a solid foundation in the college; that some new and valuable branches of study cannot be introduced, without crowding out others of far greater value; and that many of the changes which we so frequently hear proposed are better fitted for other states of society, other national characteristics, other forms of government, than for ours. Stability as well as progress, is wanted in colleges. When changes are, from time to time, made, we must beware of losing what we have already gained; of substituting untried measures, for those which, for many centuries, have had the united voice of the literary world in their favor. If useful and ornamental branches are *annexed* to the regular collegiate course, let it be done in such a way, as not to impair its solidity and beauty. While the tree is, from year to year, spreading wider and wider its towering branches, great care must be taken, that the *trunk* be preserved sound and healthy. It is preposterous to think of advancing the higher orders of studies, while such as constitute the necessary preparation for these have not been thoroughly mastered. The battlements and decorations of the tower are not to be put on, before the foundation is laid.

It would require much more time than can now be allowed me, to specify the numerous improvements which have been proposed for our literary institutions. I will mention only one, as a specimen. It has been recommended that the instructors in our colleges should obtain their support, not from stated *salaries*, but from *fees*, to be paid by the students who choose to attend on their instructions. It is urged that, in no other way, will the necessary stimulants be presented to professional industry. This is one of Adam Smith's applications of his principles of political economy to seminaries of learning. It supposes that in literature, as well as in trade, the supply is proportioned to the pecuniary demand.

Is it then true, that those are the ablest and best instructors who are most under the influence of mercenary motives? —that the love of gain is the most powerful stimulus to

activity in the discharge of official duties?—that it secures most effectually the fidelity of Professors and Tutors?—that without this, neither moral and religious principle, nor the obligations of office, nor enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge, and love of communicating it, will be found sufficient to call forth the highest efforts of lecturers and teachers?

Consider how greatly the course of studies in a college will be modified, by leaving it to the option of the students to decide, to what branches of learning they shall apply themselves; on whose instructions they shall attend. According to the present arrangements in most of our colleges, the subjects taught are determined by those who have not only learned their value, by studying them themselves, but have had opportunity of witnessing their practical applications to the business of life. They are well qualified to judge of the comparative importance of different branches of study. But according to the innovation proposed, the student is to make his selection of subjects, *before* he knows their nature, from his own investigations. Those which are really the most important, those which constitute the most essential portion of a thorough education, are not those which will most probably attract his attention, and engage his preference. He will be inclined to select the easy, the entertaining, the showy; rather than the solid and practically important.

The character of the *instructions* will also be determined by the fancies and tastes of the pupils. If the primary object of the teacher is to enlarge his income, by increasing the number of his hearers, he will, like an itinerant lecturer, aim to make his communications popular rather than solid and useful. He will bring forward novel and brilliant theories, rather than weighty and well established truths. It will be his object to dazzle by the splendor of his diction and imagery, rather than instruct by a clear and convincing array of facts and arguments; to captivate the imagination, rather than enrich and invigorate the understanding.

All *discipline* in our colleges must be at an end, when the pecuniary support of the instructors is made immediately dependent on the option of the students. If *any* government remains, it will be a government exercised by the pupils over their teachers. The proper police of a college requires united and harmonious action of all the members of the Faculty. But what can more effectually kindle jealousy and discord among them, than to render them rival candidates for the pecuniary patronage of the students?

On this point, as well as on many others, we may see the importance of the distinction between the college proper, and the professional departments of a university. When young men have arrived at the age at which they commonly receive the Bachelor's degree, when they have become well versed in the elementary principles of science and literature, and when they understand that their success in the business of life must depend on the manner in which they prosecute their professional studies; they may then be qualified to select for themselves the subjects which they are to investigate, and the instructions on which they are to attend. In this stage of education, there is also comparatively little occasion for the exercise of discipline.

Able and faithful instructors in our colleges, are entitled to an honorable support. But far distant be the day, when the love of gain shall be, with them, the highest stimulus to effort. We are stigmatized abroad, as being a money-seeking nation. If there are just grounds for this reproach; if a passion for gain pervades all the common departments of industry and enterprise; if it spreads corruption through our political institutions; if even offices of honor and trust are sought for, because they are thought to be lucrative; let there be at least one field of public labor which the baleful influence of avarice will not reach. Let it not pollute the fountains of our literature. Let it not invade the hallowed precincts of our seminaries of learning.

THE

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE.

BY

Rev. THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY, LL.D.,

President of Yale College.

DISCOURSE.*

When an individual, who has served his college half a generation, is simply transferred from one post to another, it seems hardly *necessary* that he should set forth his views of college education, or explain the principles according to which his own conduct is to be shaped. As for him, he has been known and read of all men acquainted with the institution where he is placed: as for college education, it is to be presumed that he will merely carry out, according to his ability, principles already established. If revolutionary changes in discipline or teaching were demanded, the guardians of the college would call in from abroad some stranger, whose views had not been formed in the institution itself. To select an important officer within the bosom of the college, and from the number of the faculty, is a proof that persons best acquainted with the seat of learning expect no radical changes,—no improvements, even, but such as result from the system already received. And certainly, if such were not the case, it would be necessary to seek for an entirely new faculty. I speak in the name of the corps of teachers, when I say that, while we are sensible of imperfections adhering to us as individual teachers, and of other imperfections arising from want of means to carry out our system to its legitimate results, and of other imperfections still, derived from the newness of our country and the small

* In justice to himself, the author of this address ought to say that it was composed in the leisure of about a fortnight, at the busiest period of the College year, and under the first influence of the responsibility of a new office, in wearying mind and body. Nor has he had time, since it was delivered, to read it over.—Dec. 11, 1846.

demand here for the most finished education; we are also well convinced that the principles of our system are sound; and that its results, small as they are, are enough to encourage perseverance, and to discourage experiments in an opposite course. Yale College is from of old at once a conservative and an enterprising institution,—conservative of great principles, and of a system which long reflection and experience have approved; and enterprising in carrying forward that system towards its perfection as fast as its means and powers will allow. And so well convinced have its officers been of the general correctness and success of the scheme, that any thing like want of harmony, or important difference of opinion upon leading measures is almost unknown; we are all of the same college politics;—if I may so express myself, progressive conservatives, aiming at carrying out and carrying forward the principles understood and put in practice during the two administrations which have lasted for more than fifty years.

But although the circumstances under which I enter into this new office may not render it *necessary* to explain my views of the best practicable college system; it may yet be not unsuited to this occasion to enquire what the leading features of such a system will be, as contemplated from the highest point of view. In other words, what does Christianity say respecting the training of youth at the time of life, and in that state of their progress, when they become members of our higher institutions? To what conclusions must a Christian teacher come with respect to the effect on the minds of the young to be reached by him as a teacher, when he looks in the light of Christianity at science, at man, and at the ends of living here below? And I wish it to be observed that I speak of such a teacher in his vocation as a teacher simply: as a man and a Christian man, he may have important relations to his pupils, which arise from the fact that he is among them and in contact with them as a teacher. These relations I have nothing to do with now, and will leave them out of sight. They belong to a wider division

of Christian morality; and are so far dependent upon the peculiarities of the individual, that they cannot altogether be brought under general rules. What I aim at is a matter which, if it can be ascertained at all, must have an application to all teachers, notwithstanding their special traits of character; to all colleges, notwithstanding special differences of organization; to training every where, notwithstanding the peculiarities of national institutions and manners. It is to find out, if possible, what a mind thoroughly trained itself, and taught by experience, would say respecting education in colleges, when it looked at them from a Christian sphere, and contemplated them in their bearings on the best interests of man.

And in the very terms of this enquiry, I fear that there is something contained, which shows that I am not the fittest person to pursue it. If the subject fell to your part, Sir,* after the experience of nearly fifty years, and in the evening of what we all believe to be a truly Christian life, we should receive what you said as a legacy suitable to your character as a Christian instructor. It would indeed still be an ideal; —for who feels that in education we have reached the just measure of things, even so far as the theory is concerned? But it would be an ideal shaped by much thought, harmonizing with long experience, and sketched at an age when the false gloss of life and the tide of popular opinion have lost their sway over the mind of the mature Christian. I feel, Sir, that the best thing I can do is to climb with difficulty to a position, where I may have that view of my subject, which is an easy and a natural one for you.

The result aimed at by Christianity will be differently regarded, according as the passive or the active element predominates in the nation or the individual. To some it will appear as the purification of a vitiated nature,—the effort to reach perfection. And where this way of thinking pre-

* President Day, who was sitting by the side of the author of the address.

vails, there will be comparatively little inclination in the Christian to go out of himself in efforts to benefit his race. His virtues will be those of self-government, self-denial, and inward communion with God. His turn of mind will lead him to retirement, meditation and tranquil repose. To others, again, it will appear that to do good to mankind is the end which Christianity seeks to effect. Those who embrace this view of goodness, will spend their strength out of themselves. Their virtues will be benevolence and self-sacrifice. Their propensity will be to live in restless activity, to be urged forward by hope, to despise whatever is merely theoretical, and to look away from themselves. When this tendency becomes extreme, the principles by which the life of the soul is nourished, dry up; and the character becomes bustling and superficial, full of zeal, but deficient in true earnestness.

The man of well balanced mind will not, on the one hand, be too exclusively dazzled by a beautiful idea of perfection, nor, on the other, hurried forward by fervent longings for the accomplishment of good out of himself; but will unite both these views of character, and attempt to realize both in his own case. In him neither the passive nor the active element will predominate. He will feel that passive virtue is not the whole of virtue; that contemplation and solitude, not being the state for which man is made, will prevent rather than further his perfection; that truth itself needs the contact of society to be tested and rendered impressive. And yet, on the other side, he will feel that self-purification in itself considered, is a most important thing; that deep principles, and frequent meditation upon them, are necessary even to sustain active habits of an elevated range; and that perhaps the worst state into which a man or a nation can be brought, is to become exclusively practical; since without constant recurrence to fundamental truths, the good pursued becomes earthly instead of heavenly, and the mind loses its faith and its power.

If our remarks are just, the Christian teacher will try to avoid both of these extremes—that of overvaluing theory and the improvement of the individual; and that of ascribing value only to the practical results of education in society. The pursuits of a teacher give him naturally the first of these tendencies. He cannot help regarding science as of value in itself, and the communication of it, for its own sake, as a noble employment. Into the other of these tendencies, however, he may be led by the pressure of men without the walls of his seclusion; if he live in a practical age, and among a people of an active, energetic character, he may be led to believe that the exclusive aim in education is to fit young men for useful and respectable stations in life. Now Christianity comes in to correct the deficiences of both of these views. It says to the teacher, "the *means* which you employ have immense power upon the character which you form. Those means are truth in the form of science. If you mistake your means and teach science falsely so called, instead of the true, your end cannot be attained, for your means are corrupt at the core. But your *end* is of immense importance also. If you aim at qualifying young men to get a living merely, or to shine before others, to persuade and to govern them, you have an unworthy, groveling object in view; you degrade education; and your end must react upon your means, which will necessarily be divorced from truth and allied with sophistry. Your true end is to store the minds of your pupils with true principles, and fit them to discern, arrange and retain truth, in order to be useful in the highest sense of that word, in order that they may themselves be and may make others truly good."

For let it not be imagined that Christianity, in its highest manifestations, despises the useful. Even the philosophy of Plato did not go as far as that. The useful, properly understood, is the very point at which Christianity aims. The truly useful is the *good*, or the *means* to *attain* to the *good*. The utilitarian, so called, is not faulty in the direction which

he takes; he goes towards the right point of the compass, but keeps on a dead level, while the progress of the man who seeks the truly useful is always upwards.

These remarks furnish the basis of several principles touching the office of the Christian teacher, which, for the sake of impressing them upon the memory, we will enumerate under several heads, offering upon each the appropriate considerations.

In the first place, the Christian instructor will value *training* more than *knowledge.* For every use which we can make of our minds, a principle is worth far more than the knowledge of a thousand applications of the principle; a habit of thinking far more than a thousand thoughts to which the habit might lead; the increase of a power far more than a multitude of things accomplished by the power. For the principle, the habit, and the power, once possessed, are a part of the mind and go with it in its never ending progress, while the knowledge and the attainments may be soon forgotten or become useless. So it is in this world, and so it may be in the next. He who enters into another life with a great stock of knowledge only, may find it all superseded by higher forms of knowledge which he has no power to acquire; while he who should begin a new existence with his mind a mere blank leaf, but with perfectly disciplined powers, would soon be grappling with the philosophy of heaven. Just as the principle of goodness is more desirable than a million good acts without it, if you could suppose such a thing,—and that because the principle is eternal and the acts mere passing events,—just so the principles of sound thinking are more desirable than the greatest attainments of the most knowing among mankind. The mind is not to be thought of in education as a reservoir, as something merely receptive, but as a living spring, capable, under proper management, of throwing out larger and better streams.

The mind too, as trained, is fitted to explore higher truths with *safety,* while mere knowledge puffs up, leads to nothing

better and indeed in the early periods of life tends to exclude better things. The highly disciplined man never thinks that he knows *every thing*, never thinks that every thing *can* be known, and is therefore modest, teachable and believing. The man who has stores of knowledge without a well trained mind can hardly escape from self conceit, and is liable to credulity or skepticism. It is needless to say, which of these habits is most allied to the truly philosophical spirit or most favorable to Christian faith,—to the reception of the gospel as a little child.

There are views of education current in a part of society which go quite wide of the mark we have set up. Some, and among them, "*quicquid est hominum elegantiorum*," think the value of a college life to consist in a certain polish of mind derived chiefly from familiarity with the ancient classics. If a man can know so much of them as to be supplied with apt quotations in public speaking or in the company of men of taste, if the graceful epicureanism of Horace for instance, or the antique simplicity of Homer, is so permanent in his mind, that his memory can furnish him with allusions or with passages suited to every circumstance and character,* the end of education is thought to be accomplished. He is now qualified to move in a certain refined sphere for which no perennial fountain of principles would ever fit him. Such a view of education may be borne in lands where the minds of the upper classes are stagnant, where principles are established by law, and the liberty of thinking like that of "prophesying" is dreaded as the source of revolutions by the rulers; but it is intolerable in this country, where some more serious use must be made of our minds, if we would not have strong-minded but undisciplined men ride over us, and laugh at the little reach and application of our knowledge.

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* ———— ille profecto
Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.—*Hor.*

There are others, and not a few in this country, who would lay aside the old plans of education, and study, chiefly or exclusively, the natural sciences on account of the stores of knowledge which they contain. I am by no means willing to undervalue these branches of knowledge, and I shall presently point out one noble use to which they may be turned. But in *the early training* of the mind they are fitted to perform no great part: being built on observation and experiment, rather than on primary truths discerned by the reason, and assuming the form of systems chiefly according to the principle of resemblance and not through the exercise of the higher logical power, they do not tend to discipline our most important faculties. Hence very properly they are deferred to the *later* period of college life, where the *training* is nearly completed. I congratulate our College on the accession which we have lately received to our corps of instructors in these sciences; and I hope to see the time when a school in all these branches of knowledge shall induce many to reside here after finishing their college course. But it would be an injurious thing, if the option were left to students to devote themselves to such studies extensively at an earlier period. It would be to substitute knowledge for *training*, and by the kind of pursuit to prevent the greatest good for which colleges exist.

I cannot forbear, here, to mention another defective view of a collegiate education, referable to the same head, which however exists rather among students themselves, than among any of the various sectaries, who discuss the question how colleges should be managed. It is that the four years life within these walls is one of elegant leisure, in which the reading of works of genius, rather than study, is to be the occupation of each passing day. This heresy in education finds believers almost only among those, who indolently dread the conquest of difficulties which lie in the student's path, and are yet ambitious of shining before their fellows, as having extensive acquaintance with polite modern writers. Our

large libraries, to which all have free access, promote the growth of this heresy; and it is therefore our especial duty to counteract it by urgent warnings and motives. This is not the occasion to utter those warnings. It is enough to say that such persons are most imperfectly trained, and will find out that they are so, when they see themselves falling behind their sound-minded competitors who have taken another course. Nor is this strange, for they bear blossoms when they ought to be gathering internal strength. They not only do not grow, but positively weaken their minds and their moral powers. If they could understand what hard labor must be presupposed before a work of genius can be written, what earnestness of thinking it involves, what planning, what balancing, what alterations, if not on paper yet in the mind; how beauty and nature and sound thought in the arts require years of pain for their ripeness; they would see that it is not so easy a thing after all to comprehend critically a work of genius.

In fact, the hard study requisite to understand principles, does good to our characters as well as our minds. He who by close attention has mastered one branch of exact science, or who balancing probabilities decides at length how a written document is to be interpreted, becomes better fitted for the duties of self-government. Patient of labor, cautious, sagacious, exact, he can look with new eyes upon character, and is less prone than others to weariness in contending with his faults. He on the contrary who merely devours knowledge, leaves his moral powers at the end of his course as he found them, if he do not even vitiate them by overloading his mind.

In the second place, the Christian teacher will study to improve *all the parts of the mind*. No one can doubt that a wise man will feel the necessity of this: it may be less evident that it must be a result of Christianity. Yet a little reflection will make this obvious. Christianity is the great harmony in this world of God. It causes a harmony be-

tween the soul and him: it causes a harmony in the soul, between the reason and the desires. Can it be doubted then that it calls us to polish this "bright jewel of the mind" on all sides. It is the grand, beautifying principle; and as in the moral system, it aims at making a beautiful whole out of rightly arranged members, so in the microcosm of a single mind, must it aim at the production of beauty,—at a union and unity of proportionately developed parts. Furthermore, if God has formed all the powers and capacities of the soul, Christianity must evidently recognize it as his will, that they should all be cultivated so as to go on towards perfection together. He who thinks otherwise, who from wrong religious views, for instance, would neglect the mind for the heart, or repress some powers of the mind because they are dangerous, will be revenged upon by that same neglected or distorted intellect. It will attack him like a savage, in whom force has grown without reason. It will run into by-paths of monstrous error or folly, because when it cried for improvement in a particular power, its voice was unheeded.

Perhaps there never was an age when men were so much exposed to the mischiefs of *onesidedness* in religion, politics, and taste, as this. It is an age of cliques and parties, each of which commands its own press, and throws out reading matter enough to take up the leisure of its members. How can a man with his sectarian magazines, his party papers, his poetry of a particular school, in this publishing age, help being onesided in some thing or other; and as religious ideas, political views, and art, have sympathies or antipathies to another, it follows that *onesidedness*, if admitted, must run through the man. What we call ultraism in this country—where the abundance of the thing seems to have given birth to the name,—is but the onesided tendency of minds not fully educated in all their parts, in which truths have not yet found their order and due proportion. One dwells *only* on human rights, and democracy or philanthropy

takes an extravagant form. Another recoils from such extreme views, and because he thinks they flow from the theory, receives another more baseless, thus becoming a conservative of the English school, that is to say, a destructive at home. One is an ultra Calvinist, because he looks at a part of human nature; another an ultra Arminian because he looks at the opposite. How rarely do we see a man who adheres to that μεσότης which Aristotle regards as the finish of character. Such a one, when he is to be found, may have indeed no prominent points to strike the eye, no great originality, it may be, to interest us; but by his balance of mind and moral powers he towers above us in calm majesty, like some pyramidal peak reaching up into the clouds.

And so if we confine our attention to the powers of the mind, we shall find that to train some to the neglect of others, is fraught with evil of the worst description. This evil is twofold. First, the person who is thus unimproved is felt to be deficient somewhere, and even if men cannot tell what the precise deficiency is, his power over his fellows is abridged. Next, the power thus unimproved thirsts for employment, and being ungratified, raises, so to speak, a rebellion in the mind,—a commotion of feelings which burst away from the restraints of education, and if strong enough, subdue the mind to that one power. He, for instance, who has some imagination, and whose taste in his early training has been neglected, will be apt to disgust one part of society and fail of influencing another part by his want of polish, or, if held down exclusively to studies of the logical sort, will feel an insuperable aversion to his pursuits, and when he can, will wholly neglect them. We do not indeed suppose that all minds are alike, or can be equally improved in all their powers. Sometimes a power is imperfectly developed but capable under good training of a moderate expansion; sometimes, again, a power is developed more than all the rest, as in the case of those who have a genius for the fine arts, and then there is need of a particular training suited to

the individual; a college for such a one is an unfortunate place. But for the mass of minds an education nearly uniform may be adopted with success. And the obstacles to that success arise from the moral rather than the intellectual nature.

The evil of onesidedness in education never appears so great, as when you take one kind of studies by itself, and think what must be the tendencies of a mind trained by their exclusive influence. The most important single department in our course is the mathematics, pure and applied. It justly claims this superior place, and far be the day, when the officers of this seat of learning shall think otherwise. I would sooner enlarge its sphere and increase its weight in determining college honors, than rob it of any of its present importance. But who does not see that if education were pursued only in a mathematical direction from the earliest years, the mind would fail to perceive the force of moral reasoning, and be liable to skepticism on the most momentous subjects; and that the judgment, which is strengthened now by another branch of study, would be left weak and unfit for the purposes of life. In the same manner the exclusive study of moral truth, might train the mind to search chiefly after final causes, and feel as Socrates* did, that there is no science but that of the end and design of things. The natural sciences, occupying all the attention, would improve the inductive, but not the deductive powers. The cultivation of the taste alone, by the study of art, would spoil a mind for usefulness and enjoyment. The entire devotion of the mind to historical pursuits would lead it away from principles to mere events, and might even incapacitate it to see the principles of the historical science itself.

I cannot leave this topic without noticing a defect in our system of education, which does not at present admit of a complete remedy, and which must be felt in order that a

* Plato's Phædo.

remedy may be provided. I refer to our imperfect training of the feeling for the beautiful, to our neglect of the important field of literary criticism. What we do is to open the fountains of elegant writing in prose and verse which the ancients have left us; to accustom the student to a correct style, by pointing out his faults in composition; and to teach the art of rhetoric, both in the theory and in the examination of one of the masterpieces of antiquity. But our teaching in the classics does little else but call into use those faculties which are concerned in discovering the sense of an author; and leaves the taste to imbibe that insensible and unconscious improvement, which grows out of familiarity with the beautiful; our exercises in composition can be only the exemplification of the rules of grammar and rhetoric; while our rhetoric itself, having a practical end—persuasion—in view, concerns itself rather with the most effective arrangement of words, thoughts, and arguments, than with the laws of perfection in art. And indeed we are able to do but little more; for strange as it is, there is a woful deficiency of works in the science of the beautiful in our language. The French school of taste and its English imitators are now exploded; the last century and its philosophy produced no works on taste, which at this time satisfy our minds; while the few specimens of just criticism with which the present age has supplied us, are chiefly oracular fragments of writers, who either judge intuitively and have no theory, or who have never published their theory to the world. And then even in the lower department of the history of literature, there are, I believe, no text-books accessible, which meet all our wants. As for the laws of the beautiful in music, architecture, sculpture, and painting, they are quite out of our view; we have scarcely contemplated them as having any thing to do with the training of that "*divinæ particula auræ*," which might in this world be educated to behold, both here and hereafter, the wondrously beautiful and grand forms which fill the creation of God.

The result of all this is that the logical faculty has too much preëminence in our education; we train up those who will reason correctly, and it may be forcibly, at the bar and in the pulpit; but they become hard dry men, men who will neither receive nor give pleasure from their elegance of taste, and refined appreciation of art. This evil is not likely to be soon corrected, as is made probable by its universality, and by the fact that the still reigning philosophy has another end—the useful—almost exclusively in view. But we can still make some resistance, even if it be an imperfect one, to the evil. We can teach the classics more with reference to elegance of style and artistic arrangement. We can bring the fine arts within the range of education. We can make use of sound works on the laws of taste as they arise, and thus oppose the influence of that unhealthy and unreflecting school, which decides every thing by feeling only, without being aware of a single law. And when we have a system in this neglected department which will bring it to the level of the others, we may expect the happiest results. There will then be a class of educated men, whose minds, through the study of the beautiful in art, will be brought into unison with the beautiful in conduct and morals, who will be alive to impressions derived from the harmony of a perfect nature, and averse to those discords which oppose the Christian spirit of love. What the ancients meant to do by the element of music in their system, will then be accomplished. We cannot doubt, if a number of men of a delicate ear for musical sounds, were suddenly, in the midst of an altercation, to hear some noble harmony, that it would compose, subdue, pacify, and tend to unite them. And in the same way, a body of men, of tastes at once delicate and healthy, would mitigate the fierceness of political and theological strife in our country, and by their elevated standard would tend to make us feel that kind of cultivation to be necessary in which we are now most deficient. That the taste must be more and more cultivated

in this country is apparent. But the danger now is that the vocation will fall into bad hands; that either a taste will be promoted which has only to do with externals,—with sensual and not with spiritual beauty; or that an erratic wild-fire, miscalled taste, without laws or a rationale, will seat itself in the throne of criticism.

In the third place, we wish to speak more at length of a subject which we have already touched upon in passing, that the Christian teacher in a college, will estimate education not so much by its relation to immediate ends of a practical sort, as by its relation to higher ends, far more important than success in a profession, and the power of acquiring wealth and honor. He will value science to some extent for its own sake. He will value it also as a necessary means for the formation of a perfect mind, and of an individual fitted for high usefulness. As for such results as success and reputation, he will by no means despise them, but regarding other ends as nobler and more important, he will believe that according to the system of God in this world, the attainment of the better, will involve that of the less worthy. Just as we most secure our happiness when we are most willing to sacrifice it, while he who saveth his life shall lose it, just so do we make most certain the lower purposes of education when we aim at the higher. And if we fail of the lower, there is still remaining after all the priceless mind, —all ready for usefulness, strong in its love of truth, imbued with the knowledge of principles, unwilling to stoop to what is low, and containing within itself a fountain of happiness.

Few will question, I think, that these views are in accordance with the spirit of Christianity. Whether we regard the end of living here below, which it proposes, as being benevolent action or the perfection of the individual, these views are equally demanded by a religion which postpones our material to our spiritual interests, and teaches that both usefulness and character are dependent on a healthy

discipline of the mind. It is certainly against the genius of Christianity to make the speedy or the easy result of a thing the measure of its value, or to think the mind itself of less importance than its condition in life. If a truly good training made a man poor instead of rich, despised instead of honored, Christianity would not hesitate to say that it must be preferred. She is indeed far from fighting against the practical, after the fashion of some natures, who dread the thought of any thing to be done, and admire the unattainable as they do the absolute. No! She is much more humble in her pretensions, and mightier in her results, than if she encouraged this manner of thinking. But then on the other hand, she is hostile, and by her very nature hostile to the practical, so understood as to refer only to time, worldly interests, and professional success. She is hostile also to that habit of making the common mind the measure and judge of usefulness and truth, which reacts upon education to lower its sphere. Just as experience opposes miracles and the understanding mysteries,—two things which Christianity will not part with unless she is robbed of them,—just so a worldly mind, burning to act its chosen part in life, opposes a reference to any higher end; and a common understanding, perceiving how little science has to do with ordinary affairs, disbelieves in science and sees in it no dignity or worth. In all these four cases, Christianity corrects misimpressions by raising the soul above its wonted earthly level. To experience she says, that there is a higher world, and if so, that it is not strange that communications from it to this world of ours should be needed and should be made. To the understanding she says, that it was not intended to be the measure of all things; and that if there are mysteries, they need to be known that we may recognize our position as finite creatures. And in the same way she says to the worldly mind, that there are higher things with which it ought to be brought into communication; and to the practical understanding, that science, which is of God, is of in-

finite use, and is needed by our nature if we would not fall into credulity or skepticism.

This consideration that the highest end in the training of the mind involves the lower—that an education which common minds would not call practical, is the most practical after all, is one of no small importance. If it be true, it tends to reconcile all the views of education and all the ends of living, which can be called, with any justice, conformable to our nature. If it be not true, there must be a clashing of our higher and lower natures on so momentous a point as the moulding of an immortal mind; and either two kinds of education must be provided—one for those who have success in a profession before their eyes, and the other for those who seek the improvement of their powers as something good and great;—or if there be but one mode of education, the youth will have a discord of feelings within him, which nothing can allay. I can think but of two objections to it, both of which are shown to be without foundation. The one is of a *general* nature; that great scientific attainments, and great cultivation of mind unfit men for the duties of the world, both by disinclining them to the society of their fellow men, and by shaping their habits of thought and style of expression into something estranged from unlettered life. You form, it will be said, a caste, whose sympathies, whose very language is removed from communion with mankind. This would be true, if education continued, in the sense in which we have used it, throughout life; if habits of association with others—formed under the influence of duty or self-interest,—did not correct whatever tendency to the passive, the shrinking and the incommunicative, a cloistral discipline may have produced. We all know that a literary man is not usually the person to act immediately upon the mass of men; and that when he originates something good, his thoughts need to be translated into other language for the use of the world. But we are not aiming to give a decidedly scientific tendency to the mind, nor to overcultivate the

taste :—that would fall under the condemnation of onesidedness, of which we have just spoken. We aim rather at this —to fit young men for what is truly useful in practical life, at the same time that we keep a higher end in view. The other objection to the principle laid down is one of a *particular* kind, and partly involved in the former. It is said, or at least felt, that attainments in scholarship, philosophical training, the love of truth, are rather obstacles in the course of political advancement. He who has attained to power over the multitude, and the young man who learns from the anxieties of political parties that such power is a great good, must feel that thoroughness and soundness in any thing, even in moral principles, do not aid in that kind of promotion so much as power of expression, unblushing confidence, knowledge of mankind, and a certain self-command. Armed with these powers, and nothing else, he can outrun any philosopher or man of taste or learning, who is without them. To this objection, we answer by a confession of its justice. We much doubt whether a college training is at all necessary for political success, and whether the *name* of an education is not more advantageous than the thing itself. A little knowledge, gathered at small expense of toil, a kind of philosophy about human rights, if we must call it so, which the most simple can understand, a seeming readiness to submit to the popular voice, united with a dexterity in leading it,—these are not intentionally fostered, I take it upon me to say, in any respectable institution in our country. And far be from us such a tendency in education. Rather than train so, I would—to use Plato's words—whisper to two or three young men in a corner, or even walk through empty halls. I should not like to die with this weight on my soul, that I had taken into my hands a block of the finest marble, and cut it into the form of a demagogue.

If we needed to see the evils of the lower practical views of education, when pursued to the neglect of the higher, we might find them in the history of a class of men, who played

no small part in their times, and turned a name, before held in honor, into a by-word. The sophists of Greece, as a body, were by no means wanting in talents, and their great influence is shown by the important posts in their respective states which several of them were called to fill. They almost monopolized the knowledge of the time, especially in the infant sciences relating to nature. They cultivated style and external grace to such a degree as to fill their countrymen with admiration, so that while Socrates subsisted poorly upon a few oboli a day, contributed by his friends, they sometimes received a talent for a single lecture. It is wonderful that such great men would condescend to be teachers of youth, but condescend they did, because their practical spirit told them that a rich young Athenian, of high descent, or a Thessalian noble, was not to be taught for nothing. Now with what aims did they approach these young men, and what attractions did they hold out? They began with denying the existence of science and the possibility of a scientific training. "There is no truth," they said, or "man is the measure of all things, and whatever *seems* true to him, that *is* true," or "science is the same as sensation." Next they discarded the study of philosophy, as unfitting its students for political life. There was no motive for pursuing truth, because the true was less fitted to persuade than the probable. To this would naturally succeed the choice of such studies as were likely to make men persuade, dazzle and govern. Rhetoric, the use of the poets, a smattering of knowledge of various sorts,—these were the means, and a place of influence, the power to control the people, the supremacy in the courts, the ends. And we must do them the justice to say that they understood their calling. But then they educated in such a way, that the young lost all moral principle under their instructions, and became frivolous, shallow and skeptical; that ancient reverence and fidelity disappeared; that chicanery increased; that the creative branches of literature died out. And had not a reaction, be-

gun by one remarkable man of nobler aims, stayed in part the mischief, it is not unlikely that the sophists would have taken from the Greeks the power to excel in philosophy and the plastic arts.

A result of the lower views of education, naturally suggested by this example of the sophists, is seen in the undue estimate which is attached by many to ready and fluent speaking and writing. I fear that there is something in our form of government to encourage this view, and that our seats of learning, if they do not favor, cannot effectually oppose it. But it appears to me to be disastrous in its effects, both on the mind and the character of a young person. Let us suppose him to possess this readiness in an extreme degree; that he has become dextrous enough to take either side of a question, and, without preparation, manage it so as to astonish men by his rapidity and cleverness; and that, standing before an audience, he will not be terrified, but go through to the end in the full possession of his intellect. Let us suppose that his teachers or his fellow-students regard it as an important end of a college life to acquire this skill. Now must not the effect on him be to give him an instrument, before he is thoroughly trained or stored with knowledge, by which he can set off to the best advantage the smallest quantity of thought? Will not this accomplishment, if it may be called so, if acquired thus early, lead him to undervalue truth, of which, as yet, he knows but little, and overvalue the instrument by which he may shine at once, and, as it were, enter into life while yet on its threshold? And with his reverence for truth, must he not lose his modesty, seeing that he has an instrument which he can wave about and make glitter in every body's eyes? And with the two, must he not lose his solidity of mind and character, his patience of labor, his faith in the far-reaching value of a thorough education?

The same undue estimate of the value of a practical discipline inclines many to introduce into the college course,

studies which belong to the professional life. This pressure must be resisted altogether, if an instructor wishes to adhere to the idea of a solid education, or to see any fruit of his labors. It is one of the most obvious and serious evils in our country, that men rush into the ultimate pursuit for which they design themselves, long before they are ready. In this way immaturity, the habit of grappling with subjects beyond one's reach, want of caution, self-conceit, and a superficial acquaintance with the principles of the profession are produced; and the professions are crowded with men who feel, when it is too late, that they have built without a foundation, that they have neither compass nor accuracy of thought. The course which is at once most for the advantage of a young man and for the interests of learning, is to make him feel that his education needs rather to be prolonged than contracted; and that it will be greatly for his usefulness to continue improving himself by studies extraneous to his profession, both while he is acquiring it and after he has entered upon his career. I know it is said that a man who would succeed in his pursuit, must be "wholly given to it," but no maxim could be more false, if it be intended to exclude the acquisition, as a subordinate thing, of knowledge in which all well educated men may partake. Under proper regulations it consumes no time, for it is a relaxation of the mind from the monotony of one pursuit: it does not interfere with progress, by cultivating other habits of mind, for every power of mind is needed in every profession for the highest usefulness: it does not injure professional thoroughness by acquaintance with other branches of knowledge, for as all the sciences have relations to one another, these unprofessional accomplishments will be an important help in understanding the studies to which one has given himself. An instructor, therefore, will inculcate on his pupils, not that they can mingle the pursuits of the college and of after life together, in the years of preparation; but, on the contrary, that education never ends, and that, when they are their own mas-

ters, they should carry out, in some direction or other, a course of training as long as they live. In the higher sense of the word education, it never ought to end; the only difference in the various stages of it depends on the maturity of judgment of the individual, and his necessary employments. At first it goes forward without his option, and when no motives drawn from the immediate results of his studies disturb his mind. Next, he submits to the law of division of labor, which governs all employments, but needs not to confine his mind to the narrowness of one pursuit. Afterwards he can and ought so to govern his time, that the injury to his mind from the belittling cares of a single employment shall be prevented, and its growth promoted in whatever is good. He who feels that his education is at an end when he leaves college, or even when he enters into his profession, is in the condition of one who thinks he has reached moral perfection. The mistake in the latter case arises from self-ignorance, or from ignorance of the exceeding broadness of the moral rule. Ignorance is equally the cause of the former mistake, but it is more venial, because we all use language upon this subject which overlooks the future and higher results of education.

In the fourth and last place, a Christian instructor will, as far as lies within the range of his department, *lead the minds of his pupils up to God.* I speak now, it will be observed, not of what he may do as a benevolent individual, aside from his teachings in the sphere where he moves, to amend or establish those over whom he has an influence, but of the general spirit of his teachings, which will connect science or learning wherever it has a connection with the author of science and of our minds. That Christianity demands as much as this, will not be doubted. There are indeed some departments where this can be done but in a small degree or not at all. Thus instruction in heathen literature, seldom finds good opportunities of raising the thoughts to God; and the same is true in a much greater degree of the pure

mathematics, which have to do with abstract and necessary truth, such as does not even involve the divine existence. But mixed mathematics, and especially astronomy, all the natural sciences, psychology and morals, furnish a noble field for a devout mind to enforce the relations of the highest truth to truths of the lower order. When they are not thus enforced, when nature is treated by the philosophical man as a dead carcase, when he teaches that he has nothing to do with final causes, or marks of grandeur of conception in the universe, he not only fails of doing a great good, but he positively allies himself with a spirit which would banish God from the creation. If philosophy aim only at practical results in relation to material interests, or only at the mere development of science, her mission is fulfilled much in the same way as some parents fulfil theirs, by teaching no religious principles to their children, and leaving them to form their own faith when they grow up. Philosophy necessarily allies itself in the mind of the man of science with some view concerning a creation and a providence, either one which runs into atheism and materialism, or one which finds in God the source and end of all things. Neutrality here, it appears to me, is impossible. The Christian teacher of a science where contrivance and final causes can be traced, will feel somewhat as the great Architect himself must have felt in the arrangement of things; that the end is the thing of most importance, and where it can be traced, he will listen devoutly to its voice as a revelation concerning the great Designer. I know that some discard the search after final causes, on the ground that every new discovery in science tends to carry us back to some higher law unknown before, from which the final cause, as it is called, must necessarily arise. I know, too, that what we call final is not in reality so, and that we must allow that there are infinite depths in the divine mind which we cannot explore. But is it any the less a proof of a divine intelligence at work, that what

we have called a contrivance is the evolution of a law? Or must we refrain from wondering at the divine counsels until we have explored them all,—that is, until we become infinite ourselves. Or rather does it not present to us a higher idea of God, that his wisdom manifests itself through laws which rise in their generality until they span round the creation, and that his purposes ascend, as we behold them, one behind another, until to our eye they are lost in the clouds. We need not fear, then, that any new form of science will take away from the teacher his privilege of conducting his pupils up to God, any more than we need fear that some new light, or rather new darkness, will show that this great temple of nature is without a divinity, this immense body without a soul.

And to what most estimable habits of mind ought not this mode of contemplating nature and man to open the way. No blind and unconscious dynamics—no "mechanique celeste"—but celestial law, emanating from the highest intellect, controls the world; and being understood, awes the mind into reverence and harmony. The laws of nature introduce the mind to the laws of the moral world, and the two systems are seen to assume each other's existence, and to be from one author. Nothing now appears fortuitous or arbitrary or irrational. The perception of great designs in the universe, makes the mind unwilling to act without a plan worthy of its capacities. It is unable any longer to feel astonishment at the puny efforts of man; and instead of that hero-worship, that stupid gaze at men of genius which is so common and so much fostered at this day, it worships the almighty architect, the author of beauty, the law-giver of the creation.

It might be asked here, whether a corps of Christian teachers having thus guided their pupils in the study of divine wisdom, as displayed in the universe, ought not to go beyond the vestibule, and enter in procession into the inner temple, which is full of the presence of Christ. Or

must they, as profane, stop without, and leave it to other guides, whose calling it is, to show the wonders within? Is it a fruit of the lamentable jealousies among Christian sects, that instruction *ex professo* in the Christian religion cannot be given in colleges unless we seem to make them sectarian, and thus increase distinctions, which are great enough already. These are grave questions, which it comports not with this time to answer fully. At present, the science of sciences lies neglected by almost all except ministers of the Gospel. It forms, properly speaking, no branch of education: even the Scriptures themselves are little studied out of voluntary classes. Meanwhile, causes are at work to undermine the religious faith with which young men have been imbued by their fathers, causes, too, which must have the more influence, as the literary cultivation of our young men increases. The tendency to materialism on one side, and to pantheism on another, the literature of atheistic despair and sensualism, and the historic engines battering the walls of fact, must cause a multitude of minds in the next age to be assailed by religious doubts; and snares seem to be set for faith in revelation on every side. How desirable, if all this be not mere alarm, if the fears of many portending some crisis, in which the old shapes of things shall be broken up, be not entirely idle; how desirable, I say, that our educated young men should be taught a theology so liberal—if that might be—as not to pertain to the party, but to universal Christianity, and so majestic in its outlines as to recommend itself to the consciousness, and make it own the presence of God.

How elevated, then, is the post of a Christian teacher in one of the most frequented and influential places of learning in this great country. For my part, I must avow the conviction that all executive functions and names of authority by which one college officer is severed from the rest, sink into insignificance before this office of teacher, which is common to all. And this equality has led, in this College, and ought to lead, to a theory of government which precludes

every thing arbitrary on the part of one man, and divides the labors and the responsibilities of administration among a whole faculty. To have carried out this theory in almost perfect harmony, is the boast of this College: is a secret of its success, and a pledge of what it may accomplish hereafter. Such harmony implies a harmonizing principle,—that same tone of moral feeling which is necessary to qualify a man for the office of teacher in the highest sense. Let us keep this in view, Gentlemen of the Faculty, that our true success, nay, even that our outward success depends much upon the purity of our aims. If a man is a truer philosopher, he is also a better teacher and disciplinarian for being governed by Christian principles. As for myself, in taking upon me this undesired office, it is an unspeakable strength to feel that I am among men whose principles, after long acquaintance, I can trust. And something of that same trust you extend towards me, or you must, for the first time, have deceived me. We have, then, a source of union in common views and mutual confidence. We have *united* together in lamenting that the time had come, when our beloved Head felt it too much for his strength to be one of us longer, and gladly, as in the case of King Hezekiah, would we have seen fifteen years of vigorous health added to the days of his Presidency. We *will unite*, I doubt not, in carrying forward and improving our system, as fast as the means within our reach will allow. It is wonderful what progress this institution has made within the last nine and twenty years. It will not be wonderful, but rather an easy result of past success, if, in the years now to come, we make even a greater progress. If God help us, and if our graduates stand by us with the same cordiality which they have shown hitherto, it will be our fault and our shame, if we stay still or go backwards. Let us, with the highest ends of education in view, and with a fervent desire to have Yale College a light and a blessing to our land, act faithfully our appointed parts, and I doubt not that God will be with us.

The Professions.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

OF

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

AT CLEVELAND, FEB. 21, 1849.

BY HENRY N. DAY.

HUDSON, OHIO:
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1849.

ADDRESS.

We are assembled this day, as representatives of society, in recognition of the deep interest which she has in the formal initiation of her sons into the responsibilities and sanctities of Professional life. It is not, however, the interest which society feels in the personal welfare of those who are thus formally initiated, deep as that interest may be; it is not the immediate interest which she feels in the prosperity of the Institution that has been her organ in ushering them into a respectable and useful occupation, which constitutes the peculiarity of her interest in this occasion. The interest grows out of the peculiar relations which society sustains to professional life, as such. She feels no such interest in a similar introduction to the duties and responsibilities of other than professional callings. She has an interest there, but altogether unlike in kind, if not in degree, to that which professional life claims of her.

Entertaining this conviction of the peculiarity of the claims of proper professional life on society, and, consequently, of the peculiarity of the interest which attaches to this occasion, I am at once directed to the theme which may now appropriately employ our thoughts. It is, precisely,

The Foundation and Nature of the Distinctive Claims of Professional Life.

But lest I should seem to be justly chargeable with an impertinent arrogance and pretension, even in the conception and statement of my theme, let me, at the outset, invite a moment's attention to the evidence of the fact that the distinctiveness of these claims is in reality generally recognized—recognized in the most decisive forms, those of common discourse.

I have used the phrase "Professional life." Have I used words without meaning? Has the phrase conveyed no idea to my hearers?

On the other hand, has not the expression at once pointed to an idea familiarly entertained in every mind ?

There is such a thing then, as "professional life," well understood, distinctly conceived of, so familiarly recognized as to be embodied into the language of common life. The fact proves that it is a distinct, peculiar thing which is thus denominated; that professional life has something in its very essence distinct from all other forms of social life.

We speak, in like manner, of the "professions," distinguishing, thus, certain occupations from the general mass of human pursuits and callings, as if they were in their own nature peculiar. We have, too, in our own language, of more frequent use, indeed, in the mother country than in our own, expressions which distinguish professional men, as such, from all others. Relatively to members of the several professions, other men are familiarly called "laymen." In reference to a member of the English bar, every other man in the nation, be he King or Lord or Bishop, is a layman.

I would be far from so disparaging other pursuits and avocations as to maintain that this distinction, so generally recognized in the habitual conceptions and discourse of men, is one of degree;—that professional life differs from other departments of social life only in being of a higher grade in the social scale. The distinction, on the other hand, is not one of degree, but of kind. Professional claims on society differ in their essential nature from the claims of other departments of human pursuits.

The three callings, familiarly known as "the Professions," are the proper, natural, not to say necessary development of humanity in its earliest unfoldings into civilized life. They are founded on the deepest, most essential, most generic distinctions in the human constitution. As soon, therefore, as society begins to develop the rudiments of humanity, in the various forms of civilization, the germs of these professional distinctions appear, and swell and mature precisely with the progress of society.

Civilized life, which is the true life of man, his natural life in the proper sense of the expression, is founded on the mutual dependence of men. Their social nature implies this dependence. We are designed and constituted to be members of one body, in the strict sense of the expression. We are not constituted to be isolated units, destined to develop each our own distinct individuality, aloof from others. Men

become perfect men only in society ; only as active members of society, performing, each, his own function, ministering in his own distinct way to every other member, and receiving in turn the ministrations of others. This, indeed, is the especial design and province of society, to develop the peculiarities of individual members consonantly with the wants of others ; to organize all in this way into one body comprehending a diversity of harmonizing functions, each so related to the whole as to be a complement of the rest. The so called "division of labor" is not a mere mechanical principle, applied from without by calculating men. It is the proper result of the workings of society ; a lawful and necessary development of the social state in its progress onwards.

Here, then, is a great law of human existence—a law imperatively ordaining that men in society become distinct members of one body ; that they develop themselves into diversities of functions with, each, a different ministry ; or, if need be, if society be sufficiently extended in its organization, into groups of functions. It is a law which operates with a controlling force. How silently and yet how powerfully and beautifully, does the well matured state prove it to have operated—forming into one compact, efficient body, such diversities of character, talents, discipline, skill—the greatest possible diversity in the highest possible unity !

In the savage state, this law of functional development, if I may so call it, has but a limited operation. There we find only rudiments, tendencies, germs of a free humanity. The savage lives, with slight exceptions in the social arrangements of the family and the tribe—the savage lives by himself, in himself, for himself. The diversified wants of man's developed nature go unsupplied, or are supplied only as he performs for himself the duties of society. Yet even in barbarism are tendencies to society and to a functional social development. Now in those tendencies and rudiments gradually unfolding themselves in the advance towards civilization, we ought to discover what are the most essential functions of social life ; what of the various members of the social body are most important, most necessary. We find, in fact, that they are the professional tendencies. The very first development into distinct social functions is into those of religion, medicine, law. The administration of law in government and the adjustment of social difficulties, the administration of the offices of religion

and of medicinal care—these are the first and earliest employments which are assigned to particular orders in society. At first, they sometimes appear combined in one. The same person is chief, and medicine-man, and priest. As society extends its organization, they distribute themselves into distinct professions ; and even before it reaches what is properly called the civilized stage, they attain a character so fixed and permanent as, in some instances, to become hereditary in certain designated families. In all forms of fully civilized society, in all ages and in all countries, these professions stand out prominent and distinct from all others, constituting ever a class of pursuits by themselves.

We have, then, this historical evidence of the distinctiveness and peculiarity of the claims of professional life on society. As if more essential than any other, it develops itself in the earliest unfoldings of social existence ; and earlier than any other it roots itself deep in the very heart of society. In history, the law of functional development ever gives precedence to professional pursuits.

In perfect correspondence with this historic fact and in explanation of it, we find grounds in the analysis of human life itself for this early appearance of distinct professional pursuits in history. We find them to be founded on the lowest, most original, most essential distinctions in the nature and relations of man.

The first distinctions given us in the essential nature of man are obviously those of body and spirit ; and his most fundamental relations are his personal and his social relations. These distinctions respect the whole of human nature. They indicate at once all the generic wants of man for which society should make provision. His social and his personal wants—his personal wants including his spiritual and his physical wants—these, then, are the comprehensive classes of human wants. To meet these wants, so distinct and so important, we should expect society would, in the very beginnings of its functional development, make distinct provision : the first branchings of functional distinctions should be these. For the Physical life, the Spiritual life, the Social life of man, society should provide for each, special superintendence, special guards, special aids ; in short, special curators. This it does in its professional arrangements. And here, precisely, lies the grand distinction and peculiarity of, properly, professional callings ; that to them, severally, is specially entrusted the immediate care of these fundamental forms of human life.

This care is immediate and direct as well as entire. In all other pursuits, the provision which is made for human wants, of whatever class, is but indirect, mediate and partial. This relation of professional to other pursuits in their respective bearings on human wants, which furnish the original ground of all functional distinctions in society, it may not be amiss to consider more in detail.

Let us take, then, first, the profession to which is assigned the care of the Spiritual life. The heart of this life is the moral or religious. The intellectual and the emotive or sensitive is but its body. A sound spiritual condition imports, then, first and essentially, a healthful moral or religious state ; and then as necessary to this, and at once implied in it, a healthful intellectual and emotive condition. The moral is the essential. For although a mature and healthful state of morals or of piety is impossible without a proper culture and development of the intellect and the feelings, still it remains true that a proper culture of the religious life necessarily draws with it intellectual and emotive culture and development.

Originally, the whole care of the complex spiritual nature was devolved on the same social functionary. The religious teacher superintended and directed education generally. When in the progress of society, the duties were distributed, and the care of the essential part of the spiritual nature, the direct, immediate supervision of its interests was separated from the mere intellectual culture, still, education in the general sense, did not pass away from its superintending care. Ever learning and religion have maintained with each other a vital connection. If ignorance has always been the mother of superstition, superstition has likewise always been the mother of ignorance. Ever the corruption or the neglect of religion has drawn on with it a debasement of the intellect. Every attempt to nurture religion in ignorance by religious teachers, if the terms do not involve a contradiction, by so called religious teachers who boasted of their ignorance, or by better instructed teachers who have thought religion was better nursed in benighted minds, has proved utterly abortive. The result has uniformly been, instead of healthful piety, fanaticism, superstition, bigotry or infidelity. Like quackery in the other professions, it has only resulted in the destruction or serious injury of the very life it undertook to save and cure. So, likewise, the attempt to secure a true spiritual life by the culture and development of the intellect to the exclusion of the

proper religious life, has ever been a signal failure. Instances of such quackery have occurred in abundance ; but like that species of it in a sister profession which would place the physical life in the blood alone and seek to secure health by remedial applications to it exclusively and in all cases of disease, have resulted only in worse disease.

Similar remarks are applicable to the views of those who would perfect the spiritual nature through the emotions and the taste. A religion of mere sentiment is a religion without an indwelling life ; and a sentimental religionist is perfectly imaged in the physical form and structure that is nursed in oils and perfumes—of shining complexion, rounded outline, and easy motion, perhaps, for a brief stage of its existence, but without inward soundness and hence soon passing into the most disgusting of all pretended forms of life ; an Andalusian beauty at twenty, and an Andalusian hag at forty ; of an outside fairness and captivation in the blush of life, withered and haggard in its proper maturity.

So the *artistic* quack in spirituals, he who would develop the true interior life in man, by the elevating influences of literature and of the fine arts merely, by the culture and nourishment of the taste, as if the seat of the Spiritual life were there, he, in the event, only finds disease confirmed and rooted by his very efforts at cure.

In one or another of these different modes proceed all the labors of men that bear directly on the spiritual life. I mean that all the pursuits and callings developed in society which bear on the interests of the spirit, address either the proper religious life, as in the strictly theological profession, or the intellect, as in the sphere of the educator and of the scientific author and teacher, or the sentiments and the taste, as in literature and the fine arts.

We are directly shown thus the relation which the proper religious profession bears to all other pursuits that respect the spiritual nature of man. While it bears directly on the very heart of the spiritual life, and must, to a certain extent at least, independently of the others, see to the proper culture of the intellect, the sentiments, the taste, they bear only indirectly and partially upon the higher life of the spirit. They respect only the subordinate departments of spiritual action. They are only ministerial and auxiliary, while it is principal and directive. They derive their proper life from it ; are but branches of the one great professional trunk. For only as the spiritual life in the higher sense

thrives, can science, literature or art truly thrive. Whenever either of them usurps the prerogative of the higher, and dreams it finds the true life of the spirit in its own province, it is so far infected with quackery; and evil if not ruin to all it touches is the legitimate consequence.

Passing now to the profession to which the social life of man is specially committed, we shall find the same relation to exist between the proper professional and other kindred pursuits.

The lawyer has entrusted to him the social life of man. This is his function, to preserve the social life in security and soundness; and by his preservative care secure its full and complete development. For it is worthy of remark here that the professions, all alike, partake rather of a negative than of a positive character. They all bear on the side of infirmity and disease, as curative, sanative, rather than on the positive as directly invigorative and formative. Providence has given to all these forms of life a power of self-development of their own, inherent in their own nature; and human art is called in rather as corrective, remedial, and protective.

It is the province of the legal profession to watch over the unfoldings of the Social life, and secure them from harm and from impediment. It presides over the relations between man and man; and sees that they are sustained in their healthful condition. Its supervision covers the entire field of man's social life. Wherever man stands related to his fellow, there law enters. It presides not only over municipal relations—over the civil and political life—over the state; it extends its prerogative, also, over the other two great societies existing among men—the church and the family. It is true all human society is in its very nature temporary; and hence law seems to regard only the temporal relations of men, and, therefore, to have no respect to the supra-temporal—the spiritual. Yet so far as even spiritual relations manifest themselves in time, law takes cognizance of them, and does not step out of its proper jurisdiction when it interferes to correct and heal a violation of them. It is a most unreasonable jealousy which ecclesiastics have sometimes manifested in regard to the admission of legal principles to the adjustment of social difficulties in the church, so far as the jealousy has been founded on a supposed repugnance between Law and Religion. Necessity often over-rides all such narrow jealousies; and the highest social interests of religion are not unfrequently referred, where they should be, to the tribunal of the law for

adjustment. That the legal profession has embraced in its membership those who have perverted its high functions, and been ready for selfish ends to poison the very life they were commissioned by society to heal, to aggrávate wrongs and inflame malicious resentments, only proves that, like the sister professions and every thing that is good among men, it is liable to abuse. The incidental evil should not abate our reverence for what is in its own nature and in its tendency of itself, entirely good—nay, of the most indispensable necessity to man. That litigation is a term of ill odor is owing, in small part, perhaps, to such occasional abuses of professional power, but vastly more to the fact that generally remedial measures, in religion, medicine or law, are painful; and, regarded in this aspect, are in themselves repulsive. But while the particular part bleeds or sweats, and in the patient or sympathizing spectator, the lancet or the cauter, at the time, or by association afterwards, provokes a shudder, it should be remembered that the social body has thereby received relief and been restored; and the profession by which social health is thus recovered, although from the necessity of the case by painful remedies, is justly entitled to the gratitude, the love and reverence of the community. But even if the profession has become, in the view of any, corrupt, an opinion which I am far from recognizing as correct, let a reform of abuses be advocated; let not a profession beneficent in the highest degree and absolutely indispensable to society, be denounced.

The profession of the law, as the direct offspring of the care of society over the social life of man, is, in its origin, allied to various other pursuits or callings which are ministerial to social wants, constituting a distinct class by themselves, just as we have seen that the Spiritual life originates a distinct class of pursuits which minister to its wants. In the great associations ordained by heaven ever to subsist among men, the Church and the State, as well as in all those temporary associations voluntarily formed among men for occasional uses of whatever kind, there arise the necessary agents and ministers of the social condition thus originated; and so far as the permanence and importance of the particular office or station shall call for a special training, there spring up distinct pursuits or callings. Here belong the various commercial pursuits, as the proper mercantile, those which direct and manage the various modes of intercommunication, and the like. But among all these pursuits thus allied in their origin and the

end of their ministry, how distinct and how peculiar is the position which the professional calling sustains. How more original and primitive, lower in the developments of social life. How it commands and controls all.

The judicial department of a government, of which the legal profession is an essential constituent, stands on higher ground than the legislative or executive. If it receive from the constitution-making power its introduction to the particular civil society, and the formal recognition of it as the organ of the social body with its outward mode of existence; if it receive from the authority which the society has ordained for that purpose from the legislature, the specific modes of its action for that particular people, it yet subsists essentially by a higher life. Before written constitutions, before actual legislatures, a judiciary must exist. Hume has remarked that in an undeveloped society the judicial power is always of more consequence than the legislative; and it is not unnatural that even before society is formally organized under legislatures and governors, "lynch law," in a good sense of the term, should spring up as in our own new settlements, and that temporary arbiters should gradually become the recognized judges of the community. The judiciary does not derive its principles from the legislature. By principles derived from a higher source even than the constitution, it supervises legislation itself. Yes, even the popular sovereignty—the will of the majority is rightfully subject to its control. It is its sacred office to interpose for the relief of a suffering member that is oppressed by a plethoric system. The principles which it recognizes and enforces for the social welfare are broader, deeper, than can be embraced in statutes. It is a species of legal quackery, of which, unfortunately, we see some symptoms about us, to attempt reducing all civil laws to codes, clearly and systematically set forth so that the rudest can understand and apply them, in order that litigation and lawyers may cease from the state. That law, "whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice the harmony of the world, to whom all things in heaven and earth do homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power," even as applied to social interests among men, can not be so comprehended and straightened—so fingered and scissored out into book and chapter and section. The attempt is as futile and silly as to enforce universal soundness of religious belief by articled creeds, or universal physical

health by dispensatorial systems, adapting, for family use, catalogued remedies for catalogued diseases. It is quackery in the strict sense, and ends with the evils of quackery. Such universal codification is the hot bed of litigation ; and the summer-day glory of lawyers. The truest policy of every state, whether civil peace and security and social confidence or economy be regarded, is to confine legislation to a few grand points and thus secure simplicity and permanence to its enactments, leaving all else to be developed and applied in the usual modes of judicial procedure. Excessive legislation is excessive lawlessness ; and, by consequence, excessive litigation.

The judiciary, deriving its principles from the infinite fountain of justice and applying them to the ever-varying phases of social life, although in the accidental form of its organized life, shaped by political enactments, and in this way properly commissioned and sanctioned for the particular social body, yet has a life derived from a higher source. It is the necessary curator and director of all political life and action ; the grand conservating principle of civil society. Wo to the people that suffer themselves to undervalue its high character or to profane its sacred ministry.

The true position, then, of the legal profession, relatively to all the other various pursuits which originate in the social life of man and minister to its wants is, that its relation is to this life more direct, more immediate, more fundamental. It watches in its inner sanctuary to keep its pure fires ever burning. It watches over all its out-goings, its immediate guardian and protector. All other pursuits and callings bearing on the social life, it regulates and controls, and makes the ministration of all healthful and efficient.

To the remaining one of the three professions is entrusted by society the special keeping of the other form of human life—the physical.

The physical life is the first care of man, the first care of society. In it the social life and the spiritual germinate and mature. On its soundness depends their growth and development. For its protection and subsistence, providence has made most ample, most manifold arrangements; and for its wants, which correspond in extent and variety to the bountiful provisions of nature, society, in its development, originates manifold ministries. In the large class of callings and pursuits which spring from the physical wants of man, comprising all those which minister to the sustenance, the protection, the comfort—

the well-being generally of the body—the agricultural, consequently, with most of the mechanical and productive arts, the profession of Medicine stands by itself, their common head and center. In a true sense, it presides over all. It is its function and prerogative to judge of the bearings of all on the physical life ; to take their several products and agencies under its scrutiny and determine their character and worth relatively to the physical wants of man. All submit to its control. There is not an occupation followed by man, which would not at once engage all the powers of society for its extirpation if its products were once pronounced by the profession to be wholly detrimental to the physical life.

Its supervision and ministry is direct and immediate ; while that of the other allied pursuits is but indirect and mediate. The agriculturist has no direct reference to the condition or necessities of the physical life in selecting the kind of his products or in determining the mode of production. The manufacturer does not fix his eye directly on the suffering body with a view to its relief or benefit in the direction of his skill and enterprise. It is the market—the demand in the community which stimulates and directs his energies. Even if it be allowed that the market, the demand ultimately depends on the physical wants, still productive industry does not look to that immediately and directly. It is this direct care and supervision of the physical life itself in its manifold susceptibilities which distinguishes and characterizes the profession.

Other physical callings meet only specific wants. One ministers, in its indirect way, to the sustenance of the body ; another to the proper sheltering and protection from the elements ; a third to its positive comfort and enjoyment. The profession takes the whole life into its care. It is quackery, by universal allowance and consent, if but part be taken into view. It is quackery, if the existence of that mystery which we call the life—a mystery as to its nature and essence, but known in its manifestations and effects, in its laws consequently—if the existence of the life be not virtually recognized in all medicinal treatment ; if the supposition be harbored that all curatives can reach no further, even in their remote action, than particular organs or structures ; that they are consequently only local in their effect, and extend not through the whole frame by virtue of that sympathetic force which the life originates and sustains throughout the entire animal structure. Much more is it quackery if the entire susceptibility to medicinal

agency be imagined to reside in a single organ or structure. It is no quackery in the agriculturist if he raise only wheat, although man can not subsist on bread alone, and although society has devolved on the agriculturist the ministry to the sustenance of the body. But that ministry being partial, not entire, he escapes the imputation.

Other physical pursuits, farther, respect only specific agencies of nature ; the profession which presides over them must respect all, inasmuch as all affect the physical life. It is quackery to suppose that all medicinal agency in nature resides in any one of its departments, in heat, or air, or water, or electricity, in herbs or minerals ; in any one or in but part of all. The physical life is related to all ; it is susceptible of influence certainly for evil from all ; and, consequently, if we have any faith in the benevolence or wisdom of providential ordinances, for good from all. To exclude any department of these natural agencies from a system of therapeutics, because of its being supposed to have no bearing on the human constitution, betokens at once the combined narrowness of view and extravagant pretension, the name for which society has derived from a familiar biped.

This high, peculiar, commanding position does the Medical Profession occupy in reference to all the pursuits among men which with it are ministerial to the wants of the physical life. It presides over all. Its ministry is direct and immediate and entire ; while theirs is but indirect and partial. Its relation to them is, therefore, precisely identical with that of the other two professions to their cognate pursuits respectively. Each has the life in the entireness of its wants and liabilities directly and immediately confided to it.

This view of the relation of the professions to the development of society indicates another peculiarity of professional life. It is that the professions, of their own nature, must be *learned* professions. This distinction, we have seen, even the language of common life gives to them, and justly.

All developments of man in society are from and through intelligence. The savage is a savage because he is ignorant. Enlighten him, and at once the germs of social life, of civilization which lie in the essential nature of man begin to protrude, to swell, to develop themselves into the various shoots and branches of civilized life. Intelligence is the genial heat which stimulates their developing power ; the aliment of their life and growth. The professions, then, which,

as we have seen, are the first functional germs to feel the kindling influences of intelligence, should ever maintain the advance in intelligence thus given them in their origin, beyond other pursuits. If they relatively recede, they lose their hold at once, as all history shows, on the respect and confidence of society.

The nature of their peculiar function demands that they be learned. The concrete life of man, in its three comprehensive forms, the Spiritual, the Social, and the Physical, is entrusted to their care—the most precious trust of humanity. It would be equivalent to denying intelligence to be a distinguishing attribute of man to imagine that this trust could be discharged in but ordinary intelligence. It is the silliest, the worst of all quackeries, to suppose that the care of the spiritual, the social, or the physical life of man, is safe in the hands of ignorance—of mere empiricism.

The extent and variety of the knowledge which appears from the very first glance to be indispensable, even to a small degree of professional skill, evinces the necessity of high intellectual discipline and culture in the professions. How can the spiritual life be duly fostered in ignorance of the spiritual nature of man, of its susceptibilities to outward influences, and of the character and extent of those influences? With what chance of success can he nurture and develop the spirit who knows nothing of its diverse functions and capacities, its laws of development and of action, its susceptibilities and liabilities—who knows nothing of what constitutes true intellectual or spiritual nourishment; has little knowledge of the light which is reflected from the works of God in nature and Providence, little of the more direct revelations which are found in the written word, perhaps none of their original form or import?

The care of the social life, too, what wide extent of knowledge, what vast power of intellectual discipline, what full maturity of mental culture does it properly involve? The social life itself—what it is, what are the conditions and modes of its development, what are the principles which govern it in its sound and healthful growth;—what study of man in his nature, his relations, his history, does a knowledge of this imply? Psychology, Ethics, History, are sciences which the Legal Profession presupposes as essential to all intelligent practice, as preliminary even to the construction of legal science itself—of jurisprudence. Then the instrumentalities of the profession—the skill to use and apply the knowledge of legal principles, the logic which must

make clear and unequivocal the application of the principle to the special case ; the power of expression by which mind can work on mind in conviction or persuasion—the skill in words, the æsthetic culture, the power of illustrative imagery, the vocal expression—how much is necessary worthily to win the name of a lawyer !

If not more really, still more apparently, is learning essential in the Medical Profession. The proper care of the physical life involves a knowledge, so far as it can be carried, of that mystery itself—the life, especially in its developments as disclosed in the great science of Physiology ; a knowledge of the structure in which that life works ; of the elements from which it derives its nourishment and support, and from which it is liable to receive corresponding injury. How many are the sciences which medicine presupposes, which are directly ministerial to its uses !

The professions are justly characterized as *learned*. As distinguished from all others, they are *the learned* professions. As professions they have recognized this characteristic. It has been their aim to give a scientific character to all their membership. Hence have arisen, as a spontaneous development of their nature as learned, the various professional schools in different ages and climes to impart to their members the highest possible scientific character. In these worthy yet natural endeavors of the professions, society owes it to itself to lend a ready co-operation ; as its dearest interests are implicated in the character of the professions in this respect. A learned clergy, a learned bar, a learned body of physicians, these, severally, are the foundation and security of a healthful religion, sound civil order, and of physical health in society. The professions have this peculiar claim on society that directly by its beneficent endowments of professional institutions, and indirectly by its discreetly bestowed patronage and encouragement, it make its professions really learned professions.

Closely connected with this is another peculiarity of professional life—that *the professions subsist by an organic law*. I mean that membership in each must be evolved from itself. This has ever been the tendency and aim of the professions to educe from itself its entire membership ; to educate and train as well as to try and approve all practitioners in their respective spheres. So essential to the best interests of society is this, that not unfrequently has the state itself interposed its authority to sustain and enforce the principle. And notwith-

standing the popular outcry against standing orders and exclusive privileges, sweeping violently and blindly over all that is organic in society, we see that even in this day of equal rights, the necessities of experience are prompting an earnest call both in Great Britain and in Germany for a direct interference of the government to confine the practice of medicine to such as are formally tried and approved by the profession itself. There may be reason to doubt whether legislative enactments are the best means of protecting the community against the evils of quackery in either of the professions. It may be better to leave the doors open to all who choose to practice, and to depend on the elevation of the character of the profession with consequent provisions for organic extension and propagation. Doubtless there will ever be found in the community those who will choose to entrust the keeping of their souls, their property, their lives and health to ignorance and pretension. But the correction of this evil, great as it may be, is not best effected, perhaps, by state interference and prohibition. While the common law provides a partial redress for actual injuries from unskilful practice, a partial preventive may be obtained, perhaps, from the introduction of the English Dispensary system, by which, through voluntary association, regular practitioners are provided for the community.

We need no better evidence of the propriety and necessity of maintaining this organic perpetuation of the professions, than the fact that in their growth and extension they have all alike, as of a common necessity, adopted and applied the principle. As learned professions, it has been impossible that they should sustain themselves at all except in this way. The religious profession has maintained the principle even when perverted and abused to the arrogant usurpation of all ecclesiastical office and station. Society has suffered this abuse and injury in deference to the principle. But the power of organic extension and the right of ecclesiastical appointment by no means of necessity go together. The bar might as well arrogate to itself the selection of civil judges as the clergy that of church officers. It is right and necessary for the best interests of society that the clergy educate and prove their own members ; it is a distinct right of the church to determine its own organization. So, in fact, we find that even when the two have been separated, the organic principle of professional propagation has still been maintained in the clergy.

Thus it has been, likewise, with the bar. Sustaining, as does the

Clerical Profession, a necessary relation to an independent social constitution, it receives from the state the organizing element in its organic action. Yet while the court presides, declares, the bar of right assumes to itself every where the prerogatives and functions of a free society. The right *to make a motion* in open court—what an import and significance has this usage in regard to the independence and freedom of the Bar? Even although the right to practice be made common to all, so far as civil enactments may go, still the legal profession owes it to itself and to the interests especially entrusted to it by society, to maintain its own organic existence, and by the elevation of its membership, win for itself the exclusive though free patronage of the community.

The Medical Profession sustains no such intimate relation to a distinct social constitution, as does the Clerical Profession and the Bar, respectively, to the Church and the State. The organizing element is more distinctly in itself. The responsibility which society has thrown upon it, is consequently more exclusive. As the only competent judge of what are fit qualifications for the proper care of the physical life, society has, with reason, not to say of necessity, devolved upon it the duty of approving and commissioning the guardians of physical health. The profession has generally discharged this duty. When the right was taken away and untried irresponsible practitioners have flooded the community, experience has driven back to the revival and enforcement of the organic principle.

Right and proper as may be the outcry against monopoly and exclusive rights, in regard to some developments, or rather excrescences of the social body, there exists no place for it here. The tendency of the age is strong towards the indiscriminate overthrow of all that is organic in society. The professions owe it to themselves, and to the highest interests of men, to resist the current; to confine it within its proper limits, lest all the organic laws of man be swept away, and men be left, no longer compacted into the strength and security and prosperity of well organized society, but isolated, unsympathizing, unrelated units, and of consequence, but poor miserable imbecilities and deformities of humanity.

I have thus indicated the distinctive character and relations to society of the professions. I have endeavored to show that they and no others have the immediate and direct care of the three forms of human life entrusted to them by society, and that of necessity in its progress

towards a perfect civilization ; that they are, in a peculiar sense and distinctively, learned professions ; and that they subsist by an organic law of perpetuation.

May I be allowed, in conclusion, to offer one or two brief suggestions which naturally arise in the review of our discussion.

One is, that the members of the several professions should cultivate and cherish for each other a reciprocal sympathy, esteem and respect, while they harmoniously co-operate in advancing the highest interests of society.

The professions, as we have seen, stand in their very nature and origin in a most intimate, may I not say, sacred relation to each other. Society has taken its three great departments of functional duty and assigned one to each for its especial care. With functions equally high, important, sacred, society expects in the very distribution, that they labor harmoniously, and consequently with reciprocal good will and deference in promoting the great ends of social life. Separated in their respective provinces of duty by distinct boundaries and landmarks, they yet are more than neighbors. They bear to each other something of a fraternal relation while they owe to each other something more than even a fraternal dependence and obligation. Neither can properly discharge its high functions without the other. They rise and fall together.

Meeting often in the same field for the discharge of their several functions, they have a right to expect from each other a reciprocal deference, confidence and respect. Having one common aim, the care of the life of man in its three-fold development, they should move together in harmony of purpose and harmony of endeavor, subject to a higher law than that which determines the courtesies of ordinary life.

As learned professions, society seems to have a right to demand of them, especially, conspiring endeavors in the extension of the domain of true intelligence and science. One department of science particularly calls for their united culture. It is the science of sciences, from which all others originate, from which all receive their shape and character; the science of mind. It is a science of vital necessity to each of the professions. May I be allowed here, with all deference to invite the attention of the Medical Profession particularly, to the importance of this study; to inquire whether some branches of Medical science might not be advanced to a vastly higher degree of perfection, if they were to receive a more decidedly psychological development? Is there not

reason for suspecting, for instance, that the present condition of medical jurisprudence is very deficient from the want of the application of a higher metaphysical culture? Then the organic connection between body and spirit— is there not urgent reason for a more scientific investigation of this great subject; and must not the light, which the world is now eagerly looking for, dawn forth from a high medical and metaphysical training? In view of the fact, in short, that the body is but the organ of the spirit, that the physical life is most intimately associated with the life of the spirit, that its phenomena are consequently determined immediately or remotely in a great degree by the organizing principle—the spirit, does it not appear obvious that psychology constitutes a material branch of medical science, and should it not be introduced as an essential department of study into all our medical Institutions? Might not a high elevation and distinction be gained, at once, for the school whose instructions were decidedly characterized by this element of knowledge?

Society demands this particular service of the professions, because the perpetuation of mental science can be expected only on the co-operating labors of each. Professional habits of thought are so apt to engender one-sided views, that it is hardly possible that the laws of the human spirit should receive a full and thorough exposition from the unaided endeavors of either one of the professions. The history of the science teaches a striking lesson here. The metaphysical world has been divided into two great schools—the one inclining to an unmodified spiritualism, the other to an unmodified sensationalism. The father of the former was Plato—a spiritualist—a moral teacher. The latter traces its origin from Aristotle, one of the family of the Asclepiadæ and a member of the medical profession. The contest between these schools continued unmitigated till Bacon arose and by his new law—his new method of philosophizing, terminated the old quarrels and gave a new development to mental science. But the new science could not avoid the professional tincturings of its cultivators. Locke was a physician. He gave philosophy a development from the side of the physical—from the side of sense and matter, and the sensational tendencies thus given to the science, were carried much farther by Hartley, a physician, and his medical followers. Reid, on the other hand, who with Bacon and Locke shares the honor of originating British metaphysics, was a clergyman. He developed the science accordingly from the spiritual side; and thus supplied the wanting side in the

Lockeian development. All the great metaphysicians of Britain who have inclined to an idealistic or spiritual philosophy, have been clergymen, as Cudworth, Clarke, Butler, Berkeley, and Price. And now, as the legal profession, represented in Bacon, prescribed the law of philosophizing, may we not naturally expect that, represented in Sir William Hamilton, it is to adjust the controversies of the spiritual and the physical schools, and harmonize into one generally received system, the hitherto conflicting endeavors of the several professions? Does not this remarkable fact in the history of the science teach most clearly the duty of cultivating between the professions a spirit of generous confidence and respect, and, also, impose on each of the professions the obligation to furnish its full contribution to the advancement of the science?

My closing suggestion is that membership of the professional family, while it imposes peculiarly high and holy responsibilities, gives also peculiar promise to the worthy fulfilment of them, of high personal elevation and of corresponding respect and esteem in society.

It follows from the very nature of a profession, as we have seen, that those who in any worthy manner meet its responsibilities, must elevate themselves both intellectually and morally. While most of the other pursuits of life favor only indirectly personal improvement, the professions are ever making a direct draft on personal culture, are directly fostering personal growth.

The professional man, as such, is a learned man. He cannot enter his profession without a strictly scientific training. The pursuit of his profession can hardly do else than push forward continually intellectual research, intellectual discipline, intellectual culture. So in fact we find it to be. The great body of professional men are scientific men. The cultivation of science is mainly confined to their ranks. From the professions have proceeded, with some most honorable exceptions, the great mass of contributions to science and learning.

So, too, the professions are under constant elevating moral influences. The theologian, whose sphere is in the very heart and center of all spiritual influences; the lawyer, whose whole study is in the principles of rectitude itself, and whose entire activity is, or should be, expended on the correction or prevention of wrong, or the enforcement of right; the physician, whose mind is professionally ever open to the great truths of professional science, whose heart is professionally

ever kept sensitive to the wants of the suffering, and whose hands are professionally ever ministering to their relief, how should they not be elevated in all that expands and invigorates intelligence, in all that harmonizes and purifies the spirit? This is the high reward of their labors—the consciousness of obeying the dictates of right while they best effect their own personal elevation through ministry to the highest welfare of their fellow men.

They may expect, however, in addition, the lower remuneration which lies in the confidence and esteem and respect of others. An eminent medical man once indeed, said: "When they are sick, men think us very angels of mercy; but when they are restored to health, they shun us as fiends." There is too much truth in the remark. Corrupt human nature is slow to recognize its dependence and, consequently, is ungrateful. But, unhappily, its wants are too frequently oppressing it, to allow the professional man to live long without his reward. And when the want presses, when the burdened spirit in its felt dependence casts itself on professional guidance and ministry for relief and protection, what warmer, fuller confidence does man ever repose in his fellow than is witnessed then? I have seen the proud and haughty spirit, when thus bowed down under spiritual wants, bend, with the lowliness and docility of a smitten child before its parent, at the feet of its spiritual teacher, and in the meltings of a contrite humility, in the gushings of an all-yielding confidence, throw itself without a reserve on his counsels and guidance; and when spiritual relief and healing has come and the spirit rises in a new life and soundness, I have seen spring up a love, a gratitude, a confidence and respect which earth seldom sees even in the piety and loyalty of a child. I have seen, too, the strong man in his social life, when brought low through wrong or violence, committing himself, in the absolute trust of an injured child to his parent, to his legal adviser for counsel and redress; and as his lost rights are recovered by professional skill and fidelity, I have witnessed a strength of attachment, bearing in it confidence, esteem and respect, springing up between patron and client which seemed idolatry without its sin. I have seen, too, the disease-stricken body, prostrate in weakness and pain, visited by society's consecrated guardian of the physical life; and as I have watched the beseeching eye of the sufferer and the confiding trust of attending friends, as they invoke his mastery over the mysterious pow-

ers of disease, their grateful joy, too, as the spirit of evil retires before his superior might, I have ceased to wonder that a more enthusiastic and imaginative age has made divinities of their professional counsellors. And in these every day experiences of professional life, I discover a reward fully ample for its peculiar anxieties and responsibilities.

GENTLEMEN: May you who to day enter upon these labors and anxieties experience largely of this reward—the just desert of your faithful endeavors for a suffering humanity.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,

DELAWARE, OHIO,

AT ITS

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT, AUG. 5, 1846,

BY

EDWARD THOMSON, D. D.,
PRESIDENT, AND PROFESSOR OF MORAL SCIENCE AND BELLESLETTRES.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED AT THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN.

R. P. Thompson, Printer.
1846.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Inaugural Address was delivered at the Methodist Church, in Delaware, August 5th, 1846, before the Trustees, Visitors, and Students of the University, and a large audience; and is published in pursuance of the following resolutions, passed by the Board of Trustees, then in session:

"*Resolved*, That the Trustees and Visitors of the Ohio Wesleyan University have listened, with deep interest and great edification, to the able and eloquent Inaugural Address, delivered this day by President Thomson, on the occasion of his installation into office, as President of said institution; and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof to the Board, for publication.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to procure the printing and publication of 5,000 copies of said address, in pamphlet form."

Samuel Williams,
Thomas Orr,
Charles Elliott,
Committee of Publication.

Delaware, O., August 5, 1846.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The Ohio Wesleyan University originated in the liberality and public spirit of Delaware, a village which, by the centrality and accessibility of its position, the beauty of its rural prospects, and the intelligence, morality, and catholic feeling of its inhabitants, is admirably suited to such an institution. We wonder not that the thought of establishing it should occur to them; for who of classic associations can cross that brook, fringed with willows, or ascend yon gravel walk, shaded with majestic locusts, without thinking of the groves of sacred Academus; or who survey, from the margin of that stream, or the summits of those flowering hills, the edifice that rises so impressively upon his view, without fancying he beholds the temple of science.

It was easy to perceive, that a college, to be permanent, must be endowed, and to be useful, must be patronized; and that to secure both endowment and patronage, it must be placed under the fostering care of some religious denomination. Now to which of the sects in Ohio were the people of Delaware to look for the aid indispensable to the establishment of their literary institution? The lordly halls of Kenyon filled the eyes of Episcopalians, the neat edifices of Granville attracted the undivided attention of Baptists, whilst a score of classic piles were distracting the views and dividing the affections of Presbyterians; but, lo! the Methodists, with a membership of 150,000, had no literary institution of a higher grade than the academy. To them, therefore, it was natural that our citizens should turn. Accordingly, they sent a committee to the North Ohio conference, at its session in the fall of 1841, bearing a proposal to donate to it ten acres of ground, embracing the sulphur spring, and the present college edifice, on condition that it should, within a reasonable time, establish thereon a collegiate institution. While the conference unanimously gave due consideration to this proposition, many of its members thought it should be promptly, but respectfully declined: not that they were insensible to the liberality of our citizens, the eligibility of this location, or the duty of

their own body in relation to collegiate education; but as the conference already had under their patronage a seminary of elevated grade, laboring under heavy embarrassments, they feared that if conference should accept the proposition from Delaware, it would be unable to fulfill its obligations to Norwalk, and, perhaps, might be false to both. This opposition prevented the immediate acceptance of the offer. A resolution was, however, adopted, virtually referring it to the Ohio conference, which, after a brief discussion, passed resolutions appointing commissioners to accept the premises on the terms proposed, and purchase additional grounds. Opposition to the measure ceased from that moment.

Within a short time after the premises were accepted, a liberal charter was obtained, an efficient Board of Trustees organized, and a preparatory school opened, which has been continued without interruption ever since; and although we were under no obligations to organize a Faculty until five years after accepting the property, we have closed our second collegiate year.

Notwithstanding the many obstacles we have encountered, we have made some progress in endowing the institution. Our property is now as follows:

Ten acres of land, embracing the college edifice, donated by the citizens,	$10,000
Five do., on which stands the residence of the President,	5,000
The Allen Farm, near Marion, O.,	10,000
Scholarship notes supposed unquestionable,	45,000
Land, and subscriptions known to be safe,	2,000
	$72,000
Our liabilities,	3,500

Our annual expenses are as follows:

Professors' salaries,	$3,350

To meet which, we may calculate with tolerable certainty upon the following annual resources:

Tuition bills,	$1,000	
Interest on scholarships,	2,500	
Rent of farm, near Marion,	300	
		$3,800

Our immediate wants are, however, about four thousand dollars.

If we compare our condition with the resources of our Church, or the magnitude of our enterprise, we shall have reason for discouragement. If we contrast our premises with those of Yale or Harvard, or survey them in view of those immense quadrangles, and superb chapels, and lofty towers, that rise upon the astonished

vision in the literary Babylons of the old world, we sink into appalling insignificance. But let us not despise the day of small things. Yale College commenced with thirty pounds, and accompanied the earth twenty times in her journey around the sun, before it had an edifice or endowment equal to our own. The transatlantic universities were once as low as we, and in their progress to their present glory, they have seen nations rise and fall, and long lines of royal patrons gathered to their fathers. *We* are in the wilderness, our footsteps are over the fresh graves of barbarians, and the echoes of the warhoop have scarce died away upon our hills. Though the *things* of the day be small, not so its expectations. We may be *quieted* with indispensables, but not *contented*. We shall go on, as our means increase, to erect a neat and commodious chapel—to obtain an opulent library, containing the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge both of the ancients and moderns—to erect a laboratory, and fill its apartments with apparatus and cabinet, perfect and unsurpassed—to erect and furnish rows of neat cottages, each embosomed in a lovely garden, where the poor, but virtuous and diligent pupil can retire for study under his own vine and arbor, and take honey from his own bee-hive—to complete our endowment, and establish popular lectureships, by which the community may be instructed in important branches of science without entering college classes. President and professors will go down to the narrow-house, but the University, we hope, will go up to realize these broad and lofty expectations. To justify this hope, let us glance at our *prospects*.

I. These are founded upon *the interests of the citizens of Delaware*. The institution originated with them, and their personal pride is involved in its success. They feel grateful to the denomination which came so generously and promptly to their aid, and will express that gratitude in a suitable mode. Tell me not of bigotry and sectarian jealousy. Conscious of our integrity and liberality, we fear no *righteous* opposition; and trusting in God and our own right arms, we dread no *unrighteous* one. Misunderstanding may occur, but it cannot last; and the opposition founded upon it must vanish with itself. It is matter of joy to me that the University is located in a community divided in political and religious opinions: the friction of a mixed society prevents dogmatism and develops energy.

The University promotes the *wealth* of the town. The blindness which cannot see this, must be as unnatural as the indifference which cannot feel it. It may not be amiss, however, to exhibit a few figures on this point.

The institution has brought hither five professors' families, whose expenses will average $450 per annum,	$2,350
One unmarried professor,	250
It has already induced, at least, seven other families to take up their abode here, whose expenses, perhaps, may average $450,	3,150
The students will probably average one hundred, besides those belonging to families resident here, and their boarding will average sixty dollars per annum,	6,000
The cost of their books will be not less than	1,000
Incidental expenses, professional services, clothing purchased here, &c., will not vary much from	1,000
Expenses of parents, and other visitors of students and professors, and the trade they bring, may be estimated at	2,000
	$15,750

This amount will probably be doubled after the institution shall have been five years longer in operation. A number of lots have been purchased by families, who intend to remove here shortly, to enjoy the benefits of the University. A considerable number of houses (we have reason to suppose) have been erected here, which would have been reared elsewhere, had not this institution been founded. Moreover, it is destined to give additional fame to the spring, and a sagacious business man, foreseeing this result, is erecting a building where golden visitors may throng. The University has increased the value of the real estate in the place and vicinity. This cannot be estimated at less than $300,000, nor can it have enhanced in value from the institution less than twenty per cent. Here, then, is a donation to Delaware of $60,000. If any one think this extravagant, let him inquire. We have spoken only of the direct influences; let us advert to the indirect. The prosperity of an inland town, possessing no water privileges, or other local advantages, must depend upon that of the surrounding country: the prosperity of a country depends very much upon its intelligence. Remove the present inhabitants of Delaware county, and substitute for them a rude tribe of Indians, and what would its farms be worth? What would the village of Delaware bring? Make every farmer as intelligent as Professor Silliman, and every acre, every plough, every turnep, would be trebled in value, and resources that may lie hidden for ages might suddenly come to light. Heretofore, farmers have not felt the necessity of science; but when they shall have worn

out the forest mold, they will learn that the value of a farm is intimately related to the knowledge of the owner. But how shall a people become intelligent? Provide common schools, and compel the attendance of children, and you have but taken the first step in the public education. You must take three more. 1. You must secure competent teachers, without which the school is a farce and a curse. Where are you to obtain these? Men in commercial, professional, or agricultural life, have neither the habits nor the inclination for teaching. If they had, they would not abandon those lucrative pursuits for a scanty support. To the young men you must look; and where are they to acquire suitable qualifications? At the college. 2. You need competent school directors and examiners. And *who* are competent? Not they who are acquainted merely with grammar, arithmetic, and geography. They who have studied nothing else, know not these. You require men of enlightened minds, of comprehensive views, of disciplined powers, who can take an interest in the diffusion of knowledge, examine the different modes of instruction, analyze and test proposed improvements in education, and introduce such as are truly valuable. Whence do such men come? In nearly every district where the common school prospers are graduates, to whom its vigor may be traced. 3. You need school books. Who shall write them? He who knows not the laws of the human mind, would make but a sorry text-book in arithmetic; he who has no acquaintance with ancient languages, would compile but a meagre grammar; and let none but an educated man, write even a primer. The farther a mind is in darkness, the greater the genius required to bring it into light: much skill is requisite to write for a man, yet more to write for a child. Colleges are needful to awaken and perpetuate an *interest* in common schools. The influence of colleges, in elevating society, is immediate as well as remote. A farmer, coming to the seat of learning to dispose of his produce, hears a favorable account of the students, and finding that he can support his son at the University without feeling it sensibly, determines to send him one session. The boy makes rapid progress, and the father is so well pleased that he continues him another session, and then another year. Upon his return, he is the pride of the father, and the joy of the mother. Showing his superiority, incidentally, in a thousand ways, he attracts brother and sister to the flowery

paths of knowledge, and leads them, by the route he himself has pursued, to the bright eminence which he has attained. He now organizes a debating club, and is elected president; he establishes a library, and is made librarian; he delivers a lecture on astronomy, and excites general admiration. The family now take higher rank in the neighborhood. But this stings the lads and lasses that have heretofore looked down upon them. Is not this, say they, Minor, the blacksmith? and was not James, his son, once our plough-boy? and are not his brethren, Joseph, and John, and Henry, all with us? Well, father, exclaim the youths, in a dozen cabins at once, we will go to college, too. Presently there is heard throughout the vicinage, a note of preparation—it enters the ears of young James, and is borne as on the wings of the wind to his joyous home, where it instantly provokes his family to resolve that, to keep their ground, he must return to college and graduate. Meanwhile this circle of emulation is constantly widening; and what is transpiring in this part of the county, is going on in others. Thus, in the region of the college, there is a gradual elevation of the whole platform of society. Industry is stimulated, intelligence diffused, improvements introduced, the public taste refined, enterprise provoked, acquaintance extended, and correspondence with distant points established: cabins become villas, swamps parterres, the forest is fragrant with the lily and the rose, and the whole land seems to be moving upward to the sun and the bosom of the clouds.

We have seen the influence of the college upon the *wealth* of the town. What will be the effect upon its *pleasures?* The young people being educated will become refined—for intellectual pleasures awaken a taste for the fine arts—the door yards will be adorned with shrubs, the gardens with statuary, the dwellings with paintings, and the evening carols of your children will be accompanied with tones sweet as those of the harp of David—the pleasures of sense, and the turbulence of passion, will, amid the general serenity, and beauty, and harmony, grow distasteful, and when the young gather to their feast, it will be a feast of reason, seasoned with the exhilarating pleasures of the eye and ear. *I* am not mad, but *ye are*, if ye estimate the influence of your college upon the social pleasures of the town, by a glance at those rude collegians that toss the ball on that green eminence, or lounge upon its grassy slope. Look to that incipient library receiving perpetual additions—to that

nucleus of a cabinet, which in its progressive enlargement will exhibit more and more of the beauties of nature—to that gallery of paintings, which, while I speak, many may form a fixed purpose to increase, until the eye can be feasted and the soul entranced—to that laboratory we have in view, where air will be analyzed, water decomposed, and lightning imprisoned—to those popular lectures on science, where the humblest of your citizens may learn philosophy. Look at the refined circles of New Haven. And what influence upon the *character* of the village does the college exert? It annually floats her name upon a thousand leaves on all the winds of heaven; it proclaims her praises upon the public breath through all the regions of the land; it writes your best words, and prints your best works, in a book; it praises your health, and apologizes for your sickness; it will grave your lovely scenery with an iron pen, and lead, if not in the rock for ever.

Nor must we omit to inquire, what will be the influence of the college upon your village in coming ages? The Eternal City may become a waste, but the dominion of her nobler minds will endure to all generations. The college, if fostered, will not only embalm the memory of its founders, but give immortality to their sons. Whence come earth's great ones—the Jeffersons, the Erskines, the Websters: the founders of constitutions, the expounders of law, the embassadors of nations? As a general rule, from the college. Hither come the bench, the bar, the senate chamber, the pulpit, the throne, to fill their vacant seats. Place the names of your children upon the college catalogue, and, as a general rule, you enroll them upon the scroll of respectability, if not of fame. Graduate them, and they are fair candidates for the highest honors and emoluments of the government. How great, then, the advantages you possess over the people of many neighboring towns!

The college, moreover, tends to produce a homogeneous community. In nature, in providence, in grace, God creates distinctions. To *his* will we should bow; but to make artificial ones is to thwart his design. It is the *glory* of this Union, that this government can create no aristocracy; it is her *shame*, that the purse can. It is perpetually drawing, in every city and village, a broad line of demarkation, which stops not even at the temple or the grave. But let the children of a town be well educated, that line will be narrowed,

if not obliterated. Let them sit side by side through a full course, and they will go out brethren in the bands of light.

There are, I know, disadvantages connected with a literary institution. Bad boys will play freaks. But if any think that these outweigh the advantages, I say not he is *witless*, but that the watch of his wits needs *winding up*.

II. The prospects of the institution will appear good, if we consider *the interest of the foster conferences in its success*. They passed resolutions accepting, with its conditions, the donation of the citizens, and determined to endow the University speedily—permanently. These resolutions are pledges to the citizens of Delaware, to the legislature, and to the public—they bind the promisors in the mode the promisees understood them—they secure all reasonable energies of the conferences to their fulfillment, and bar all action inconsistent therewith. Some may, perhaps, think them of little consequence. What! who compose these conferences? For the most part, men aged, wise, good. Are *they* not to be trusted? Have *their* brains lost the scent of true policy? Itinerant preachers may know little of *books*, but surely they know something of *men* and *things*. They are not prone to involve themselves in heavy liabilities without consideration? And were not these conferences sincere as well as considerate? Are *their* speeches but the explosions of tickled lungs? Are their votes but the utterances of "little nestlings that cry out on the top of question?" Have they never read the Ten Commandments? Even men without the Bible, do not often voluntarily assume obligations they do not intend to fulfill. We trust in the Indian's pipe of peace—we rely on the resolve of lawless Arabs, gathered around the slaughtered caravan, and clamoring for the spoils—we confide even in the pirate crew upon the deck slippery with the blood of their victims, when they deliberately *resolve*, and can we not trust in a body of Christian ministers, who venerate truth, not only as the bond of society, but as the attribute of God? But, perchance, they will some day see a better location, or have a better offer, or find the village of Delaware supine and faithless. What of that? "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." But may we not see in the already written history of this institution, an earnest of the final fulfillment of the largest conference promises? North Ohio

and Ohio conferences have sent out agents into every corner of the state to solicit donations on its behalf, given liberally to its funds from their own resources, borrowed means on their own credit to pay its debts, and sent members from their own bodies to fill its professorships. We, upon this platform, know our fathers and brethren, and would not be here, had we doubted their sincerity. We have no wish to enact a farce at a sulphur spring, or to feed, promise-crammed, upon the air. But is not collegiate education, *new* and *strange* to Methodism? Nay: she was born, cradled, and baptized within college walls, and she has manifested a zeal for education worthy her origin. What Church in the United States, save one, is founding so many literary institutions as she? But are not her seminaries of learning the results of youthful zeal and indiscretion? True, many of our young and educated men are doing duty manfully in this department, but many others (we say it more in sorrow than in anger) are indifferent to our educational enterprises, as if they would fain see the seats which death vacates around them, filled up with the ignorant, that they might the better "lord it over God's heritage." The old preachers are the hope of our college. When this institution first went up to the North Ohio conference, its *senior* members were her advocates: they are still her firm and ardent friends. When she first knocked at the door of the Ohio conference, and when her enemies waxed strong in their resistance, and her friends became weak with fear, who was it that arose, and, by an overmastering eloquence, prostrated all opposition, and raised every hand for her admittance? It was one whose temples are crowned with hoary locks. When she went up last autumn naked and hungry to yonder temple of convocation in Cincinnati, who ran to meet her in the vestibule, and fell on her neck and kissed her, and throwing the best robe around her shoulders, and putting a golden ring upon her fingers, and shoes on her feet, led her to his brethren, and went up and down the aisles "making merry" with his friends? It was a father who, long since, seeking, like Abraham, a better country, pitched his tent upon this spot, before civilized man had reared his cabin near it, and who threaded the wilderness beyond, clad with a blanket, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the wigwams of the savage. If the University pass through a fiery trial, to whom does she turn for an advocate? It is a man that trembles on his staff

who rises—it is an eye dimmed with age, that flashes with indignation, and a mind matured by three-score years and ten, that feels for the pillars of her assailant's argument. Look yonder! they are taking up a collection in conference. Here comes a young man well-dressed, well-fed, well-educated. He comes from a wealthy station, where he has married a rich wife. He would not have come at all, at this moment, but that, through inadvertence, he did not escape from the house before his name was called. As he steps to the table, he dryly says, "Set me down five dollars." But, now, an old man rises, pocket-book in hand, and moves toward the secretary's desk. Forty years ago, a vigorous youth, mounting his horse, bidding farewell to his weeping friends, and turning his eyes away from the alluring paths of honor and riches along the banks of the Potomac, he started, at the call of the Church, for the wilds of Ohio. The valley of the Muskingum was his circuit, and joyfully he sang the songs of Zion through the woods, looking up the home of the emigrant, to preach Jesus to him and his household. Sometimes the night overtakes him in a pathless swamp, and he spends the hours of darkness amid howling wolves or prowling bears. Sickness seizes him, but he rises before he has recovered, rejoicing to pursue his way. And now his natural force is abated, his eyes are dim, and a large family depends upon him for support. He comes this year from a circuit, where a people have sprung up that knew not Jacob, but on *Pisgah's* top he sings:

"No foot of land do I possess—
No cottage in this wilderness,
A poor, wayfaring man."

Well, when he reaches the table, he lays down twenty-five dollars, and blesses God that he has it to give to a Methodist college. I draw no fancy sketch. When I hear the Methodist preachers of former days accused of opposing education, I repel the charge (unless it be qualified) as a base calumny. 'Tis pseudo-Methodism, not genuine, that sneers at learning. Some of *her* preachers, I know, did underrate knowledge, and there are a few now among us, both old and young, of the same character. They will have nothing to do with science, because it is not the smooth stone from the brook: they won't use Goliath's sword, even to cut off Goliath's head. They tell us, God has no need of human *learning;* but they seem to think he has great need of human *ignorance.* We

believe he *can* carry on his work without either. The question is, whether he *will*. If not, which instrumentality will he select? a *fit* one or an *unfit?* Let the analogies of his providence answer. When, for instance, he sends an angel with a prophet's dinner, what does he give him? a bag of sand, or "cakes baken on the coals?"

Admit that the conferences are interested in sustaining the institution, will the people sustain *them?* We believe so.

They are able. A dollar from each member would answer all our purposes for an age. And can they not spare it? Hundreds of them give more than this annually to look at *monkeys*, and will they not give it to educate *men?* Multitudes give ten times that amount every year to burn *cigars*, and will they not give this much to enkindle immortal *minds?* Thousands of families among us have hoarded treasure, from which they might abstract enough for a college, and yet have sufficient left to bind the hands, and cord the feet, and blast the intellects, and blacken the hearts of their sons, and send them rattling down a turnpike road to hell. There is ten times enough surplus wealth in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Ohio to endow a University handsomely, and happy would it be for that Church could we withdraw it from her coffers, even if it were cast into the depths of the sea.

They are willing. Are not *Christians* ready to do their duty? What! is there no difference between the sinner and the Christian? What, then, is this difference? The same that there is between selfishness and benevolence, between *living* to this world, and *dying* to it, between laying up treasures on earth, and laying them up in *heaven*. And are Methodists all hypocrites? There may be among them *some* such, but the *body* are sincere: or are they deceived? is their profession empty air, their regeneration a chimera, and their rapture but the ardor of ill-regulated passion? Nay, verily. There is as much true, intelligent, self-sacrificing religion among them, as among any people on earth. Convince them of their duty, and they will do it. I believe they can be shown that it is their duty to sustain the Ohio Wesleyan University; therefore, I believe they *will*.

1. Is it not clearly the duty of a Church to give a thorough education to her best minds? Within the Methodist cabins of Ohio, there may be an Isaac Newton, or a Robert Hall; but, if uneducated, the one may be the village blacksmith, the other, the country magistrate,

and neither may be known beyond the limits of his native county. But Methodist youths may be sent to Presbyterian, or other colleges. That *has* been done, and what, generally, is the result? They are Methodists no longer, but give their talents to the Church which has educated them: according to the general law of Providence, that when a people do not improve their blessings, they are taken from them, and given to another that will bring forth the fruits thereof. There are, probably, one hundred Methodist youths in the other denominational colleges of this state.

2. It is the duty of the Church to furnish her proportion of teachers for the children of the republic.

3. She is bound to make a judicious use of all the means which Providence offers her of spreading the Gospel. One of the most efficient is the press. To some extent it has been employed by the Church, in the hands of Luther, Wesley, and others. It is still a great blessing, as used by the Churches; but look at its chief issues: silly poetry, corrupting novels, miserable heresy, concealed infidelity, and Atheistic science—"falsely so called"—stimulants to the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life. It seems as if Satan had come up from the pit to manage the press. He employs the best ruined minds of earth to prepare its matter, and uses *Christian* as well as sinner fingers to set the type, and kindle the fires, and direct the steam, and catch the ten thousand sheets as they are thrown off every hour, and bear them, unbound, to the railroad depot, that they may be hurried to the ends of the earth, for the poisoning of the nations. Nor do these leaves merely preoccupy the irreligious and infidel mind; they are too often puffed by the religious press into the finest fields of the Church, to corrupt the fountains of her spiritual life. And how shall Zion rescue the press from its perversion? She must polish the minds of her noblest youth, until they can rival the glowing pages of Scott, and Voltaire, and Sue. A process which requires the college.

4. The Church is bound to keep pace with the age in knowledge, that she may turn its disclosures to good account. Within the last half century, the progress of Science has been unparalleled, and yet she seems but to have reached the vestibule of discovery. As all additions to science throw additional light upon the attributes of God, we might suppose that religion would advance foot to foot with learning—that every discovery would awaken in the philosophic

mind a deeper adoration of the Creator, an intenser interest in his word, and a stricter obedience to his commandments. But, alas! for human depravity. The philosopher can pass through the beautiful display of affinities in the ocean's depths, ascend the successive strata of the solid globe, and survey new wonders in the siderial heavens, with an ungodly mind and a prayerless heart; nay, he often suffers his acquisitions to generate a sullen pride, which looks with scorn upon the claims of God, and the sacrifice of Christ. Atheism, Deism, and heresy join themselves to Science, and endeavor to turn her revelations against the Bible. If Paul's spirit was stirred within him when he saw the Athenian altar to the unknown God, should not the Church be awakened when she sees philosophy, riper than Athenian, questioning the existence of the Creator, amid the most sublime demonstrations of his power, and repudiating his mercy amid the most persuasive exhibitions of his love? Christianity should walk hand in hand with Science, through all her green and sunlit paths, teaching her to say with increased emphasis, at every ascending footstep, "Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty," and responding herself in that other and nobler strain, "Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints." She should stand side by side with her upon the loftiest summits; and as Philosophy, pointing to the newly discovered sun, exclaims, "Hail, holy light!" Christianity, pointing beyond the stars, to that higher and holier light, whence stream, throughout the universe, the beams of righteousness, should cry out, "Halleluiah! halleluiah! the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" And that she may thus make the regions of science vocal with praise, she should have the discipline and the acquisitions of the college. Brethren may say, let other Churches attend to science—be it ours, like our fathers, to preach salvation. Our fathers did not merely do this. Witness Clarke, and Watson, and Benson, and Bunting. Circumstances, too, have changed since the days of our American fathers. Methodism can no longer, like the wild ass free, scorn the multitudes of the city, while she makes the wilderness her house, and the barren land her dwellings.

5. It is the duty of the Church to resist the encroachments of Romanism. I am, by no means, disposed to bring railing accusations against "Mother Church;" rather would I apologize for her. She has come down through ages of darkness and channels of corruption, what

wonder if her sight be weak, her garments defiled? The following propositions will, however, command a ready assent even from the most liberal, *enlightened* Christian charity, namely: That Romanism substitutes faith in the Church for faith in Christ; reduces faith itself from fiducial trust to mere assent; prevents the growth of her people in grace, by withholding the "sincere milk of the word;" weakens the authority of Gospel precepts, by her practices of indulgence and absolution; encumbers the simple ordinances of God with complex ceremonies of man, and grasps at the sceptre of the world, by assuming to take its conscience into her holy keeping. And, although in this country the principles of Romanism are modified by the progress of the age, the spirit of free institutions, and the influence of surrounding Protestantism; yet, we have every reason to believe, that should she ever gain the ascendancy in this country, her principles would assume their original shape, and work out their legitimate results. That she is striving for the ascendancy, there can be no doubt, and that she aims to compass this end by becoming the presiding genius of American education, seems equally clear. When once she allures the youth to her halls, "*Religioni et artibus sacrum*," she begins to spread her vail over his eyes. And this is easy; for she directs his studies, closes up his communication with the world, wins his confidence by kind attentions, enchants him with her imposing ceremonies, and alarms him by gradually pressing upon his immature mind her favorite dogma, "Salvation in the arms of the *Church* only." We blame her not for this: her principles demand it. But *shame* on the Protestantism which says those principles are from hell, yet stirs not to counterwork them. The vigorous, youthful mind of these United States will be educated; and if it find no provision for this purpose in Protestant Churches, what wonder if it turn to holy Mother? That University will stand while nations are overturned. If Methodism falter in its support, and finally forsake it, Romanism will come to its relief; and gladly would she now run up those winding stairs, to nail the wooden cross to yon dome, and descending, pitch out of the window the portraits of Wright, and Finley, and Collins, and Young, to hang in their places those of Purcell, and Eccleston, and Pope Gregory XVI, and Ignatius Loyola. God hide me from such an hour. But what have I lived to see? Methodist youth within the walls of Catholic nunneries and monasteries, for the sake of

cheap Latin and Greek! And what *may* I live to see? Those same young men and women returning home with golden crosses upon their bosoms, to scorn the religion of their dying and broken-hearted parents, while the sighs upon every breeze ask, what is the reason? And the silver in the coffers answers, it is not with me; and the barns, pressed out with new grain, and the cattle upon a thousand hills respond, it is not with us.

What a contrast does the policy of Rome present to ours. Shall Methodism be like the ostrich, which God hath deprived of wisdom, and which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in the dust, and forgetteth that the foot may crush them, or that the beast may break them? Is she hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers? Romanism, like the eagle, "mounts up and maketh her nest on high; she dwelleth and abideth on the *rock*—upon the *crag* of the rock, and the *strong* place. From *thence* she seeketh her prey, and her eyes behold *afar off;* her young ones suck up blood, and where the slain is, there is she."

6. It is the duty of the Church to occupy the missionary fields which the divine providence is opening. And how extensive are these fields! The isles of the sea wait for God's law; India offers her immense population to unembarrassed Christian enterprise; Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia, are yielding to the advance of Christian civilization; China, separated, for ages, from the Christian world by an impenetrable wall, has suddenly presented defenseless borders, and invited the armies of Zion to the conquest, at once, of half the human race; and Africa, already illumined at her northern and southern extremities, by reflection from Europe, and irradiated on her western border by the dawn of a Gospel morning, turns a hundred gates upon their golden hinges, opening the paths of her interior mountains to the feet of "him that bringeth good tidings." How shall we respond to these trumpet calls? Will the benighted millions be converted unless they hear? And how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they have preachers unless some be sent? and whom shall we send? Men with suitable qualifications, surely. What are these? Piety and a call from God, are a *sine qua non* in relation to the minister; but something more may be necessary. As the Bible must be translated, stupid millions aroused and enlightened, the rising generation trained and educated, the captious Brahmin met and confounded, and the hollowness of a

venerable and gorgeous philosophy exposed, surely, in a world, and under a dispensation, where God works according to immutable laws, a disciplined understanding, a taste for study, and a knowledge of the principles of language, and the laws of the human mind, are indispensable. If, therefore, the Church needs missionaries of such qualifications, she is bound to erect colleges, where they may be obtained: not that she may make missionaries, but that she may make *men*, whom God may make missionaries.

III. The community at large is interested in sustaining this college. Colleges are barriers to many of the greatest evils which threaten this Union. We instance a few:

1. Avarice. This has prevailed in all ages, and has generally increased with the progress of civilization. It is more to be feared in a republican than a monarchical government. Rome and Carthage may trace their destruction to it; and our Union, which, in her infancy, imitated the early virtues of those ancient states, seems, prematurely, to be following the steps which led to their decline.

We who boast our independence, bow the pliant knee to King Money, who commands more respect in free America, than royalty itself in monarchical Europe. Nor is this tyrant a discerning one. Although he sometimes patronizes virtue, and promotes learning and religion, he more frequently is the forerunner of luxury and effeminacy, the companion of vice, and the refuge of crime. We see him often silencing the pulpit, swaying the halls of legislation, corrupting the bench, and even cutting the rope of criminal justice. Well has inspiration written, "The love of money is the root of all evil"—itself neither good nor evil, and, when properly employed, a great blessing, yet, when it commands the heart, an all comprehending curse. The nation, as the individual, that covets money, "falls into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition." The speculations of the past ten years are a fearful proof. What shall arrest this growing evil? The only effectual barrier is the Gospel; but auxiliaries should not be despised, more especially since "the God of this world blinds the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the Gospel should shine unto them." Among these auxiliaries is the college. The common school may stimulate the desire for money, by furnishing abilities for its acquisition, but the college bears us above the region of utilitarianism, to the land of the fair and the

pure, where men drink of the Pierian spring, not shallow and intoxicating draughts, but deep and sobering ones. Learning, by enlarging the understanding, enables us to make a proper estimate of the purpose of life: by furnishing subjects of pleasing and profitable meditation, it allays our anxieties in prosperity, and, by affording elevating and tranquilizing amusements, it moderates our sorrows in adversity. It refines the taste, and thus excites disgust at unworthy occupations, and disproportionate desires. It weakens the influence of that part of our nature which we have in common with brutes, by stimulating that which we have in common with angels. It diminishes the charms of our outer possessions, by broadening and beautifying our inner. The scholar finds within himself a world of light, where he can survey the Coliseum, tread the Pantheon, stand upon Mars' Hill, or muse within the Porch, the Academy, or the Lyceum. Here he can study metaphysics with Aristotle, languages with Plato, mathematics with Euclid, and philosophy with Socrates. He can soar and sing with Homer, sail the seas with Cæsar, and conquer the world with Alexander. Learning diminishes the attractions of business, by increasing the attractions of nature. As the scholar walks abroad, the flowers of the field discourse sweetly in his soul's ear: every mineral beneath his footsteps seems his own familiar friend, and every animal in his pathway speaks volumes, in accents which he understands. Truth springs out of the earth to meet him; righteousness looks down from heaven to smile upon him; the winds break forth around him into melody; the universe becomes to him a temple, and as he swells its worship and song, tell him of the money changers, and you provoke him to make a scourge of small cords. There may be scholars who are mean and worldly, but they are so in spite of the tendencies of learning. Few of the truly learned are inordinately pursuing wealth.

2. Another evil which threatens our nation is, her political conflicts. The patronage of the President, always great, has, at length, become alarming, and the scramble which it encourages, may yet tear the government in pieces. It is easy to see that corruption and overthrow await any republic in which the elections are a strife for spoils. What is the remedy? Patronage is essential to administration, and if transferred to the Senate, or any other co-ordinate branch, we should, probably, have more corruption with

less responsibility. Colleges have a tendency to correct this evil, by increasing the intelligence of the people, and diminishing the number of aspirants for office. Who are such? Not successful professional men. They scorn the demagogue. Not the philosopher. He who can number and weigh the stars, can be readily reconciled to a limited dominion over the creatures of a day. His "promised wonders," visions of past and present worlds, have composed his mind "into the calm of a contented knowledge." *He* shouts not in the maddened crowd. Who, then, are they that clamor for office? Quacks, pettifoggers, theological experimenters—mere mental cripples, who, being unable to live by *professional* tricks, resort to *political* ones. Establish colleges numerous as society demands, and you will fill the professions with men, who, pursuing their avocations with credit to themselves, and profit to the community, would scorn to bow where "thrift may follow fawning." True, we have scholars in public life, but they generally occupy high station, which they rarely seek, and reluctantly fill.

3. Another national evil we have to dread is, the tendency of our government to usurpation. The object of the framers of our Constitution was, a government in equilibrium, tending neither to consolidation, nor disunion. When they had completed their work, there were distinguished statesmen who pronounced it a rope of sand. Had they lived to this day, they would have found the rope not very sandy. We have trying times ahead. Look at our political horizon! I see a cloud of war rising in the west: I behold a whirlwhind coming from the east: "I perceive a storm, big with thunder and lightning, gathering in the south, which, wherever the hurricane shall carry it, will fill all places with a shower of blood." We need, in the vessel of state, pilots such as Pericles—marines that have mused at the Pass of Thermopylæ, and the Bay of Salamis, or read epitaphs on the plains of Marathon. We need commanders like him who

> "Wielded, at will, the fierce democracy,
> And fulmined over Greece to Macedon,
> And Artaxerxes' throne."

Where shall we look for them? Go ask history who have been the asserters of liberty. Who burst the chains which had bound the civilized world in a bondage of ages? The classical Luther. Who, from time to time, resisted the encroachments of monarchy,

and hedged thrones about with constitutional restrictions? Who was John Hampden, that rose alone, "the argument of all tongues," in resistance to taxation by prerogative, and at whose voice, when an appeal was made to arms, ten thousand flaming swords leaped from the thighs of freemen? Who first resisted taxation without representation? Wherever an argument was to be made, or a battle to be fought, there were the sons of Yale and Harvard. Who signed the Declaration of Independence? All graduates but ten, and they scholars. Who framed the American Constitution? Its principles were drawn by classical scholars, through ancient languages, and from ancient forms of government. The spirit of the college is the spirit of liberty. From those halls we hope to send out a phalanx hostile, terrible, destructive to the hosts of political corruption. Let demagogues and despots oppose colleges—'tis fitting they should; but the patriot and the statesman will rally to their support.

Though the village, the Church, the community, be deeply engaged in erecting the University, it is necessary to make a further inquiry; for unless God build the house, they labor in vain that build it. Better lay our foundations on the earthquake, than without his blessing; but this, we trust, we have. Christianity has always found learning an important auxiliary. It was planted by men of extraordinary and supernatural scholarship: it flourished in the first ages under the labors of Clemens, Origen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine—men of the ripest learning: it was revived by Wickliffe, Melancthon, Calvin, Knox, and others—as profound in philosophy as in piety: it has been spreading in the latter days, under Wesley, Whitefield, Edwards, Witherspoon, Fisk—as celebrated for literature as religion. Piety without knowledge often degenerates into superstition, enthusiasm, or heresy. That we may have learning without religion is true, and that it may prove a curse as it did in revolutionary France is also true; but that religion makes no great progress without learning is a proposition equally clear. Then the Divine blessing must be upon the means of its promotion. The college teaches truth—*from* God, leading, unless perverted, *to* God, and, like God, eternal—dwelling in light. We have laid our corner-stone in prayer, we are carrying on our work in faith, and we hope to bring forth the cope-stone with shouting. May we not expect revivals? If not, we shall be less fortunate than

any other Christian college. If we have God's blessing, though we must work with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other, we shall complete our structure.

I have no time to notice objections; but when we appeal for support, how often are we met with this: The college is important, but it is designed for the rich, let them found and sustain it. A great mistake: the rich can have colleges in their own houses, or send to Europe. It is the poor man that the college specially blesses. One-half the pupils of our colleges are the sons of the poor; one-third, perhaps, rely more or less upon themselves for support. When the college comes into a place, let the *poor* utter their voice and clap their hands on high. Look yonder! those halls are hung with tapestry, those glasses sparkle with vermilion, those floors are spread with carpets of Turkey's richest dye: there appetite is sated, sense entranced, and passion frantic with enjoyment; but, lo! the pestilence that walketh in darkness stands within the portals. At midnight a cry is heard, the pillow of down groans, terrors take a hold of the house like waters, and ere the cock crows thrice, the master of that mansion is numbered with the sheeted dead. Scarce are his remains interred, when a new grief comes upon his youthful widow. She learns that his estate is insolvent, and kneeling, trusts in the father of the fatherless, and the widow's God. A few friends procure for her a neat cottage on the common, and her father bestows upon her a small annuity. And now her chief care is her sons. Musing in the serene evening, she observes the light streaming from the college dome. Suddenly an inward light flashes on her mind: "Riches take to themselves wings and fly away," and "the friends they bring depart with them. Knowledge and virtue are the true and enduring riches." She forms her resolve, dismisses her anxiety, and for once the pallet of straw is soft to her temples. The next morning, seated before her open Bible, she calls up her rosy-cheeked boys, folds an arm around each, and impressing a kiss, first upon the lips of one, and then upon the cheeks of the other, says, "My sons, 'lover and friend hath God put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness,' my riches have dissolved as dew, my heart is weaned from earth, and I have no wish to live, but for your sakes. The dread of rearing you in ignorance and poverty has been too painful for me; but, look! yonder is the college: its doors are open to the poor—its

honors free to the fatherless. The cost of collegiate education consists mainly in the expense of board—the danger of it in the absence of parental care; but, in the midst of our calamities, we are fortunate; for our location gives us advantages over most of the wealthy families of the land. Go, my sons; be the joy of your widowed mother; struggle with the sons of fortune; let your riches be the immortal riches of the mind; so shall ye be my jewels." Years revolve, and, on a bright summer morning, an immense crowd fills the spacious chapel to witness commencement exercises. Who is that sprightly youth? It is Governor M.'s son. And who is this? It is Secretary W.'s son. This is an excellent speaker, who is he? It is Judge B.'s son. Lastly, there steps forth upon the platform, a pale-faced, black-eyed, plain-dressed youth, his knees gently tremble as he stands a moment a mute spectator of the crowd, and a blush mantles his blanched cheek. A breathless silence pervades the assembly, as they mark his modest mien, and the angelic amplitude of his forehead, concealed, in part, by careless ringlets. Presently, he opens his golden mouth, and charms the audience with the dulcet melody of his voice, the harmony of his periods, and the majesty and authority of his thoughts; and now mark how the godlike light flashes from his eyeballs—how the respiration hurries—how the veins of the temple swell, and how the voice rises to majestic fullness, as he bears his audience aloft to the highest regions of eloquence. As he takes his seat, a rustling is heard, as when the leaves of the forest are swept by the breeze, and from bench to bench goes the inquiry, in louder and still louder whispers, Who is that? Presently, all eyes are turned to a widow in that corner weeping tears of joy. The band strikes up "Hail Columbia," and all weep with her. And now the audience are dismissed, mark her as she trips over the commons, borne up on the right and on the left by her sons: you would think her aged feet were winged. And now, that the evening shades have gathered round her, and she kneels, in her humble cottage, between her sons, in solemn prayer, what think you are the first words that burst from her grateful lips? Why, "The lines have fallen unto me in pleasant places, and I have a goodly heritage."

The post of instructor in college is, by no means, an enviable one. The compensation, small; the honors, after death; the labors, arduous and incessant. I know no employment more heart-

trying, spirit-wasting, health-destroying. Were all students amiable, talented, and pious, they would reconcile professors to their lot; but, alas! in this land children are rarely trained by parents in the way that they should go; still we welcome them with hope—we spurn not, without trial, the surly, proud, self-willed youth. We throw around him arms of love, pour into his ears the voice of entreaty, and bedew his cheeks with the tears of fraternal sympathy. We read to him the commandments of God, preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, bear his name to the throne of grace, and often, in watches of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, we see the terrible vision of his danger, and our pillows cannot bear up our aching heads. Why, then, do men leave the word of God to serve college tables? Men, called to preach, have qualifications to influence mind that others have not, and surely the highest abilities for operating upon the human soul are needed in the college. I have no fear that I am out of my path. I have accepted my appointment from a solemn conviction of duty, not, however, arising from a sense of superior qualifications for it, but from the impossibility of obtaining any other incumbent. I expect to retain it until disease materially impairs my abilities, or the post can attract superior ones. My feeble frame once could bear confinement, toil, and solicitude, it can do so no longer. Sickness will soon compel me to resign the trust I have received, unless I shall, erelong, receive a summons to the grave.

Brethren, in behalf of myself and my colleagues, I say, "Pray for us." Gentlemen of the Faculty, suffer a word of exhortation: we are in the midst of death, sickness has recently reminded us of our frailty, let us labor while the day lasts, knowing that the night of death is approaching. Gentlemen of the Trustees, we look to you for direction, sympathy, and support.

Young gentlemen of the institution, second our efforts to cultivate your minds, your manners, and your hearts. Show that the retreat of the Muses purifies, humanizes, exalts, and leads to God. So shall your Alma Mater be like an angel standing in the sun—radiating long streams of mingled earthly and heavenly light to distant points and remote ages.

REMONSTRANCE AND COMPLAINT

OF THE

ASSOCIATION OF FAIRFIELD WEST,

TO THE

HARTFORD CENTRAL ASSOCIATION:

TOGETHER WITH THE

REPLY OF THE HARTFORD CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF FAIRFIELD WEST.

NEW YORK:

S. W. BENEDICT, No. 16 SPRUCE STREET.

1850.

MINUTES.

The Association of Fairfield West met at the house of Rev. L. H Atwater, in Fairfield, Jan. 8, 1850., at 11 A. M., to consider the sentiments of Dr. Bushnell, as published in a book entitled "God in Christ," and also the action of the Hartford Central Association thereon.

Were present—Rev. Elders Nathaniel Hewit, D.D., E. D. Kinney, E. Hall, D.D., T. Smith, L. H. Atwater, C. T. Prentice, T. B. Sturges, L. B. Burr, I. Jennings, and S. J. M. Merwin.

Opened with prayer. Proceeded to consider the subject before us. Heard and considered several documents on this subject by members of the Association. *Voted*, that these documents be referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Hall, Smith and Atwater, to report thereon at an adjourned meeting. Adjourned to meet at Stamford, at the house of Rev. Isaac Jennings, on the 29th inst., at 11 A. M. Closed with prayer.

Attest, Theophilus Smith, Scribe.

The Association of Fairfield West met at Stamford, Jan. 29, 1850, at 11 A. M., according to adjournment.

Were present, Rev. Elders N. Hewit, D.D., J. H. Linsley, D.D., E. D. Kinney, E. Hall, D.D., T. Smith, L. H. Atwater, S. B. S. Bissell, T. B. Sturges, I. Jennings, S. J. M. Merwin, G. M. Porter, A. B. Rich, and G. Hall.

Opened with prayer. Dr. Hall, in behalf of the committee appointed Jan. 8th, made a report in the form of a Remonstrance and Complaint from this Association to the Hartford

Central Association. Proceeded to hear, discuss and amend this report. The roll was called, and each member expressed his views. Whereupon, it was *Voted*, that this Remonstrance and Complaint be adopted by this Association; that it be signed by the Moderator and Scribe, and sent to the Moderator of the Hartford Central Association. Adjourned. Closed with prayer.

Attest, THEOPHILUS SMITH, Scribe.

The Association of Fairfield West met at the house of Rev. Dr. Hall, in Norwalk, March 19th, 1850, at 11 A.M., to hear the answer of the Hartford Central Association to our Remonstrance and Complaint, and to take such action in the premises as might be deemed expedient.

Were present, Rev. Elders S. Haight, M. Mead, N. Hewit, D.D., E. D. Kinney, E. Hall, D.D., T. Smith, D. Mead, L. H. Atwater, S. B. S. Bissell, C. T. Prentice, T. B. Sturges, I. Jennings, S. J. M. Merwin, and G. Hall.

Opened with prayer. The Answer of the Hartford Central Association to our Remonstrance and Complaint, was read. Whereupon it was *Voted* unanimously, that our Remonstrance and Complaint to the Hartford Central Association, and their Answer to the same, be printed, and that a copy be sent to each member of the several District Associations in the State.

Voted, unanimously, that we address a letter to each District Association (excepting Hartford Central), earnestly requesting them to meet and consider this subject, and let us know the conclusion to which they come.

The form of the letter to be addressed to each District Association was read and adopted.

Attest, THEOPHILUS SMITH, Scribe.

REMONSTRANCE AND COMPLAINT.

Dear Brethren:

Our relation to you as ministers of neighboring churches which have, from their origin, been united in the closest bonds of fellowship with the churches which you serve in the ministry, and that under the acknowledged principle—and for more than one hundred years under the express stipulation [as in Chap. IV. of the Heads of Agreement]—"That they are most ready and willing to give an account of their proceedings to each other, when desired for preventing or removing any offenses that may arise among them;" which principle established among the churches must be regarded as equally in force among their ministers;—also our relation to you as an Association united with you in the General Association of Connecticut,—by which relation we stand or fall with you in the esteem and fellowship of the churches of this country and of the world, and by which we are so far held responsible for acts of yours which may justly be held to forfeit that esteem and fellowship,—these relations not only give us the right, but impose upon us the duty, when we judge your proceedings to be at any time greatly injurious to the truth in Christ, to come before you with our earnest but brotherly Remonstrance and Complaint. From these relations, also, we are under obligation to the churches, to the community, and to God's holy Truth, not to be silent when our silence must necessarily be considered as our acquiescence in proceedings which go to shield or to countenance destructive error.

We judge that such a duty is imposed upon us by your recently published decision in the matter of Dr. Bushnell's book entitled "God in Christ."

The duty appears to us now to be urgent. The doctrines of that book are not only spread abroad in the book itself, deriving no small celebrity from the celebrity of its author; but there has also been circulated a reiteration and defense of its main positions under the sanction of honored and influential names. Communications are inserted in religious papers having a wide circulation among our churches, either vindicating those doctrines, or apologizing for them—at times by impugning the faith of our churches—or raising questions as to how it can be decided whether the doctrines treated of in the book (viz., the Trinity, the Atonement, and Justification,) are fundamental, or so far forth fundamental that any manner of denial or teaching concerning them can be regarded as heresy; or whether we have any ascertainable standard doctrines on these subjects, by which any possible doctrines concerning the Trinity, Atonement, or Justification may be adjudged heretical. One of these communications, purporting to be from a minister of many years' standing in Connecticut, declares his doubts concerning the truth of these doctrines, as held in our churches, and affirms, on his own knowledge, that many ministers around him are also doubting the same. All which things, with other considerations which we have not mentioned, have caused us to fear lest the doctrines of that book may be already gaining a dangerous ascendancy—especially over the minds of the young—and preparing the way for a wide-spread error, captivating to the carnal mind, but destructive of the faith, and ruinous to the souls of men. These things have also caused ministers and churches abroad—who are in communication with us—to doubt whether there is not among the ministers and churches of Connecticut a serious and wide-spread departure from the truth as it is in Christ; which doubts, in the continued silence of our Associations, we cannot but regard as justifiable. Under these circumstances, the doctrines of the book now go abroad bearing the sanction of your official decision, that you regard their author "as holding whatever is essential to the scheme" embodied

in "the formulas of the church," and that, in your view, "he could not be properly or justly subjected to the charge of heresy, or be denied the confidence of his brethren in the ministry." Yet we find that your "committee were unanimous in the conviction," (and "all the members of the committee acceded to the proposition" so to report; which report was read to your Association and accepted with the two other reports,) that the book in question "denies that the following are revealed truths, viz.:

"1. That there is a real Trinity in the Divine nature."

"2. That, anterior to the incarnation, the personality of Christ was distinct from that of the Father."

"3. That the end sought and achieved by Christ, in making the atonement, was to cancel the penal claims of condemning law, by voluntarily offering his own sufferings and death as a sufficient satisfaction therefor, and so to redeem every believer from further exposure to these claims."

Permit us to say, brethren, that when we consider the terms in which the book denies not only these, but other doctrines, which we hold as essential to Christianity, we are much amazed and grieved at your decision.

We ask you once more to review with us the doctrines set forth in that book. We give you a statement of the doctrines which, as we believe, the book contains, with the passages which contain them written underneath. We underscore parts of these passages, to call to them your especial attention.

I.—Concerning the Logos, or Word.

The Logos, or Word, which was in the beginning with God, [p. 145,] called elsewhere *the Form of God*, [p. 145,] and which, at the incarnation, was made flesh, is *a capacity of self-expression* in God, [pp. 187, 177, 145,] by which he can

[P. 187.] "By the Word, or Word of Life, that peculiar *power* in the Divine nature, *by which God is able to represent Himself outwardly* in the *forms of things*, first in the *worlds*, and now in the human person"—"by this Word of Life, God has now expressed himself."

[P. 177.] "Undoubtedly the distinction of the Word, or the *power of self-representation in God* thus denominated, is eternal."

outwardly produce himself [p. 146.] In creating the worlds, God only represents, expresses, outwardly produces *Himself*, [p. 145,] first in the worlds, then in men, [p. 146,] and at the incarnation, as God has before produced himself in all the other finite forms of being, and as he has before appeared in the human, so now, yet more of God is exhibited in the human form, in the person of Jesus Christ, [pp. 145, 146, 147, 151, 152.]

[Pp. 145, 146.] "There is in God, taken as the Absolute Being, a *capacity of self-expression*, so to speak, which is peculiar—*a generative power of form*, a creative imagination, in which, or by aid of which, He can *produce Himself outwardly*, or *represent himself in the finite*. In this respect God is wholly unlike to us. Our imagination is passive, stored with forms, colors and types of words from without, borrowed from the world we live in. But all such forms God has in himself, and *this is the Logos*, the Word, elsewhere called the *Form of God*. Now, this Word, the Form of God, in which he sees himself, is *with God*, as John says, *from the beginning*. It *is God mirrored* before his own understanding, and *to be mirrored*, as in fragments of the mirror, *before us*. Conceive him now as *creating the worlds*, or creating worlds, if you please, from eternity. In so doing, he only represents, expresses, or outwardly produces *Himself*. He bodies out his own thoughts. What we call *the creation*, is, in another view, a revelation only of God, his first revelation"———"Now as John also declares, there was light, the first revelation was made, *God was expressed* in the forms and relations of the finite."———"One thing more is possible that will yield a still more effulgent light, viz., that, *as God has produced himself in all the other* finite forms of being, so now he should *appear in the human*."

"Indeed, *He has appeared in the human before, in the same way as He has in all the created objects of the world*."———[P. 147.] "But there was *yet more of God* to be exhibited in the Human Form of our race."———"Now, therefore, God will reclaim this last type of Himself, possess it with his own life and feeling, and through that, live himself into the acquaintance and biographic history of the world."—"This is Christ, whose proper deity or divinity we have proved."

[P. 151.] "But the human person, it will be said is limited, and God is not. Very true. *But you have the same objection* in *reference to the first revelation, the Word, in the world*."———"Besides you have a special delight in seeing God in the smallest things, the minutest specks of being. If, then, it be incredible that God should take the human to express himself, because the human is finite, can the finite in the *world*, or in a *living atom*, express him more worthily, or do it more accordantly with reason?" [P. 152.] "For it no more follows that a human body measures God, when revealed through it, than that a *star*, *a tree*, *or an insect* measures him, *when he is revealed through that*."

REMARKS.

1. These representations of the Word and of the incarnation appear to us to teach that the Word is no *person* in the Godhead, but only a *power*, or *capacity*, viz.: the power of outwardly expressing or producing himself; and that in accordance with this teaching, the Scriptures should not say

"The Word was God," but "The Word was a *power* in God."

2. The passages referred to, as they stand in their connection, appear to us to teach that the Logos had as really expressed and outwardly produced God, in *the world*, (viz.: in its rocks, rivers, mountains, forests, beasts, stars and storms,) as in Jesus Christ; and that God had before appeared in men as really, though not in the same degree, as in Christ. According to the doctrine of the book, we do not see why it would not be as proper to say concerning each mountain, river, beast or man, "This is the true God," as to say it concerning the Lord Jesus Christ. In our view, the book represents the *works* of God to be as truly the *Godhead* as Christ; the Word, which became incarnate in Jesus, having been before embodied in the material creation, and having been as truly made flesh before—in beasts and men—as in Jesus Christ; the only difference being, that in Christ there is exhibited *more* of God, [p. 147.]

II.—Concerning the Trinity.

The Trinity is a three-fold impersonation which appears at the incarnation; not an essential Trinity in the Divine Being, but only a Trinity in the mode of representation, as related to our finite apprehension, [pp. 147, 148, 175, 176. As the power of self-representation in God is eternal, if God

[Pp. 147-8.] "Prior to this moment, [the incarnation,] there has been no appearance of trinity in the revelations God has made of his being; but just here, whether as resulting from the incarnation or as implied in it, we are not informed, a threefold personality, or impersonation of God begins to offer itself to view." "In these three persons or impersonations, I only see a revelation of the Absolute Being, under just such relatives as by their mutual play, in and before our imaginative sense, will produce in us the truest knowledge of God."

[P. 175.] "Do you then ask, whether I mean simply to assert a modal trinity, or three modal persons? I must answer obscurely, just as I answered in regard to the humanity of Christ. If I say that they are modal *only*, as the word is commonly used, I may deny more than I am justified in denying, or am required to deny, by the ground I have taken."——"Perhaps I shall come nearest to the simple, positive idea of the trinity here maintained, if I call it an INSTRUMENTAL TRINITY, and the persons INSTRUMENTAL PERSONS. There may be more in them than this, which let others declare when they find it."

[P. 176.] "I perceive, too, that God may as well offer himself to me, in *these persons*, as through *trees, or storms, or stars*."

has eternally revealed himself, then this Trinity is *likely* always to have been, and in like manner it *may* always continue to be. Yet it may be, even as a representation, occasional and to be discontinued, [p. 177.] The Scriptures discourage the idea that it is to continue, [p. 177.] It is a trinity of representation only, produced by a process of revelation, [p. 178.]

There is no original triad (or Trinity in the Godhead) back of this that is so produced; and people had better keep their discretion than to seek for one.—[178, 179, 180.]

[P. 176, 177.] "Meanwhile, if our feeling is, at any time, confused by these persons or impersonations, we are to have it for a fixed, first truth, that God is, in the *most perfect and rigid sense*, one being—a pure intelligence, undivided, indivisible and infinite; and that whatever may be true of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it certainly is not true that they are three distinct consciousnesses, wills, and understandings. Or, speaking in a way more positive, they are *instrumentally three—three simply as related to our finite apprehension*, and the *communication* of God's incommunicable nature."

[P. 177.] "But some one, I suppose, will require of me to answer, *whether the three persons are eternal, or only occasional and to be discontinued? Undoubtedly the distinction of the Word, or the power of self-representation in God thus denominated*, is eternal. And *in this* we have a *permanent ground of possibility* for the *threefold impersonation*, called trinity. Accordingly, *if God has been eternally revealed*, or *revealing* Himself to created minds, it is *likely* always to have been, and always to be as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Consequently, it *may* always be in this manner that we shall get our impressions of God, and have our communion with Him. As an accommodation to all finite minds in the universe, it may be the purpose of Jehovah to be known by this divine formula for ever. That which most discourages such a belief is the declaration of Paul—"When all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that did put all things under him, that God may be all, and in all."

[P. 178, 9, 180.] (After a citation from Neander.) "If now it be inquired whether, beginning with a doctrine of trinity *produced by the process of revelation, and adequately accounted for as necessary to that process*, I would then turn to hunt for some "analogy" in myself, and try to climb up thus, through myself, into a discovery of *an original triad in God—convincing myself*, also, that John and Paul give '*intimations*' of such a triad, I frankly answer, no. The expression of such a hope might comfort some who would otherwise be disturbed, but it will only mislead a much greater number, who had better keep their discretion. If God has given us an *instrumental triad* which is good for its *purposes of revelation*, there can be *no greater fraud upon it than to set ourselves to the discovery of an original triad back of it*, that has no instrumental character, and has nothing to do with revelation.

[P. 180.] "This view of Christ and the trinity differs, I am aware, in some respects, from that which is commonly held; but I hope the difference will not disturb you. I have known no other since I began to be a preacher of Christ, and my experience teaches me to want no other. If it has delivered me from agonies of mental darkness and confusion concerning God, which, at one time, seemed insupportable, it cannot be wrong to hope that God will make the truth a deliverance, equally comfortable and joyful to some of you."

REMARKS.

1. We regard these passages as teaching unequivocally, that there is no Trinity in the Godhead.

2. According to the teaching of the book on the subject of the Trinity, we see not why the representation of the scripture might not have been,—so far as the Godhead itself is concerned—of a Quaternity as well as of a Trinity, a Myriad, as well as of a Triad: nor why there might not have been any number of Christs, as well as the one who is styled "The only begotten Son of God."

3. As no real sacrifice, or work of atonement, can be performed by a mere representation of a person, without the reality, it appears to us that this denial of the Trinity in the Godhead, is necessarily followed by a denial of any real work of Redemption by the blood of Christ. The doctrine of Justification by faith in that atoning sacrifice must, also, inevitably be denied: as we shall see that both are denied in the book in question. It is from this necessary connection of the doctrine of the Trinity, with the other fundamental doctrines of Christianity, that the doctrine must needs become an article of faith; and is not, and cannot be, a point of mere speculation, but becomes a doctrine in the utmost degree practical and vital.

III.—Concerning the Law of God.

God does not, without the provisions of the Gospel, hold every transgressor to punishment according to the letter of his law. The law has no certain claim of punishment upon the sinner, any longer than till he repents. It needs no atoning sacrifice to satisfy its penal demands, or to vindicate the justice of God while he passes by the transgressions of the sinner. It is a groundless assumption to suppose that it does so. —[p. 198.] Christ did nothing to satisfy any penal demands

[P. 198.] "First, it [the more mitigated orthodox theory] assumes that, as punishment expresses *the abhorrence of God to sin*, or, what is the same, his *justice*, He can sustain his law, and lay a ground of forgiveness without punishment, *only by some equivalent expression of abhorrence—an assumption that is groundless and without consideration*, as I may cause to appear in another place."

of the broken law, nor to vindicate the justice of God; all that he did, and all that needed to be done, was to make men penitent.—[pp. 216–219.] Indeed, if the doctrine were that the Law, without the provision of the Gospel, holds every transgressor to punishment, according to its declared penalty, we should reason the doctrine away, and reject it as incredi-

[Pp. 216–219.] "But what, in this view, some will ask, becomes of the *law* and *justice* of God? First, we have Christ, interrupting the flow of justice by delivering men, or *assisting them to deliver themselves* from the *penal consequences of transgression;* FROM THE BLINDNESS, BITTERNESS, DEADNESS, AND OTHER DISABILITIES IT PRODUCES. Secondly, there is made out, or given to men, a CONFIDENCE *equally repugnant to justice, that God will freely accept, embrace, and even* JUSTIFY *the transgressor* WHO FORSAKES HIS SIN. Where, now, it will be asked, is government? What becomes of law? And since God's love of right, or, what is the same, his *justice*, was evidenced by his law, and the penalties added to enforce it, what shall save the *obligation* of the *law;* what, indeed, shall displace the ambiguity that shades the divine character itself? Hence the necessity, it is argued, of some vicarious suffering, or expression made by suffering, that shall *vindicate the law* as effectively as the penalties remitted would have done, and thus shall save the moral rigor of God's integrity, in the view of his subjects. But, granting this, it does not follow that the new vicarious expression of God must be made *by a process equally vindictive with punishment; or that God's abhorrence to sin must be poured out upon Christ's own person.*"

"If *a vindication of God's law is wanted*, in order to the offer of forgiveness, it is wanted *here, and for effect in this world.* And if we narrowly inspect the case presented, we shall be at no loss in regard to the real ground of such a necessity. For it is even a fundamental condition, as regards moral effect on our character, that, while courage and hope are given us, we should be made, at the same time, to feel the intensest possible sense of the sanctity of the law, and the inflexible righteousness of God. What we need, in this view, is *some new expression of God*, which, taken as addressed to *us*, will keep alive the impression in us that God suffers no laxity. In a word, we must be made to feel, in the very article of forgiveness, when it is offered, the essential and eternal sanctity of God's law—His own immovable adherence to it, as the only basis of order and well-being in the universe.

"As to *the manner in which this desired result is effected*, since it presents the hinge question at issue between Unitarianism and orthodoxy, I will dilate upon it here as the gravity of the question demands.

"On one side, it is affirmed that God could not forgive sin, either without an equivalent suffering or *an equivalent expression of abhorrence to sin made by suffering, in the place of punishment.* On the other side, *since this doctrine, in either form of it, seems to involve something offensive to our moral sense, or repugnant to our ideas of God*, it is affirmed that God, out of his simple goodness or paternity, can forgive, and will forgive every truly penitent sinner. Satisfied with neither doctrine, for the reasons urged by one against the other, and, perhaps I should say, with both, for the reasons urged by each in its own behalf, I venture to suggest, as the more real and reasonable view, that, IN ORDER TO MAKE MEN PENITENT *and so to want forgiveness*,—that is, to keep the world alive to the eternal integrity, verity, and sanctity of God's law,—that is, to *keep us apprised of sin*, and *deny us any power of rest while we continue under sin;* it was needful that Christ, in his life and sufferings, should *consecrate*, or *re-consecrate* the *desecrated law of God*, and *give it a more exact and imminent authority* than it had before—this, too,

ble; so that it would have no verity, and, of course, no sacredness at all.—[pp. 228, 229.]

without anything of penal quality in his passion, without *regarding him as bearing evil to pay the release of evil, or as under any infliction or frown of God, and yet doing it by something expressed* in his life and death."

[Pp. 228, 229.] "This suffering [of Christ] is expressive, because it is INCIDENTAL *to an effort to reveal the love of God*, and *bring the eternal life into the closest possible* proximity to our human hearts."—"If we look upon it as the very end and aim of Christ's mission to recover man to God and obedience; or, what is the same, to re-establish the law as a living power in his heart; then, of course, everything he does and suffers, every labor, weariness, self-denial, and sorrow, becomes an expression of his sense of the value of the law—every pang he endures, declares its sacredness. So that if he offers pardon, free pardon, to every transgressor, we shall never connect a feeling of license, but shall rather feel a sense of the eternal sanctity of the law, and have a more tremulous awe of it in our conscience, than we should *if every transgressor were held to punishment by the letter of it. Indeed, if that were the doctrine, we should reason away and reject the doctrine as incredible; so that it would have no verity, and, of course, no sacredness at all.* Whereas, having seen, in the pains-taking, suffering life of Jesus, what God will do for the practical establishment of his law, we are seized with a deep and awe-felt conviction, that if we do not return to it according to his call, there is yet something different that must assuredly follow. All this, you perceive, *without anything said of a penal quality, in the sufferings of Christ. No evil is laid upon him as evil, by the Father, to be endured retributively. He only suffers the ills that lie in his way*, and endures the violence that human malignity and cruelty heap on his head."

REMARKS.

While the author, in these passages, confesses the necessity of keeping up an impression of the eternal sanctity and verity of the law, he teaches that this object is effected by a scheme essentially different from that which God has revealed, and utterly subversive of the great central and fundamental truth of the Gospel. We regard him as denying the *vindicatory power* of the law, stripping it of its *sanctions*, and leaving it mere advice, and no longer law. Indeed, he declares, that if God were to instruct us that every transgressor is, by the power of law, and by the divine justice, without the Gospel, held to punishment according to the declared penalty, we should reason away and reject such a declaration as incredible, so that it would have no verity, and of course no sacredness at all.

IV.—Concerning the Fall.

The fall of man was, from the nature of the case, an *a priori* necessity; and, of course, a historic certainty. It was to be expected that the soul, under a simple commandment of God, would yield to the instigation of her curious nature, and try the bad experience of evil. We accordingly look, reasonably and necessarily, for a lapse under the first discipline of law.—[pp. 238–240.]

[Pp. 238-240.] "The first stage of government is the stage of law. But law, taken by itself, can establish nothing. There is an *a priori necessity*, and, of course, a *historic certainty*, that the training of an empire of free beings, and the final and complete union of their will to God, *will require a double administration*."—"Under the first stage, that of commandment, the soul makes her acquaintance with obligation, comes at the terms, so to speak, of her existence, lays her hands upon the iron-fences of law that stiffen round her. Will she keep within her inclosures? If we speak of a naked possibility, she doubtless may. But it will be wonderful if she does not sometimes yield to the instigation of her curious nature, and try the bad experience of evil. Or if she does not, if she stays within her iron inclosure, only because it is iron, she would seem to be governed in the good she follows, by constraint; which can hardly be regarded as a state of perfect virtue—it is a *prudential*, and even a *cringing virtue*, more than a virtue of liberty.

"*Accordingly, we look for a lapse, under this first discipline of law.* Feeling its bars, as the bars of a cage, about her, the soul begins to chafe against them, and so she learns the law—first, by attrition against it, and then by bondage under it. This is her fall."

Remarks.

We regard this, 1, As setting forth the principle that a simple commandment of God is, with holy beings, no sufficient ground of obedience: but if left with this alone, and put upon their simple love, faith, and duty, they are to be expected to transgress:

2. As palliating the guilt of the fall, by representing it as reasonably to be expected—an *a priori* necessity, arising from a natural curiosity and irksomeness of restraint, which, even in holy beings, naturally required a second administration before complete obedience is to be expected:

3. That for holy beings to obey God, simply because he is God, and because, as such, he commands, is a prudential and even a cringing virtue. The whole goes to teach men lightly to esteem the Divine authority; and to vindicate creatures in rebellion against the law of God, until some other further dispensation is given to restrain them, than the dispensation of law.

V.—Concerning the Atonement.

Christ did not die to redeem us from the penalty of the law. He did not bear our sins in the sense of delivering us from the penalty by his sufferings. His blood was not, truly, shed for many for the *remission* of sins.—[pp. 218, 219.] He did not die a vicarious sacrifice, the just for the unjust.—[p. 189.] He is not in that sense the propitiation for our sins. There was no design of expiation, or of vicarious or penal suffering, in His death.—[pp. 236, 237.] He did not come into the world for the purpose of dying for us: that would have been ostentatious and absurd.—[pp. 201, 202.] If God could for one mo-

[Pp. 218–219.] "On one side, it is affirmed that God could not forgive sin, either *without an equivalent suffering, or an equivalent expression of abhorrence to sin made by suffering, in the place of punishment.*"—[P. 219.] "I venture to suggest, as the more real and reasonable view, that, in order to *make men penitent*, and so to want forgiveness—that is, to keep the world alive to the eternal integrity, verity, and sanctity of God's law—that is, to keep us apprised of sin, and deny us any power of rest while we continue under sin, it was needful that Christ, in his life and sufferings should, consecrate or re-consecrate the desecrated law of God, and give it a more exact and imminent authority than it had before—this, too, *without anything of a penal quality in his passion*, without regarding him as bearing evil, TO PAY THE RELEASE OF EVIL, or *as under any infliction or frown of God*, and yet doing it by something expressed in his life and death."

P. 189.] Christ enters into human feelings by his incarnate charities and sufferings, to re-engage the world's love, and to re-unite the world, as free, to the Eternal Life. To sum up all in one condensed and luminous utterance, every word of which is power, *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.* The apostle *says nothing here*, it will be observed, *of reconciling God to men*, he only speaks of reconciling men to God. Had he said, the Life of God was manifested in Jesus Christ, *to quicken the world in love and truth, and reunite it to himself, he would have said the same thing under a different form.* I am well aware that, in offering such a statement, as the true doctrine of Christ and his work, I affirm nothing that is distinctively orthodox, and shall even seem *to rule out* that view of Christ "as a *sacrifice*, an *expiation for sin, a vicarious suffering*, which, to the view of most orthodox Christians, contains the real moment of his work as a Savior."

P. [201.] "Once more, it is to be noticed, as a law of expression, *that when evil is endured, simply and only for what it expresses*, it expresses nothing. If a man wades out upon some mountain, in the snows of a wintry night, to carry food to a perishing family, then what he encounters of risk and suffering, being incidentally encountered, is an expression of charity. But if he calls upon us to observe his charity expressed in what he will suffer, and, waiting for a stormy night, goes forth on the same expedition to the mountain, he *expresses nothing but ostentation. So if Christ comes into the world to teach, to cheer, to heal, to pour his sympathies into the bosom of all human sorrow, to assert the integrity of truth, and rebuke* 'the wickedness of sin'—in a word, to MANIFEST the Eternal Life, and bring it into a quickening union with the souls of our race, then TO SUFFER INCIDENTALLY, to die an ignominious and cruel death *rather than depart* from his heavenly errand, is to make an expression of the Heart of God, which every human

ment lay his frown (or penal suffering,) upon the soul of the innocent, He can be no such Being as the author of the book in question has loved and worshiped.—[pp. 198–201.] No governmental reasons can justify such a substitution of the innocent for the guilty. If the great Redeemer, in the excess of His goodness, consents freely to offer Himself to the Father, or to God, to receive the penal woes, or some sufficient part of the penal woes, in his own person; and if the Father accepts the sacrifice, then the Divine government, instead of clearing itself, assumes the double ignominy, first, of letting the guilty go, and secondly, of accepting the sufferings

soul must feel. And this expression may avail to sanctify the law *before us*, even though there be no abhorrence expressed in his sufferings. But, if Christ comes into the world, *invoking, as it were, the frown of God*, and undertaking to *suffer evil as evil, that* he may express GOD'S JUSTICE, or HIS ABHORRENCE OF SIN, then he *expresses nothing*. The very laws of expression, if I understand them rightly, require that suffering should be endured, not as suffering, or as evil taken up for the expression of it, but that the evil be a necessary *incident* encountered *on the way*, to some end separate from expression——some truth, benefaction, or work of love."

[P. 198–201.] "In the second and more mitigated class of orthodox opinions, a very important and really true position is, at last, reached, viz:—that the value of Christ's life and death is measured by what is therein expressed. Only it is needed, now, to go a step farther, investigating *what* he expresses—whether, possibly, it be not rather to accomplish these ends, and that, too, *without any imposition or endurance of evil in the penal form of evil, any suffering or pain which is undertaken for effect, as being a direct exhibition of* GOD'S JUSTICE, OR JUDICIAL ABHORRENCE TO SIN."

"The objections I have to that more mitigated theory, are these:—First, it assumes that, *as punishment expresses the abhorrence of God to sin, or what is the same, his justice, he can sustain his law* and lay a ground of forgiveness without punishment, *only by some equivalent expression of abhorrence*—an assumption that is groundless and without consideration, as I may cause to appear in another place.

"Secondly, this latter seems to accord with the former view in supposing that Christ *suffers evil as evil*, or as a penal *visitation of God's justice*, only doing it in a less painful degree; that is, suffering *so much* of evil *as will suffice*, considering the dignity of his person, to express *the same amount of abhorrence to sin*, that would be expressed by the eternal punishment of all mankind. I confess my inability to see how an innocent being could ever be set, even for one moment, in an attitude of displeasure under God. *If He could lay His frown for one moment on the soul of innocence and virtue, He must be no such being as I have loved and worshiped. Much less can I imagine that He should lay it on the head of one whose nature is itself coequal Deity.* Does any one say that He will do it for public governmental reasons? *No governmental reasons, I answer, can justify even the admission of innocence into a participation of frowns and penal distributions. If consenting innocence says:—'Let the blow fall on me,' precisely there is it for a government to prove its justice, even to the point of sublimity: to reveal the essential, eternal, unmitigable distinction it holds between innocence and sin, by declaring that under law and its distributions, it is even* IMPOSSIBLE TO SUFFER ANY COMMUTATION, any the least confusion of places.

of the innocent.—[p. 196.] It did not please the Father to bruise him, and to put him to grief.—[pp. 228, 229, 230.] When Christ cried out upon the cross, the Father had not forsaken Him.—[p. 230.] Christ died only incidentally, with no

[P. 200.]—"According to the supposition, the problem here is to produce *an expression of abhorrence to sin*, THROUGH THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST, IN PLACE OF ANOTHER, through the sufferings of the guilty. Now, the truth of the latter expression consists in the fact, that there is an abhorrence in God to be expressed. But there is no such abhorrence in God toward Christ, and, therefore, if the external expression of Christ's sufferings has no correspondent feelings to be expressed, *where lies the truth of the expression?* And if the frown of God lies upon his soul, as we often hear, in the garden and on the cross, how *can the frown of God, falling on the soul of innocence, express any truth, or any feelings of justice?*"

[P. 201.] "Thirdly, if Christ be himself, in the highest and truest sense, the Eternal Life, God manifested in the flesh, then every *expression of justice* or *abhorrence to sin, which is made by his death, as a mere endurance of evil, is involved in yet greater obscurity and confusion.*"—"He is, in fact, the embodiment, as he is the representation of God and divine Government; he must be taken, in all that he does, as something which is properly referable to God. No theory of three metaphysical natures, called persons, in God, can at all vary this truth. The transactions of Christ must still be taken as transactions of God. The frown, then, if it be said to be *of* God, is quite as truly *on* God. The expression of justice or abhorrence is made by sufferings that are endured, not out of the circle of divine government, but in it. And thus we have a government realizing its penal distributions or their equivalents; that is, *its justice*, its significations of abhorrence, wholly within itself and apart from all terms of relation, save as the subjects, so called, are to be spectators! Whatever speculations we may hold, in regard to modes of expression, can we hold such a view of divine government without some uncomfortable suspicion of mistake in it?"

[P. 196.]—"And if the great Redeemer, in the excess of his goodness, consents, freely offers himself to the Father, or to God, to receive the penal woes, or some sufficient part of the penal woes of the world, in his own person, what does it signify, when that offer is accepted, but that God will have his modicum of suffering somehow—if he lets the guilty go, will yet satisfy himself out of the innocent? In which *the divine government, instead of clearing* itself, *assumes the double ignominy*, first of letting the guilty go, and secondly of accepting the sufferings of innocence."

[P. 229.]—"But this, it will be apprehended by some, *destroys the whole import of such scenes as the agony and the crucifixion.* It may require a different construction of these scenes, but I hope it will not be too hastily concluded that a different construction robs them of their sacred import and power. It is imagined by many, that what is called 'the *agony*' of Jesus, was caused by the penal attitude in which he found himself before the Father, and the consequent sense of the *desertion* he felt."—[p. 230.]—"*It was not that the soul of the sufferer was racked, by a sense of the withdrawment of the Father. How could the Father withdraw from so great excellence and purity, under so great a burden of sorrow?—what end could it serve thus to falsify his character?*—It is also represented, by Luke, that an angel is sent to strengthen and support him—*sent by the Father to support him under his own displeasure!* Sometimes the exclamation, which he uttered afterwards, on the cross, is made to assist the interpretation of the agony also—'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me!' But this is only the language of intense suffering, an *interjection*, so to speak, of anguish."—"To take this language of passion, this common outcry of distress, and hold it in a cool, historic, or dogmatic sense, is to violate all dignified laws of interpretation."

thought of a penal quality in his death—[pp. 219, 228, 229.] or of any divine abhorrence of sin exhibited by sufferings laid upon his person.—[pp. 236, 237.] Everything done by Him was done for expression before us, and thus for effect in us :—[pp. 236, 237,] only that he might enter into human feelings by his incarnate charities and sufferings, to re-engage the world's love, and to re-unite the world, as free, to the Eternal life—[p. 189,] to set before us the value which God puts upon law, by the import of His life taken in the simple aspect of a free, faithful, loving obedience.—[p. 226, 227.] His work was the

[Pp. 228, 229.]—"This suffering [of Christ,] is expressive, because it is *incidental* to an effort to reveal the love of God."—"All this, you perceive, *without anything said of a penal quality, in the sufferings* of Christ. No evil is laid upon him as evil, by the Father, *to be endured retributively. He only suffers the ills that lie in his way, and endures the violence that human malignity and cruelty heap on his head.*"—[See this passage cited more at length, under article "Concerning the Law."]

[Pp. 236, 237.]—"The effect depends, *not on any real altar-ceremony in his death*, but it depends, artistically speaking, in the expressive power of the fact that the Incarnate Word, appearing in humanity, and having a ministry for the reconciliation of men to God, even *goes to such a pitch of devotion, as to yield up his life to it*, and allow the blood of his mysterious person to redden our polluted earth."—"My doctrine is summarily this—*that, excluding all thoughts of a penal quality in the life and death of Christ, or of any divine abhorrence to sin, exhibited by sufferings laid upon his person*—excluding points like these, and *regarding everything done by him as done for expression before us, and thus for effect in us*, he does produce an impression in our minds of the essential sanctity of God's law and character, which it was needful to produce, and without which any proclamation of pardon would be dangerous, any attempt to subdue and reconcile us to God, ineffectual. Meantime, it may comport some to add, that he does by *implication*, or inferentially, express in all that he does the profoundest abhorrence to sin; for if, he will endure so much to re-sanctify his law and renew us in the spirit of it, how intensely signified is the abhorrence of his nature to the transgression of his law—more intensely than it would be by the punishment even of us all!"

[P. 226, 227.]—"Regard him as coming under the desecrated law"—"then consider the import of his life, taken *in the simple aspect of a free, faithful, loving, unfaltering obedience—obedience unto death.* And then, if the speculative instinct rushes in to insist on the absurdity of obedience in a being whose nature is essential deity, let it be enough to reply that there is no being in the universe, of whom obedience can be predicated in so vast a sense as of God. For though God is under no obligations to another, *He is yet under obligations to goodness to devise, do, bear, forbear, suffer, all which the conception or idea of infinite goodness and love contains. He is really under the same law of obligation that we were under and cast off*, and it is the glory and greatness of his nature that he delights eternally to acknowledge this law. Christ is the manifested life *revealing this everlasting obedience of the divine nature. All that he does and suffers is but an expression of the homage, rendered by God himself, to that which we reject; and the only object of his mission is to bring us back* into a like free obedience to the same lovely requirement. His poverty and patience, his weary, persecuted life his agony, his cross, his death—exclude from *these all thought of penal suffering or vindictive chastisement*, regard him simply AS THUS SUPPORTING THE CALL OF DUTY, and signifying to mankind the self-renouncing and sublime obedience of the divine nature."

fulfilment of His own eternal obligation—in which, by simply supporting the call of duty, and signifying to mankind the self-renouncing and sublime obedience of the divine nature, [p. 227,] He aimed to bring us, by this *example*, back into a like free obedience to the same lovely requirement; and incidentally he died rather than depart from this work. —[201.]

VI.—Justification by Faith.

1. The Object of the Faith.
2. Nature of the Justification.
3. The Ground of Justification.

I. The object of the faith by which the sinner is justified, is not Christ as the Redeemer whose blood was really shed for the remission of sins; for no such sacrifice was rendered, and none was needed, in order that God might be just, and the justifier of the sinner. If God had accepted such a sacrifice, it would have been both unjust and absurd, and a sufficient ground for rejecting him as the God of our love and worship [pp. 199–201.] [See under Atonement.]

2. The sinner has no remission of sins through the merits of Christ's atoning blood: nor is Justification "An act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith alone;" nor for any consideration based on any vicarious or atoning sacrifice of Christ. If the sinner believes in such a sacrifice, and rests his soul upon it, this is not believing and resting in the truth, but in error [p. 268]. The sinner is to understand by the sufferings and death of Christ, that God had proposed to express—not penalty or abhorrence of sin, but—only his love, and what God will do, without punishment and without the expression of penalty or abhorrence, for the practical establishment of his law. [See under Atonement.] Coming with this under-

[P. 268.]—"First, we have what may be called the Protestant form, which takes the ritualistic side of the Gospel, the objective side, turns it into dogma, and repeats it as a theoretic or theologic truth. And then *though it be no longer a truth*, the *form* of a truth, and so far a divine power lingers in it."

standing to the spectacle of Christ's life and incidental death, the sinner is to take courage and receive assurance, being convinced that his terrors of the condemning sentence of the law are groundless, and that visibly God is not the implacable avenger his guilty fears had painted [pp. 213–216]. This *belief* is *saving faith* [p. 214]. This *assurance* is *Justification* [p. 214].

[P. 213-216.] "An indescribable dread of evil still overhangs the human spirit. The being is haunted by shadows of wrath and tries all painful methods of self pacification. Vigils, pilgrimages, sacrifices, tortures, nothing is too painful or wearisome that promises to ease the guilt of the mind. Without any speculations about justification, mankind refuse to justify themselves. A kind of despair fills the heart of the race. They have no courage. Whether they know God or not, they know themselves, and they sentence themselves to death. If they have only some obscure notions of a divine Being, then they dread the full discovery of him. If he lurks in their gods, they fear lest their gods should visit them in vengeance, or plague them by some kind of mischief. The sky is full of wrathful powers, and the deep ground also is full. Their guilty soul peoples the world with vengeful images of its own creation."

[P. 214.] "And here, now, if we desire to find it, *is the true idea of Christian Justification. We discover what it is by the want of it. Justification is that which will give confidence, again, to guilty minds; that which will assure the base and humiliated soul of the world, chase away the demons of wrath and despair it has evoked, and help it to return to God in courage*, whispering still to itself—soul be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee."——"In short he [Christ,] *lives confidence into the world*. Apart from all theologic theories, *we know, we see with our eyes, that God will justify us and give us still his peace*. And then, when we truly come unto him, believing that Christ the Word is He, when forsaking all things for him, we embrace him as our life, then are we *practically justified. It is impossible for us to fear*. No guilt of the past can disturb us; a peace that passeth understanding fills our nature. Being *justified by faith*, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Or, if we advert, in this connection, to the sufferings and death of Christ, we shall see how these, without the imputation of any penal quality or frown of God upon his person, have a special efficacy in fortifying *our assurance*, or hope of justification with God. Dismiss all speculation about the mode, possibility, interior reality of this suffering; understand that God, having proposed, in this manner, to express his love, all logical, theological, ontological, physiological questions are, by the supposition, out of place. *Come, then, to the spectacle of Christ's suffering life and death, as to a mystery wholly transcendent, save in what it expresses of Divine feeling*. Call what of this *feeling* you receive, the *reality*—all else the *machina Dei* for the expression of this. With deepest reverence of soul, approach that most mysterious sacrament of love, the agony of Jesus; note the patience of his trial, the meekness of his submission to injustice, and the malignant passions of his enemies; behold the creation itself darkening and shuddering with a horror of sensibility at the scene transpiring in his death; hear the cry of the crucified—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;" then regard the life that was manifested, dropping into cessation, and thereby signifying the deposite of itself in the bosom of that malign world to whose enmity it is yielded,—who, what man of our race beholding this strange history of the Word, will not *feel a new courage enter into his soul?* VISIBLY, GOD IS NOT THE IMPLACABLE AVENGER HIS GUILTY FEARS HAD PAINTED. But He is a friend, he is love And so great is this change, apart from all theology, that I seem even to see

3. The *ground* of *Justification* is not the sacrifice which Christ has made to answer the condemning sentence of the law, but it is the righteousness which is prepared in us [pp. 254–258]. Christ is not really our sacrifice or atonement,

another character produced by it in the Christian nations. *They dare to hope.* God is closer to them, and in a way *to inspire courage. They are not withered, humiliated even to baseness, under those guilty and abject fears,* that take away at last the spirit of other nations. It is not that they *have all a theory of justification by faith,* but that their current conceptions of God are such as the history of Jesus, the suffering Redeemer, has imparted. They have a *feeling of something like justification,* even if they never heard of it—a feeling, which, if it were to vent itself in language, would say—*Therefore we are freely justified by grace.* It is not that the suffering *appeases* God, but that it *expresses* God—displays, in open history, *the unconquerable love of God's Heart.*"

[P. 254.] "The *moral propriety,* then, or *possibility,* nay, in one view, THE GROUND OF JUSTIFICATION, is subjectively prepared IN US; viz., in a *state* or *impression,* a sense of the sacredness of law, *produced* IN US, by Christ's life and death. But we cannot think of it in this artificial way; most persons could make nothing of it. We must *transfer* this *subjective state* or *impression,* this GROUND of JUSTIFICATION, and produce it outwardly, if possible, in some *objective form; as if it had some effect on the law or on God.* The Jew had done the same before us, and we follow him; *representing* Christ as *our sacrifice, sin-offering, atonement,* or *sprinkling of blood.* Now in all these terms, we represent a work as done *outwardly for us,* which is really *done in us,* and *through impressions* prepared in us, but the more adequately and truly still, for the reason that we have it in mystic forms before us. These forms are the objective equivalent of our subjective impressions. Indeed, our impressions have their life and power in and under these forms. Neither let it be imagined that we only happen to seize upon these *images* of *sacrifice, atonement,* and *blood,* because they are at hand. They are prepared, as *God's form of art,* for the representation of Christ and his work; and if we refuse to let him pass into this form, we have no mold of thought that can fitly represent him. And when he is thus represented, we are to understand that he is our sacrifice and atonement, that by his blood we have remission, *not in any speculative sense, but as in art.* We might as well think to come at the statue of Aristides speculatively, interpreting its power by geometric demonstrations, instead of giving our heart to the expression of integrity in the form, as to be scheming and dogmatizing over these words *atonement, sin-offering, sacrifice,* and *blood,* which are the divine form of Christianity.

[P. 255.] "It is only another aspect of the same truth, when Christ is *represented,* objectively, as *our righteousness.* As the sacred blood, yielded for sin, stood in the place of a righteousness, in virtue of the impressions produced by it, *so also does Christ:* and as the offering was a *liturgic exercise of faith and penitence,* so likewise Christ is a power to *regenerate character* and *restore us* to *righteousness of life.* What, then, shall we call him, if not *our righteousness;* TRANSFERRING, again, *what is only subjective,* IN US, and beholding it in its objective source—that is, in the *form of divine art and expression, by which it is wrought?* This is the *true attitude of* FAITH; for if, in the utmost simplicity, we thus believe in him, if we take him, objectively, as a stock of righteousness for us, and hang ourselves upon him for supply, we can scarcely fail to have his life and character ingrafted in us. We may take his obedience as accruing to our benefit—we may see *our righteousness* in him, just as we say we see *our pity* in things that we say are *pitiful.* If we go farther, if we speak of his righteousness as imputed to us, it will not be ill,

nor have we by his blood any real remission of sins; these are only terms, as in art, transferring objectively to Christ, the ground of justification, which is really subjective in us; the effect of his death being not upon the sentence of the law,

in case we hold the representation as in art, and not as a dialectic or dogmatic statement.

"Or, adverting to the affecting truth that Christ has come between us and our sins in his death, we shall see our sins *transferred to him*, and regard him as loading himself with our evils. And then, *as if we had put our sins upon his head*, we shall *say* that he bears our sins, suffers the just for the unjust, is made a curse for us. All those terms of vicarious import, that were generated under the ritual sacrifice, will be applied over to him, and we shall hold him by our faith, as the victim substituted for our sins. And so, with the humblest and most subduing confessions, we shall deposit our soul tenderly and gratefully in his mercy.

[256, 7, 8.] "Or we may take the general doctrine affirmed as the subjective verity of the Gospel, viz., that God is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. Then *all* the *sacrificial terms, that represent pacification with God*, will come into application at once; Christ will now be *called* our *priest* answering for us, our *sacrifice, passover, lamb, blood of sprinkling*. Here, too, the word *propitiation*, as used (1 John ii. 2,)—a different word, in the original, from that which we found in the third chapter of the epistle to the Romans—will get its proper objective sense. Viewed thus objectively, Christ will be a propitiation, a piacular, expiatory, vicarious offering, and, embracing him *in this altar form*, there will be a simplicity in our moral attitude, such as will favor the transforming and reconciling power of his life, as no attempt to apply him artificially and reflectively would do—therefore with a more certain and deeper effect.

"Or, if we are occupied more especially with the desire of purification, or with present, actual deliverance from evil, and the new purity and cleanness of our heart before God, we shall *speak* of Christ as a *lustral offering that removes our defilement*, and *declare* that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. All things, we shall *say*, in our deep gratitude, are purged with blood, and without shedding of blood there is no remission.

"You perceive, in this manner, and as a result of our experiment, that as soon as we undertake to throw the elements of our *subjective doctrine* into an *objective representation*, it passes immediately into the view commonly designated by the phrase *vicarious atonement*, only it rather becomes a *vicarious religion*. And thus, after all, it proves itself to be *identical, at the root, with the common Protestant doctrine*—identical, I mean, *not in any rigid and exact sense*, but in such a sense that one is a more didactic and reflective, the other a *more artistic representation* of the same subject matter. *There is no conflict*, UNTIL WE BEGIN TO ASSERT THE FORMER AS THE ONLY TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL, or *to work up the latter by itself, into a speculative system of dogma, or of moral government*. If we say that Christ is here, reconciling men to God, it is, for just that reason, necessary to have a way of *representing* that *God is conciliated toward us*. If we say that Christ is a *power*, to quicken us into newness of life, and bring us out of the bondage we are under to evil, for just that reason do we need to *speak* of the remission of sins *obtained by his blood;* for the two seem to be only different forms of one and the same truth, and are often run together in the Scriptures—as when the blood of Christ, 'who offered himself without spot to God,' is said to 'purge the conscience from dead works, to serve the living God.' The two views are not logically or theologically equivalent, but they are not the less really so on that account. An objective religion, that shall stand before me, and be operated or operative for me, excluding all subjective reference of thought, must take such forms, most obviously, as are no logical equivalents

but upon us, making impressions on us, and working character in us [p. 255]. So we *call* Christ our righteousness, transferring to Christ, as in art, what is only subjective in us; the righteousness by which we are justified being not in Christ, but in us [p. 255]. We only see *our own righteousness* in him, just as we see our own pity in things that we call pitiful [p. 255]. In no other sense or manner do we see our sins transferred to Christ, or regard him as loading himself with our evils. As if we had put our sins on his head, we *say* that he bears our sins—suffers the just for the unjust. It is not so; he does not bear our sins, nor suffer vicariously the just for the unjust; but we are justified by actual righteousness wrought in us through the impressions of the sacredness of law and of the love of God, made upon us by the manifestation of the same in the life and death of Christ [pp. 255, 266].

VII.—Objective Forms of Subjective Truths.

The objective form, if regarded as the truth, is not true [pp. 257, 268], the representation bearing no true correspondency to

of the same, *considered as addressing and describing our internal states:* for, by the supposition, an *objective artistic power is substituted for those methods of address which appeal to consideration, reflection, and self-regulation.*"—"It is the Divine Form of Christianity, in distinction from all others, and is, in that view, substantial to it, or consubstantial with it. It is, in fact, a *Divine Ritual for the working of the world's mind.*"—"The Christ must become a religion *for* the soul and *before* it; therefore, a Rite or Liturgy *for the world's feeling*,—otherwise Christianity were incomplete, or imperfect."

[P. 266.] "If the soul, then, is ever to get her health and freedom in goodness, she must have the gospel, not as a doctrine only, but as rite *before her*, a *righteousness*, a *ransom*, a *sacrifice*, a *lamb slain*, a *blood offered for her cleansing before Jehovah's altar*. Then, reclining her broken heart on this, *calling* it her religion—hers by faith—she receives a grace broader than consciousness, loses herself in a love that is not imparted in the molds of mere self-culture, and without making folly of Christ by her own vain self-applications, he is made *unto her* wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption."

[P. 257.] "There is no conflict" [between this doctrine and "the common Protestant doctrine"] "until we begin to assert the" [latter] "as the only *truth of the Gospel.*" [See the pasage under Justification.]

[P. 268.] "First, we have what may be called the *Protestant form*, which takes the ritualistic side of the Gospel, *the objective side*, turns it into dogma, and re-asserts it as a theoretic or theologic *truth*. And then, though it be no longer a truth, the *form* of a truth, and, so far, a divine power lingers in it. I say a divine power; for this *holy form* of sacrifice is no child of human art or reason, but the body prepared of God to be the vehicle of his love to men. But, alas! the Protestant world have not been able to content themselves in it, or to think it sufficiently wise, till they have changed it into

any thing real. It is only a form, or representation, or liturgy, by which impressions are produced in us. Thus, there being no real sacrifice, nor any real remission of sin as the effect of sacrifice, and the atonement being no propitiation to the divine justice, but a simple at-one-ment—having all its effect upon us [see pp. 236, 237, under Atonement] not by any real altar ceremony, but only by an artistic display—a liturgic form [see pp. 252–255, under Atonement] for an effect in the direct manner of art,—to turn these representations into dogma, and represent them as realities, is to represent as truth that which is not true [pp. 268, 257]; and the Protestant world, who have taught that these representations of atonement and remission by the blood of Christ have a true correspondence with any thing real, and so are the truth, have done what they could to set themselves between God's wisdom and man's want [p. 268.] Howbeit, there are beams of light yet shining by them, and some, it is to be trusted, shine through; inasmuch as what they set forth as truth, though no truth, is yet a Divine Form—the body prepared by God to be the vehicle of his love to men. The particle of truth which Protestants hold, is no reason for their contending about the faith, either with Papists or Unitarians, who also hold their particle:—on the basis of this doctrine of objective forms of subjective truths, Protestants, Romanists, and Unitarians, may all unite, universalize their feelings, and become brothers [pp. 269–270].

dogma, and made it *human;* in which *they have done what they could to set themselves between God's wisdom and man's want.* Still there are beams of light shining by them, and some, I trust, shine through."

[P. 269.] "Secondly, on the left of this Protestant form, we have the speculative or philosophic form."—"Under this, as one of its varieties, the Unitarian doctrine is included. Nor is there any doubt that we declare a great and real truth, when we say that the reconciliation of *man* to God is the *sole* object of Christ's mission."—"Reason is not confused and baffled here, as in the Protestant dogma, but the altar of self-renunciation and faith, she has taken down."

P. 270.] "Thirdly, on the right hand of the Protestant view, we have the Romish form, the form of the mass. Here the ritual, objective view, is all in all—nay, somewhat more than all."—"We deal with blood, not as a symbol to faith and feeling, but as a real and miraculous entity. But here, again, a light will sometimes stream by the miracle, into the worshipper's heart—genuine light from Christ our peace, and the Lamb that taketh away our sin."—"Seeing thus how AT-ONE-MENT and *atonement* and THE MASS, all, lie about the Christian truth, receiving something from it which belongs to its verity, rejecting much that is essential to its value and power, is it better to busy our-

VIII.—Christianity Esoteric and Exoteric.

There may be a true Christian experience when one rejects the altar form, both as a truth and as a form without truth [p. 264, 265]. It will add greatly to the comfort and true understanding of the *preacher*, if he has in *his* mind this solution of the form, viz., that it is art and not truth [p. 271], and probably the philosophic or subjective view (which rejects the doctrine of vicarious atonement as a reality, and views it as a liturgy or form of art) may be allowed to come into a somewhat more prevalent use among a cultivated, philosophic people [p. 271], and in a philosophic age of the world. Yet such people will, from their infirmities, continue to have some need of the sacrificial or ritual view [p. 271]; and the rude masses would be much injured by the discovery that these representations are not realities; and would make a sad figure in applying a gospel of philosophic causes to their own nature, for they hardly know as yet that they have a nature [p. 267].

selves for the next eighteen centuries, in quarreling, each for the *particle of truth* he has, because it is a particle, or, to come back, in shame and sorrow, and receive enough of God's truth to enlarge our consciousness, universalize our feelings, and make us brothers?"

[P. 264.] "I do not say here, it will be observed, that no one can have a true Christian experience, who does not find it in the embrace of Christ as a sacrifice, or a vicarious religion; I only affirm that no one ever becomes a true Christian man, who does not rest himself in God, or give himself over to God in objective faith and devotion, somehow. He may do this, *regarding simply the essential truth and goodness of God* as revealed in Jesus Christ!"—"And here it is that the *objective view of Christ* holds a connection so profound, with all that is freest, most unselfish, and most elevated in Christian experience. *There may be a Christian experience where it is rejected.*" [p. 265.]

[P. 271.] "An interesting question remains, which I can only reply to just far enough to save from misapprehension, viz., *how ought Christ to be preached?* Not, certainly, as a theory, nor in the half scholastic manner in which I have here exhibited the Christian doctrine. I only think it will add greatly to the *comfort and true self-understanding* of the *preacher* in his works, if he has, *in his own mind*, some such solution as this. Meantime, he is to preach much as the Scriptures themselves speak, blending the two views of Christ together. Sometimes he will be more in one, and sometimes more in the other. *Probably the philosophic, or subjective view, may be allowed to come into a somewhat more prevalent use among a cultivated, philosophic people, and in a philosophic age of the world.* But it must never exclude and displace the sacrificial or ritual view; for even the Christian philosopher himself will need often to go back to this holy altar of feeling, and hang there, trusting in Christ's offering; there to rest himself in the quietness of faith, getting away from his care and reflection, and his troublesome self-culture, to be cared for and clothed with a righteousness not his own."

P. 267.] "I might speak also"—"of the sad figure that would be made by

They want an altar, and at least a *form* of Christ's blood sprinkled on it; he must, though not in reality, yet in their apprehension, bear their sins for them. He must be a stock of righteousness before them, and be, in fact, their religion. They, then, taking him by faith *to be* all this before and for them, though, in reality, he is nothing of all this at all,—the Divine Art hidden in it transforms their inner life, in the immediate and absolute manner of art; and seeing now their new peace, not in themselves, where it is, but in God (where it is not,) they rejoice that God is reconciled, and his anger smoothed away; being equally under an illusion in supposing this last to be true as the first [p. 267; see 213–216, under Justification].

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the rude masses of the world, in applying a gospel of philosophic causes to their own nature; for they hardly know, as yet, that they have a nature. How manifest is it that they want an altar, set up before them, and if they cannot quite see the blood of Christ sprinkled on it, they must have it as a FORM in their souls; he must be a stock of righteousness before them; he must bear their sins for them, and be, in fact, their religion. Then, *taking him, by faith*, TO BE all this before and for them, the *Divine Art hid in it*, transforms their inner life, in *the immediate, absolute manner of art;* and seeing now their new peace, *not in themselves*, where it is, but in God, they rejoice that God is reconciled, and his anger smoothed away.

"However, there is no such difference of class among men, that the most cultivated and wisest disciple will not *often need*, and as often rejoice, to get away from all self-handling and self-cherishing cares."—"The mind becomes wearied and lost in its own mazes, discouraged and crushed by its frequent defeats, and virtue itself, being only a conscious tug of exertion, takes a look as unbeautiful as the life is unhappy. Therefore we need, all alike, some objective religion; to come and hang ourselves upon the altar of sacrifice sprinkled by the blood of Jesus; to enter into the Holiest set open by his death; to quiet our soul in his peace, clothe it in his righteousness, and trust him as the Lamb of God that taketh away our sin. In these simple, unselfish, unreflective exercises, we shall make our closest approach to God."

REMARKS.

According to this scheme, we are both justified and sanctified, by embracing as truth that which is no truth; and though the more "cultivated and philosophic" might become so even under a knowledge of the truth, yet it is essential to the "rude masses" to be thus deluded. Accordingly, God prepares a *Divine Form*, a form not corresponding to the reality of things, and which, regarded as the truth, is not true, by which, through an illusion—not to say deception—practised on their *understandings*, he moves their feelings to love

and righteousness. This illusion is far more effectual than truth; indeed the rude masses would have made a sad figure with the truth; and even the cultivated and philosophic stand in much need of the illusion. God therefore persuades men that Christ died to atone for their sins to his offended justice and to his injured law; but this is not so. He makes them believe that Christ is the propitiation for their sins, and that Christ is their righteousness; but it is not so. Taught to apply to Christ "all these terms of vicarious import" [pp. 255–258], they hold him by *faith* as the *victim substituted* for their sins [p. 267]. Holding thus, by *faith*, to an *untruth*, under the illusion—or delusion—that Christ bears their sins [p. 256], suffers the just for the unjust, is made a curse for them—"with the humblest and most subduing confessions, they deposit their souls tenderly and gratefully in the Divine mercy" [p. 256]. Thus by Divinely prepared Forms, or Liturgic exercises wrought before them, and by Divine Art hid in forms devoid of truth, God converts and sanctifies the soul.

And, what is even more remarkable in this scheme is, that God so deludes men by representations of vicarious suffering, which have in them, "when speculatively regarded," that which is "*repugnant to the most sacred instincts or sentiments of our moral nature*," and which "*dissolves itself at the first approach of rational inquiry*" [p. 203]; and by which, if we once regard these representations as true, he forfeits our esteem as the God of our love and worship [p. 199].

Our Lord Jesus Christ says, "Sanctify them through thy *truth*: thy *word is truth*." No, says this book, sanctify them through illusions. It will not do for the rude masses to know the truth. Besides, "thy word"—in its representations of vicarious atonement, and as it is necessary to be understood by the rude masses—is not "truth."

The Savior says, "Ye shall know *the truth*, and the truth shall make you free." No, says this book; truth cannot be known; language is inadequate to allow of any written and external revelation which shall truly and intelligibly declare the mind and will of God to his creatures. What we want

is not *truth*, but *impressions* from liturgies and forms of art. Doctrinal statements of truth are mere dogma, fraught with error and mischief. Ye shall *not* know *the truth;* ye shall receive impressions from *Forms of Art*, and embrace by faith things which are *not truths;* and *error* "shall make you free."

We had indeed read of some, that God should send them "*strong delusion* that they might *believe a lie;* that they all might be damned who *believe not the truth;*" and that for the very reason, that they "received not the *love of the truth*, that they might be saved." But according to this theory, God has beforehand prepared Forms of Art, to bring upon men *strong delusion*, that they might *believe a lie*, and embrace it with *faith*, that they *might be saved*. We cannot receive such a scheme. We regard it as a corruption of God's holy truth—a subversion of the most fundamental and vital doctrines of Christianity; as destructive of all confidence in revelation itself; in one word, as "another Gospel."

IX. *Has Dr. Bushnell retracted any of these doctrines? Has his communication, embodied in the report of the Majority, contradicted them?*

We inquire, 1st, *Concerning the Trinity*. In that communication Dr. Bushnell says:

"I start with the conception of the One God, different, I suppose, in no wise, from the one substance or *homousion* of the Church,—which one God is developed to us, or becomes a subject of knowledge under the conditions of a three-fold personality. I take the three, therefore, in their threeness, as distinct grammatical personalities, as they are practically employed in the Bible, acting and interacting mutually towards each other, as the Bible represents; only refusing to investigate their interior mystery—believing that in such a use of them, I receive in the truest and fullest manner the One God. The Trinity and Unity as thus set forth, I constantly preach in public, regarding it as necessary to the efficacy of the Gospel, in saving souls. I love this Trinity, I live upon it. Without it I feel that I could not work my mind and heart in the private exercises of my own Christian life."

Is there here any retraction of what Dr. Bushnell has

taught in his book? It is not pretended that there is. Is there here any contradiction of what he has taught in his book? Not even the shadow of it. Nor does it appear that such was his design, or that he would allow it to be the fact if it were so charged. The only difference is, that in this communication, he has dealt in general terms, which in his book he has fully explained; and that explanation is, that there is no Trinity in the Godhead, but only an instrumental Trinity, produced and adequately accounted for by a process of revelation,—a Trinity which, even as a representation, is probably casual, and finally to vanish away.

The only thing insisted on in the report is, that Dr. Bushnell preaches the Trinity, and lives upon it in his Christian experience; just as he finds it revealed in the Bible; and that a minister should be held responsible, not for his theories, but for his preaching, and for holding the facts of the Gospel.

But Dr. Bushnell has set forth in his book, *what facts*, and *what Trinity*, he finds in the Bible. Are we to understand that his preaching is contradictory to these? or does his explanation imply that his preaching is even different from the representations which he has given in his book? We see not the slightest reason to suppose so. We regard the book, therefore, as the true explanation of the more general statements of the communication embodied in the report; and we have already declared, that in our view, the doctrine of the book is a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, as it stands in the formulas of our churches, and as it stands connected with the other fundamental doctrines of the Gospel.

We inquire, 2d, of the explanation concerning the doctrine of *Justification by Faith.*

The communication inserted in the majority report is in these words, viz.:

"I hold most emphatically the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and that any and every form of religion which proposes to save mankind, on terms of merit or desert, is not Christianity. As regards the ground of Justification, I believe that without something done, which in Christ is done, to declare

the righteousness of God, and maintain the sanctity of law, a free pardon offered to sinners would be nearly equivalent to a dissolution of Government. At the same time I look upon Christ as fulfilling the highest and principal office of his Messiahship by means of the incarnation itself, that is, by the revelation he makes of God's feelings towards us, in and through the human state assumed, and the immense power he exerts, or is to exert, in this manner, over our spiritual character. He is then emphatically 'The Life,' the new-creating grace of God—the wisdom of God and the power. To preach him in this character, is my deepest study, and my intensest love to him centers here."

Now when one declares, in a formal explanation of his views, upon their being called in question, that he holds most emphatically "The *doctrine of Justification by Faith*," he is bound to use the terms, *Justification* and *Faith*, in their current sense, as he knows they will be received by those whom he addresses, and by the intelligent Christian community before whom that explanation is to be spread and have its effect; that is, in the sense in which they are current among the orthodox churches, the orthodox ministers, and in the orthodox standard writers and formulas. To use them in a sense fundamentally different from this, when they can exonerate him from heresy only by being understood in the current sense, is to pass off a counterfeit as current and genuine coin.

Does Dr. Bushnell then mean by the words "Justification by Faith," what those words mean in their current sense, and what they will commonly be understood to mean by our ministers and churches?

If so, then he has retracted and renounced all that he has taught on this subject in his book. If this be so—if your Association have received evidence that it is so—we shall greatly rejoice, and only demand that the evidence of such retraction be made as unequivocal and as public, as your report, and as the book itself. If this be not so, then we respectfully submit, that our brethren of the Hartford Central Association have inadvertantly accepted a spurious Justification by Faith, instead of the true one; and have been made the instrument of passing off upon the Christian public, a Justifi-

cation by Faith which the orthodox Christian public have only to know, to pronounce it spurious. If Dr. Bushnell has retracted the doctrine of his book, on the subject of Justification by Faith, it is well. If he has not, then we refer to those doctrines in the passages which we have cited, in proof of the justice of our conviction, that he does *not* hold "*The* doctrine of Justification by Faith," which those terms currently represent, and which they will by our ministers and churches be understood to indicate: but that he holds to a *Justification*, and a *Faith* —and to a *Justification by Faith*—diametrically opposed to the common orthodox doctrine known by that name, and utterly subversive of it.

It is on this account that we regard the book as the more dangerous, and the more reprehensible,—that while it denies the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and substitutes in their places dogmas which are contrary to and subversive of the same, it still employs the *words* Trinity, Atonement, Redemption, Faith, Justification, as though it were not denying,—but as though it were inculcating,—the great truths which these terms currently represent. In our view, therefore, it is not by any deep "Chemistry of thought," but by a simple and unwarrantable change of names, that the book proposes to fuse down, and unite in one homogeneous substance, systems of faith as irreconcilable as the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine of devils; calling evil good, and good evil; putting bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.

We beg leave, also, to call your attention to another important error—on pp. 97, 98—viz., that a man is not responsible for his belief, whether he holds the truth or rejects it. The passages are in these words:—"I suppose it is proper to say, that I did not prepare the occasions on which these Discourses were delivered, and seem scarcely to have chosen the subjects themselves. Indeed, I seem, too, as regards the views presented, *to have had only about the same agency in forming them, that I have in preparing the blood I circulate, and the anatomic frame I occupy. They are not my choice, or invention, so much as a necessary growth,* whose process I

can hardly trace myself. And now, in giving them to the public, I seem only to have about the same kind of option left me that I have in the matter *of appearing in corporal manifestation myself,—about the same anxiety, I will add, concerning the unfavorable judgments to be encountered;* for though a man's opinions are of vastly greater moment than his looks, yet if he is equally simple in them, as in his growth, and equally subject to his law, *he is responsible only in the same degree, and ought not, in fact, to suffer any greater concern about their reception, than about the judgments passed upon his person.*"

We also call your attention to the views of the author of the book on the subject of Creeds,—on p. 82—viz.: "Perhaps it is on this account that I have never been able to sympathize at all with the abundant protesting of the New England Unitarians against Creeds. *So far from suffering even the least consciousness of constraint, or oppression, under any creed, I have been readier to accept as great a number as fell in my way:* for when they are subjected to the deepest chemistry of thought, that which descends to the point of relationship between the *form of the truth and its interior formless nature*, they become, thereupon, so elastic, and run so freely into each other, *that one seldom need have any difficulty in accepting as many as are offered him.*"

We deem that we might justly advert to other important matters contained in the book: its views of language, which we view as teaching men lightly to regard the difference between truth and error, and as impugning the sincerity and sufficiency of the revelation given to us by God; its teachings with regard to inspiration, and its implication relative to the renewing of the Holy Ghost, whose essential personality the book denies. We, however, waive all consideration of these topics further than to request you,—if you shall see cause to reconsider your doings—to give to these matters the attention which their importance demands.

Such, in our view, is the scheme of doctrine to which your decision has given your sanction, as not inconsistent with the

faith of our churches so far as justly to subject one who teaches it even to a *trial* for heresy. In our view, so far as these doctrines shall prevail, the Gospel of Christ will be as prevalently rejected and trodden down. If they pass among us not only without ecclesiastical censure, but with an express ecclesiastical allowance,—and if our churches and associations shall, by their silence, acquiesce in such a decision,—then a good standing in the church, and in the ministry among us, ought not, in our view, to be any longer regarded as even *prima facie* evidence of soundness in the faith: nor could we, in such an event, desire that it should be so considered by the orthodox churches in our land. Such a wide-spread indifference to the truth we should regard as a matter greatly to be deplored. And now, brethren, with all due affection and esteem, arrogating to ourselves no superiority or authority, and wishing you grace, mercy, and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, we make to you this our respectful but earnest REMONSTRANCE AND COMPLAINT. We entreat you to reconsider your doings, and to redress the injury, which, as we believe, you have inadvertently done to our churches, to the truth, to the cause of salvation, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, the adorable Redeemer who bought us with his blood.

EDWIN HALL., *Moderator.*

THEOPHILUS SMITH, *Scribe.*

THE REPLY.

"HARTFORD, March 6, 1850.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE FAIRFIELD WEST ASSOCIATION:

DEAR BRETHREN:—A special meeting of the Hartford Central Association was held in Hartford, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, on Tuesday, March 5th, to entertain your REMONSTRANCE and COMPLAINT in reference to the action of Association upon the book of Dr. Bushnell, entitled "GOD IN CHRIST." Present — Rev. Messrs. Robbins, D.D., Porter, D.D., Hawes, D.D., Bushnell, D.D., Scranton, Bartlet, Spring, Hempsted, Woodruff, Seward, W. Wright, Richardson, Clarke, Patton, McLean, Raymond, Searle, Grant, and J. L. Wright.

The following resolutions were passed, and the undersigned were appointed a committee to transmit them to the Moderator of your Association.

D. M. SEWARD, *Moderator of Hartford Central Ass'n.*

JOHN A. HEMPSTED, *Scribe.*

RESOLUTIONS.

"*Resolved,* That we acknowledge the receipt of a REMONSTRANCE and COMPLAINT from our brethren of Fairfield Association, on the subject of our decision respecting the publication of Dr. Bushnell, entitled "GOD IN CHRIST;" that we gratefully accept their fraternal admonitions, and sympathize with them in their attachment to those doctrines of the Gospel which have been supposed to be controverted in the above-mentioned publication.

"*Resolved,* That, having carefully examined the book of Dr. Bushnell, and heard his vindication of himself against the charges of heresy brought against him from various quarters, and, after solemn deliberation, come to the conclusion of which our brethren complain, we cannot, with all our respect for their judgment, think it consistent with the established rules of judicial proceedings, or with justice to ourselves or to Dr. Bushnell, to review that decision, or institute a new investigation of the case, until new evidence of a decisive character shall be presented to us.

"*Resolved,* That we have carefully considered the statements and arguments presented to us by the Fairfield West Association; that in making up our decision we allowed greater weight to the statement of Dr. Bushnell, as published in connection with it, than our brethren of that Association appear to be willing to allow it; and that we protest against the conclusion that we give our sanction to any peculiarities of Dr. Bushnell's scheme of doctrine."

THE LOGIC OF POETRY.

A

LECTURE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE STUDENTS

OF

Western Reserve College,

January 22, 1851,

BY SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, M. A.
PROFESSOR OF INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY AND RHETORIC.

HUDSON, OHIO:
PENTAGON BOOK AND JOB OFFICE PRINT.
1851.

Correspondence.

Western Reserve College, January 23, 1851.

Respected Sir :—

At a meeting of the Students, Wednesday, January 22, 1851, it was unanimously

Voted. That Prof. Bartlett be requested to furnish a copy of his able and interesting Lecture, delivered to-day at North Chapel on "The Logic of Poetry," for publication.

Respectfully yours,

W. S. AUSTIN,
E. S. GREGORY,
A. B. LYON,
} Committee of Students.

Professor Samuel C. Bartlett.

Western Reserve College, January 24, 1851.

Gentlemen :—

The Lecture, of which the Students, through you, request a copy for publication, I cheerfully place at your disposal.

The discussion of so wide a topic in so brief a time, must of course be rather suggestive than complete. A familiar lecture, too, on a difficult subject somewhat aside from my professional investigations, and on which the ablest men have differed, is broadly exposed to objections. My own views on some points may be modified by further reflection.

But believing the practical uses of the lecture to be more important than its speculative or artistic defects, I commit it to you as it is.

I am, Gentlemen,
Yours sincerely,
SAMUEL C. BARTLETT.

W. S. Austin,
E. S. Gregory,
A. B. Lyon,
} Committee.

DISCOURSE.

"I LEARNED from my teacher," says Mr. Coleridge, in his Biographia Literaria, "that Poetry, even that of the loftiest, and, seemingly, that of the wildest odes, has a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and often more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes."

Adopting this hint, I propose to make such suggestions as the difficulty of the topic and the brevity of the occasion will permit, upon what may, for the sake of brevity, be termed

THE LOGIC OF POETRY.

We not unfrequently meet with expressions, implying that the transitions of poetic thought are not philosophical, or that they have no method. We hear of "poetic licence." The rhythmic structure is spoken of by some writers, as an accessory to the pleasure of poetry, arbitrarily sought because it will add another, though extrinsic, enjoyment; others stumble over the question whether there can be poetry without metre; and Professor Fowler in his book on English Language, informs us summarily, in italics, that "The metrical arrangement of articulate sounds in verse, and not the superior beauty of thought or expression, is the distinctive characteristic of Poetry." A poetic diction and collocation are frequently spoken of, as if a certain set and arrangement of words, by no inherent fitness, but simply by being commonly appropriated to the use, became a poetic

style; while Mr. Wordsworth, in recoiling from this mistake, argues that the style of good poetry differs in no respect from that of common life.

On the other hand, I believe that while poetry has its distinctive peculiarities, they are neither superficial nor capricious in their nature, nor an arbitrary aggregate of qualities made for the sake of pleasing. Its processes are coherent, and, given the conditions, its results legitimate; in the best of poets, severely so. The qualities of the product, so far from being a mere aggregate of beauties framed together, are, from the highest to the lowest, in contents, method, style, and form, the consistent development of the fundamental idea or inner law, acting, not indeed with a mechanical monotony, but with the variety of nature.

The question, "What is poetry?" has been called the question with a hundred answers. There is an undeniable difficulty in speaking upon a subject so much controverted, and still so vaguely settled. Poetry is so various in its kind and qualities, as to render the attempt to find a general expression which shall cover the whole field, extremely difficult. The question has been complicated, too, by endeavoring to include the counterfeit with the genuine thing: and made more difficult by attempts to characterize the product, divorced from a consideration of the producing agency or state of mind.

It is to be borne in mind, that when once a certain form has been commonly employed for a given purpose, that form may be spuriously imitated. The genuine coin bears the impression of the die, but the marks of the die do not constitute the genuine coin, as men sometimes learn to their cost. It is somewhat late in the day gravely to controvert the position, that "The metrical arrangement of sounds in verse is the distinctive characteristic of poetry." It is neither true that poetry is verse, nor that verse is poetry. That poetry is always verse, is sufficiently negatived by the general recognition of Hebrew poetry, in which the most careful investigation of able critics has failed to detect a metrical arrangement of syllables. The Duma of the Cossacks, has, much of it, neither rhyme nor metre. If verse constitutes poetry, then are the lines

"Thirty days hath September," etc.,

essentially poetical. If a man asks me, Is that poetry? I would

ask him whether a wax figure is a man. No, it is only an imitation of a man's body. We are not, then, in seeking the ideal of poetry, to be hampered by any supposed necessity of finding a definition that shall include doggerel.

It must also be considered, that whatever be the type of poetry, yet, in the imperfection of human things, parts of any protracted poem will but indifferently conform to the standard, and other portions will fall greatly short of it. Of such shortcomings we are not to take account.

There is, at first sight, a plausibility in the view, that Poetry is that species of composition whose end is pleasure. But not without reason have such men as Wilson entered their protest against the theory. It mistakes the producing state of mind for the end in view. The poet composes not for but from a state of pleasing exhilaration. The view is too Epicurean; it would almost justify the repugnance, which now and then an earnest-minded man has felt; and especially would it degrade sacred poetry from her high function as an act of worship towards God, to be the mere instrument of gratification to a mortal. Moreover, it seems to me impossible to characterize its various phases by any attempt to find its end without,* or to divorce the product from the producing cause.

Waiving, however, the discussion of opposing views, I proceed to give my own. Instead of seeking to describe it by external marks, or to deduce its qualities from without, let us proceed from within, and trace its characteristics from their fundamental principle and law. Now, by universal agreement, the production of poetry proceeds from an excited state of the feelings and faculties; its ultimate source is *emotion*, not violent and excessive,—for that is either inarticulate or convulsive in its utterance—but tranquilized, though deep. Emotion struggles to find vent; its nature is not to stay shut up; it seeks expression from an inward necessity; it feels straitened and incomplete till it gains utterance; it is a fire in the bones. Let us then characterize by a reference to the genetic law, and

Poetry is the free utterance of the soul contemplating in deep, controlled emotion.

* See Theremin, Outlines etc., Chaps. 2nd, 3rd, 4th.

This view seems to me broad enough to cover the whole field, including Hebrew Poetry; and at the same time specific enough to comprise the elements of all the legitimate properties of any poetry. From this view I will endeavor to trace the actual characteristics of true poetry, in its contents, its method, its style, and its vocal form.

The description applies most directly to the Contents or Substance of poetry. Its moving spring is emotion seeking vent. It is therefore not a means to any end without, but the overflowing of a pent-up life. It is the soul singing to itself from the fulness of feeling—its shout of joy—its call of hope—its moan of grief. It is not the soul's work, perhaps the Hartford Doctor would affirm, but its lofty play. It may rejoice in the responsive echo of some other soul, but even that is not sought for as its end. It is complete in the utterance.

Controlled emotion; therefore not intemperate nor fitful, but composed to dignity and grace. Controlled—therefore not confounding the faculties, nor overpowering the utterance; but stimulating the powers, and unloosing the tongue. Controlled—therefore under the authority of will and reason; a state as highly rational as emotional; dwelling thus in collected, conscious interest upon its chosen theme.

Yet deep emotion; such an emotion as reproduces and sustains itself, and still demands expression.* No trivial and evanescent thing, no crackling of thorns; a serene feeling that, though without noise, enters and fills the soul—"a jubilee of reason." No better proof can be had of the essential depth of poetic feeling, than that the true poet's soul makes even the trivial theme cease to be trivial. It has become invested with elevated thought and earnest feeling. Transfused and irradiated by the glow of the poets mind, it has lost its insignificance. The deeper and more fundamental the feeling, if truthful, which bears aloft the object, the more does the trivial nature of the object disappear; and the higher, too, the poetry. You may trace this elevating power in various gradations through the odes of Anacreon to the Cicada, Burns to the Field-mouse, Dana to

* "Poetry is the spontaneous overflowing of powerful feelings."—Wordsworth. "The language of excited feelings." "The highest and purest feelings of our nature."—Arnold.

the Garden-flower, and Bryant to the Water-fowl; rising successively from the sportive friendship of the first, the thoughtful pathos of the second, the strong human sympathy of the third, to where in the loftiest flight of feeling and of poetry our soul follows that floating figure on his high "solitary way," till he vanishes from sight and our hearts are left with that Mighty One who guides alike his trackless path and ours.

Deep emotion—therefore sustained; deep, therefore guiding the faculties in obedience to a governing principle, and gathering all round a common centre; therefore, also, roused oftenest by themes of common interest, thoughts which belong to our common humanity; touching those key-notes to which the heart-strings of the race respond, and the *rational* soul most deeply thrills; and, in her very highest function dwelling on the most vital concerns of man's immortal nature:

> "The Poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heav'n to earth, from earth to heav'n."

In precise proportion as the predominant feeling is most essentially and loftily human, as it breathes forth most fully the characteristic attributes of our nature, soaring above all that is but personal, and all that is but low, brutal, and therefore *un*human, will the souls of men in all times and lands respond, and the great poet stands confessed.

Thus we see, at once, the reason why the tone of all good poetry is, on the whole, elevated and elevating; and why even vile men, in any strains that are destined to survive, must come forth from the sty in which their own lives are passing, and imagine, at least, the sentiments of better men. Not for its occasional redolence of the brandy bottle and the brothel, will the poetry of Byron live, if live it does; but for the bursts of nobler aspiration, the outgoings of higher and more truly human traits, that save it from putrefaction.

The remarks already made sufficiently imply, that this is the process of a mind in a state of contemplation. The mind must be supposed no longer overwhelmed by a first excitement and mutely absorbed in its object. The feeling, if it had been boisterous, has become tranquil and self-possessed. The rolling of the waves has subsided into the deep ground-swell, allied to them in kind and cause.

Or, oftener yet, in the absence and the recollection of scene, object, and emotion, the mental state is reproduced in a calmer and more conscious form, to utter itself coherently. The poet sits, it may be, in his study, and the beauties of some rural scene pass in review before him; the pleasing experiences of some former time come again, and with them, in the free range of thought, a host of analogies and kindred associations which shall symbolize them to his own and other minds. Or, if the scene lie before his view, the mind has resumed its state of self-possession, at liberty to range for affinities beyond the present objects of its sight, free to discern its own condition and seek for the means of expression. Though stimulated, the mind is contemplative and self-conscious. It is pleased, but in pleased meditation. This state of contemplative emotion,—the mind dwelling in delight on its theme, all the powers alive to unwonted action, yet all obedient to the ends of reason and the guidance of the will—is the aesthetic time of the human soul.* Then is the hour of creative imagination. Grouped by the "shaping fantasy" beneath the glow of feeling, all things stand bathed in the colors of beauty. High thoughts "body forth" themselves in fitting forms of grace and grandeur before the "man of imagination all compact," and his pen gives to these ethereal creations, these

"Airy nothings,
A local habitation and a name,"

and they dwell among men forever.

For poetry is the utterance of the poetic state of mind in language. We can all feel, and deeply too; many of us can well express our thoughts, but few of us our feelings. Our emotions shut our mouths. How often would we utter our sorrow or our sympathy, our love, our admiration; but alas, our tongues are tied, or we are ashamed of the cold, lifeless words which seem a mockery. Our hearts are full, but cannot break the seal upon our lips. These workings of the soul, so simply and intensely spiritual,—how shall I body them forth in material shape, in vocal sounds? By what instinct seize those dim analogies of material things, which are the symbols of my inner state; those native hieroglyphics that utter and

* It will be seen that I consider the poetic state of mind as including the aesthetic—though not as wholly included in it.

record the sacred secrets of the heart? The poet has this power of expression. With sensibilities as lively, or even livelier, he has the gift of utterance. He shall stand by my side, and speak aloud the feelings that lie thus inarticulate within my breast; or even the voice of his keener sensibilities shall first develop or awake in me the like condition. He shall find language for parental tenderness, for conjugal or filial love, in its best estate. A Thompson shall pour forth the high associations with which the passing year enwraps itself for the human soul, as it sweeps along. A Coleridge, in the vale of Chamouni, shall utter the unuttered thought of many an awe-struck traveler. Shakspeare shall give form to the dim feeling wakened by the tragic element of life. Milton shall speak the enlivened meditations of humanity upon its moral history and relations to its Great Author.

But poetry is the free utterance of the mind in its emotions.—Free from all business necessities; and therefore at liberty to dwell on its theme, and to view it in every pleasing light. It is thus at liberty to develop its pleasing thought into corresponding fitness of expression. The finish of style, the elaboration of language, sound, and movement, cease to be irrelevant and impertinent, as in a business composition, where they would divert us from our purpose and distract attention. The mind is now crowded by no external force, and tied to no external end. Emotion dwells at pleasure, and only proceeds to complete its pleasure in detail. It gives the beauteous body to the beauteous soul. It carries the beauty of the whole into the beauty of every part.

It is free from the the rules of technical logic, and the connexions of argumentation; and subject only to the higher laws of method which must characterize even the pleasant meditations of a rational being.

It is free from all the restraints of utterance, except the violation of its own fundamental condition, the loss of its consistency. It speaks to itself, and therefore freely speaks the feelings on which, in the customary communication of man with man, a check is laid. In matter and in form, it delivers unreservedly the contents of the heart.

The remarks already made sufficiently involve the reason why,

as to its contents or materials, poetry is rightly characterized as eminently the product of imagination. This faculty, the imagination reproductive and productive, which brings before our mind the past, the absent and the possible, is pre-eminently the instrument of the poet. Its function is not, as sometimes supposed, merely to decorate a thought with pleasing images; this is but a subordinate function. It presents, and moulds into shape, the entire materials and their details. Does the awakened mind contemplate? The *imagination* brings in review past scenes and experiences; it presents again the absent object to kindle anew the former feeling. As the thoughts turn dissatisfied from the actual past, it subordinates its merely reproductive to its productive or creative energy, and breaks into ideal combinations. In obedience to those emotive powers whereby the soul grasps at the infinite and the perfect as its only satisfying portion, the imagination groups anew its objects into more lofty conjunctions, as the bodying forth of the soul's own higher state and aspirations. Through its agency common objects become suggestive of deeper thoughts, and deeper, more spiritual thoughts again through its agency struggle to express themselves in material channels. With the attention fixed upon some subject of pleasing contemplation, the imagination invests it with those associations which naturally belong to it, and subordinates them as the planets to their central sun, moulding all with plastic power to its place in the whole. The imagination ranges in search of expression and detects those manifold analogies of things material and things spiritual whereby the thoughts and emotions otherwise unutterable, are uttered, so far, at least, as shall waken kindred motions in other breasts. Thus we see the origin of the imagery which is characteristic of poetry; and, as the imagination deals not with abstractions but with concrete objects in their vividness, the cause of the life, concreteness, individuality, which marks the subject matter of poetry. It comes from the direct beholding of the imagination roused by feeling.

While the imagination thus acts in obedience to the emotion, it often likewise acts upon the emotion, waking it up by the sight of scenes on which it loves to dwell.

According to the nature of the objects thus present to the imagination, and diversities in the mode of view, the names that desig-

nate the poetry are various.* Epic poetry holds up in admiring view some great heroic action. Out of this grows naturally Dramatic poetry, in which the beholder altogether ceases to speak in person, and the absorbed imagination presents only the actions and utterances of the actors themselves. The Idyl in various modes broadly contemplates scenes in nature or features in human life. All these take a wider range and freer play than Lyric poetry;—so called originally from its special demand for the music of the Lyre, and therefore comprising the most emotional class of poetry. It is no longer descriptive or representative; the feeling takes no such circuitous course, but directly overflows to its objects, in strains of friendship, admiration, love or adoration. It is therefore characterized by directness and simplicity. The imagination no longer roves abroad; but though its figures may be bolder, they are fewer and less remote. It plays no longer on the borders of its subject in fanciful allusions, but comes home to its centre. From the nature of high emotion, its utterances are, in whole and in detail, briefer and often more abrupt. Its eminent characteristic being direct emotion, and not instruction to some third person, the moment it becomes prevailingly didactic or even descriptive, it ceases to be lyric, if it be poetic. Thus even Montgomery's beautiful little poem on prayer is hardly a lyric poem or hymn; and we frequently meet with would-be lyrics so purely didactic as to lose poetic merit. Whenever, too, the soul cools off from its engrossing feeling so as to indulge in far fetched allusions, and distant fancies, prettinesses, or artful conceits, it sinks from the level of lyric poetry. It is such coolly elaborated conceits, that in many, though not all, of the songs of Moore are occasionally laid like well hewn ice-blocks upon our kindled sympathies.

It deserves to be remarked, that from the brevity, simplicity, directness and earnestness of lyric poetry, it will sometimes happen that individuals incapable of the more intellectual kinds may succeed in this, especially on some subject and occasion that lie near their own feelings and experience. Some long cherished passion has

* The following remarks are not to be understood as an enumeration of the kinds of poetry. For such a classification, see Wordsworth's "Preface."—Schlegel divides the principal kinds of poetry simply into epic, lyric, and dramatic.

struggled into repeated speech; or some unwonted fire has forced out a single beam to indicate the glow within. Many such strains of numbered notes are scattered through our current literature, and our books of sacred songs contain not a few felicitous but solitary utterances of deep toned piety. I have in mind one of the sweetest of our sacred lyrics, which, though its author is alive, has remained for twenty years without a worthy sister.

It is characteristic of eminent poetic power that it is not limited to individual efforts, but can enter more comprehensively into the common joys and sorrows of humanity, and give them utterance. It can become by imagination representative of the feelings of mankind, and find them fit expression. This marks one difference between the greater and the lesser poets.

What has already been implied needs perhaps to be distinctly stated, that as the theme ceases to be a single object of direct and strong affection, and assumes a wider shape and compass, the poem not only suffers, but for its highest unity demands a greater variety of individual contents, a more diversified play of feelings, a freer scope of thought, provided all is subordinated and merged by the overmastering element; bolder and more abundant lights and shades, if all are made convergent to the all-comprising gloom or glory. The tragic poem often passes through every phase of human act and feeling, and reaches the crisis of profound emotion only when we have gazed on bright figures as they sport in carelessness and joy, till the same everchanging group before our eyes at length have formed themselves in funeral procession, and sadly passed away. Thus in "Romeo and Juliet," says Augustus Schlegel, "the bitterest and the sweetest, love and hatred, festive rejoicings and dark forebodings, tender embraces and sepulchral horrors, the fulness of life and self-annihilation, are here all brought close to each other; and yet these contrasts are so blended into a unity of impression that the echo which the whole leaves behind in the mind, resembles a single but endless sigh."* The feeling and imagination that thus fashion all these diverse materials into an organic life, are the feeling and imagination of the great poet.

* Dram. Literature, Lect. 25.

I proceed accordingly to the Method. As the mind does not abandon its rationality in the state we have considered as the poetic, it is evident that poetry cannot be destitute of method. As it is the offspring of a peculiar state and law of mind, it should have a legitimate method; not a logical, but a poetical method. And so it has. If it be the offspring of contemplation with awakened emotion, whose instrument is imagination; the nature of emotion is, to engross the mind on some fixed theme to the exclusion or, at least, subordination of other scenes and emotions; and it is the office-work of imagination, to fashion and adjust all things within its range into conformity and subjection to the now controlling principle of the mind. Unity therefore belongs as fundamentally to a poem, as to a prose essay. A general unity of topic is prompted by the intellect that contemplates; a special unity of impression is secured by the feeling that directs it. The greater the poet, the higher the unity.

This unity may be broader or narrower, more or less comprehensive of varied details, according to the nature of the poem. The nature of a Lyric poem must confine the poet within far narrower limits than the Epic or Dramatic. But even in the wider range of a truly great drama, the essential unity of the whole, and the fitness of the portions, are both sensible in their effect, and discernible to the judgment. The statement of Schlegel is worthy of meditation; "In an essay on Romeo and Juliet," he says, "I went through the whole of the scenes in their order, and demonstrated the inward necessity of the whole; I showed why such a particular circle of characters and relations was placed round the two lovers; I explained the signification of the mirth here and there scattered, and justified the occasional heightening of the colors. From all this it seemed to follow unquestionably, that with the exception of a few witticisms now become unintelligible or foreign to the present taste, (imitations of the tone of society in that day,) nothing could be taken away, nothing added, nothing otherwise arranged, without mutilating and disfiguring the perfect work. I would readily undertake to do the same for all the pieces of Shakspeare's maturer years."* This is nature—natural to the rational mind in its highest type, its loftiest

* Dramatic Literature, Lect. 23.

moods. "The first canon of great, impassioned, profound writing," says Professor Wilson,* is "that the soul, filled with its theme, and with affection fitted for its theme, moves on slowly or impetuously—with a glide, or with a rush, or with a bound—but that it ever moves consistent with itself, pouring out its affection, and, in pouring it out, displaying its theme, and so evolving its work from itself in unity." And his severe and merited criticism on Byron's noted hymn to the Ocean, is, that it violates this unity, breaks its own promise, and balks our expectation. It opens in the spirit of love, and changes to that of wrath. "We are invited to listen to a religious overture—to the Devil's march. We are invited to enter with him a temple of worship; and praise and prayer become imprecations and curses."

This unity must extend even to details. But here it is a unity in variety; not a unity of similarity, but, as the fundamental law of poetry requires, of similarity in impression and effect; or rather, I should say, in convergence to an effect. Thus, the humorous scenes in Shakspeare's tragedies have been justified by able critics, as being conformed to a profound philosophy of the human mind; as checks, reliefs, preparations, and enhancements of the whole effect. They require the highest order of genius to decide with unerring instinct the place and manner of their introduction, or they become incongruities. Wordsworth has written much magnificent poetry, some of it well nigh unimpeachable; and the greatest fault, perhaps, in many of his pieces, is that in the onward flow of thought and feeling we are sometimes rudely stopped by an unexpected trivialness or incongruity. We are gazing in admiration on the stars, and we find ourselves, for a moment, too hard upon the soil.

Poetry has a progress too. Thought, though impassioned, still, as rational, flows onward. It lingers often, and reiterates in forms that are, except in the simplest poetry, diversified; but it does not retrace its steps in imbecility: it presses forward till it has evolved itself entire.

The transitions result from its own laws of association. They are not founded on the relation of premise to conclusion,—this

* Blackwood, Dec. 1843.

would contravene its own inherent nature and spirit,—but rather upon similarity of effect, kindred influence upon the feelings, central relationship. To a conformity with the action of the human mind in this respect, poetry is as strictly bound as argumentation to the principles of logic. The poet is not at liberty to glide away on some tenuous thread of allusion, and range the world irrespective of his theme, to return again at pleasure. Such arbitrary ramblings are characteristic rather of inferior poets on slighter themes. Even the episodes in great poems of the greatest poets will be found coherent and convergent parts of a centred whole. True greatness of imagination will be seen not alone in the brightness of details, but more in the vivid beholding and clear unfolding of the whole theme in all its related parts. This is poetic power on the great scale—its finishing glory. Compared with this, minuter excellences are the work of the artisan, more than of the architect or master-soul. The crowning merit of the Paradise Lost is this colossal power and range of imagination, its all-pervading influence that shaped the end from the beginning, and made it one in all its parts, from the great central trunk down to its minutest flower; the grand, harmonious proportions; the severe obedience to an intellectual law, that satisfies the critical judgement, and makes the study of Milton's poetry, as one has rather strongly said, "as much a work of exact intellectual analysis, as that of the logical writings of Aristotle."

In the action of such a mind the same concinnity and consistency will also show itself in details. Real confusion of thought in sentence or expression, is incompatible with that distinct, vivid conception which belongs to a roused imagination. The condemnation of a mixed metaphor, is more than a verbal criticism; it is a remonstrance against a fundamental violation of the condition of poetic thought. Real confusions or incongruities of thought, (except when dramatically portrayed) are just as unlawful in poetry as in prose, and a great deal more intolerable, because they are *presumptuous* nonsense. It is useless to insist on the general beauty of a passage of poetry which will not bear examination into the details of thought and imagery. It is useles to protest against minute criticism as unfair. Genuine nature will stand minute criticism; one of her own works in verse will bear the microscope, as well as one

of nature's own paintings with the Daguerreotype. Here is the difference between nature's paintings, and the daubing of "nature's journeymen." Any apparent poetic glow, which proves on scrutiny but a flickering, luminous haze that flits before us, hovers commonly over a bog. Beauties in general that are nothing in particular, are adapted to minds that are somewhat of the same description. This is the difference between the glow of Shakspeare and Homer, and occasional instances of the fine writing of Lord Byron. Beneath the one we ever find a distinct and living body of thought, complete in all its parts; the other is sometimes, at least, in his own words,

> "Expression's last receding ray
> A gilded halo hovering round decay."

It is not the highest poetic imagination that ever sees things in a blur. Boldly to leap from thought to thought, is one thing; feebly to fall into the chasm between, is quite another.

But with whatever degree of progress and fundamental method, that method never will be prominent. It is the office of the imagination so to fuse all its elements together, and present them in their union, that the mind shall dwell upon them in their blended state and never be induced to inquire for the process of their combination.

I come to Style; including the choice and arrangement of words. A view formerly quite prevalent, is advanced by Mr. Stewart in his chapter on Association. "As it is the great object of the poet, in his serious productions, to elevate the imagination of his readers above the grossness of sensible objects, and the vulgarity of common life, it becomes peculiarly necessary for him to reject the use of all words and phrases which are trivial and hackneyed. Among those which are equally pure and perspicuous, he, in general, finds it expedient to adopt that which is least common." These modes of expression "once adapted by the poet, are avoided by good prose writers, as too elevated for that species of composition." Thus, like some throne-room appropriated to State occasions, there has been, in his own language a "set of words consecrated to poetry," "the very sound" of which, "independently of the ideas they convey, awakens every time we hear it, the agreeable impressions which were connected with it when we met with them in the performances

of our favorite authors." This unusual set of words is, according to him, the poetic diction. It is liable, he confesses, to be abused by being strung together to give "currency to the most unmeaning compositions." There is also, with him, a "poetical arrangement," formed in a similar way and on a similar principle, of deviation from ordinary usage. "No poet in our language," says he, "has shown so strikingly as Milton, the wonderful elevation which style may derive from an arrangement of words, which, while it is perfectly intelligible, departs widely from that to which we are in general accustomed." And he astounds us by the information that "many of Milton's most sublime periods, when the order of the words is altered, are reduced nearly to the level of prose." He admits that of late the business has been so overdone in these two great resources of poetic expression, that the effect has been much impaired.

Wordsworth, in recoiling from this mechanical theory, has affirmed that "between the language of prose and that of metrical composition there neither is nor can be any essential difference"—that the language of poetry is a selection of the "real language of men" in common life, or even in rustic life.

The essential defectiveness of this latter view though an approximation to the truth, has been ably exhibited by Coleridge in his Biographia Literaria. The most prominent faults in Wordsworth's poetry arose from his being cramped by his system. Many of his best productions sufficiently refute the doctrine in its literal narrowness. It was a reaching towards the truth. Yet it is true, with Stewart, that the style of poetry does recede from that of prose; but for a far deeper reason than he suggests. Whatever of correctness is found in both these theories, will meet in the true canon and explanation of poetic style, which makes it the legitimate growth of the thought in the soul.

Poetic style then, is, both in its choice and its arrangement of words, the simple expression of the poetic sentiment in the soul, as precisely as the nature of language will admit. In one sense of the word "real," it is the real language of men,—it is the language of reality, of truth to the feeling,—but not the language of mere ordinary life; for the thoughts and emotions which it expresses, and to which it must adapt itself, are beyond the range of ordinary life.

It is "the language really spoken by men" speaking in faithfulness to their thought; yet not of common men on common occasions, but of a high-souled man in a lofty frame of mind. Hence the very exigencies of the poet will often require for truthful expression, language remote from common use; not because it is remote, but because it is the language that he needs; not in common use, because common use does not require it. If any ordinary word have acquired a degraded or ludicrous association, that very association has become an element in its meaning so that it would not express the high and serious thought. For this reason, it will not on such occasions, be employed; because of its inappositeness rather than its commonness. For example, in the soliloquy of Hamlet authentic copies read:

"who would fardels bear
To grunt and sweat under a weary life," etc.

Here annotators inform us, and endeavor to show by authorities, that in Shakspeare's time the words "grunt" and "groan" were convertible. If this be so, then is the change of some editions, which read,

"To *groan* and sweat under a weary life,"

perhaps a lawful one; for this is what Shakspeare exactly meant—and he did not mean what the other word conveys to the modern ear. But if this is not true, and the two words were used then nearly as now; then this ludicrous and contemptuous word was used precisely to convey the contemptuous view which Hamlet for the moment chose to take of life, as represented by a man sweating and grunting with a vile pack upon his back.

So long as it is a true definition that words are the signs or symbols of ideas, it is nonsense to talk of the beauty of the diction divorced from the sentiment of which it is but the sign. True felicity of diction is felicity of *thought*, accurately signified. The only real difference between what have been called "figures of words," and "figures of thought," is that the figurative thought in the former case is condensed into a single word, rather than several. Each is alike a figure of thought;—save that it is a higher function thus to condense a thought into a word. The concreteness, life and glow of poetic composition are no trick of words; they are the vivid be-

holdings of the imagination put forth in truthful speech. The "flowers of poesy" are no dead, waxen things hung upon lifeless branches, but the vital thought itself, blossoming. The beautiful expression is only the beautiful sentiment incarnate.

Nor is this only a priori argument; you may appeal to facts. Open to any elevated passage in the Paradise Lost—whe.e you will—the beginning, if you please. Follow the poetry step by step, and you will find that every important word can show valid cause why it is there, and no other word. Ransack the language for synonymes and it can be shown in each instance—I have tried the experiment—that no one of these so-called synonymes will answer for the thought which the poet actually conveys; he has chosen exactly the proper word for this purpose. The experiment might still more strikingly be tried on page after page of Shakspeare. Take a single word as a specimen, so far as it can be: Is the word "sleep" one of these "consecrated" words? By no means. It is one of the commonest prose words of the English language; denotes one of the most ordinary facts of life—a process that all mortals go through with, in rather a stupid way, every twenty-four hours. Now follow Shakspeare through that beautiful scene of dreamy love and happiness between Jessica and Lorenzo, till you apprehend its scope and proprieties; then hearken to a single phrase:

"How sweet the moonlight *sleeps* upon this bank."

Say, is that "poetic diction," or is it a marvellous beauty of conception expressed in the simplest language? Your "poetic diction" poet would have set the moonlight to shining and probably to gleaming on the bank instead; and spoiled the poetry.

In like manner, there is no consecrated poetic order of words. There is indeed great freedom of arrangement, often widely different from that of prose. But with every good poet, in the best poetry, it is simply the legitimate growth of the fundamental condition. As the poet is not controlled by thought alone, we do not bind him to any logical order, as that of subject, copula, predicate. He is animated with feeling, and permitted to utter it freely. He may therefore adopt so far as intelligible from the genius of the language, the order of feeling, whose primary canon is: "Nearest the heart, nearest the mouth." Any one who shall examine good poetry will find

that in the main its order, so far as it deviates from the customary order, is but a development of this principle. If the time would permit and the case required, I could easily illustrate the view advanced, both in reference to the words and the arrangement. Nay, it not seldom happens, that the loftiest poetry employs an order and selection of terms in no degree remote from common use; yet is, in no respect, the less beautiful poetry. It will be the shortest proof of my general position to give a single example selected from a multitude for its brevity. It is a well-known, faultless pearl of Wordsworth's, on whose poetic qualities I will make no comment, but simply request you to observe that it contains no unusual word; and to find, if you can, an instance wherein the order, at least of its words and phrases, differs from that of familiar prose.

"She dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove,
A maid whom there were none to praise,
And very few to love:

A violet by a mossy stone,
Half hidden from the eye!
Fair as a star, when only one
Is shining in the sky.

She lived unknown, and few could know
When Lucy ceased to be;
But she is in her grave, and, oh,
The difference to me!"

In passing from this topic, it should be remarked, however, that the diction and order of familiar prose will by no means in a majority of instances prove adequate to the wants of poetry.*

* In connexion with this and the preceding topics, I am acquainted with no more valuable criticisms than Professor Wilson's various articles on poetry and on particular poets in Blackwood's Magazine; admirable alike for their delicacy and unpretending depth, their liberality and sound moral tone. Among the best of these is his criticism on Byron's Address to the Ocean, in Blackwood, October 1848.

The whole subject is also discussed in an able article on the Philosophy of Art in the British and Foreign Review for February, 1842—which I had not the pleasure of perusing till this Lecture was in the printer's hands. With differences, partly rather seeming than real and in one instance concerning the nature of religion rather than of poetry, I am happy to find an extensive agreement of views. He defines poetry as "the metrical utterance of emotion, having beauty for its result, and pervaded by a religious Idea, which it thereby symholizes." We agree in its origin, emotion—he however explains, "either expressive of emotion in itself or

Let us proceed to a brief consideration of the Vocal Form of poetry: Rhythm, including the various qualities of verse.

A common view, sanctioned by Mr. Stewart, is, that rhyme and metre are pleasing for a two-fold reason; chiefly, our surprise at the poet's power of expression under limitations creates a pleasing admiration; moreover, there is some degree of pleasure in the recurrence of similar sounds and movements, indicated by the rhymings of children and illiterate persons; and that poetry, being written to give pleasure, avails itself of this source of pleasure; which however is merely added, and does not grow out of any inward necessity of the poetry.

On the contrary, the rhythmic structure is undoubtedly a natural product of the organic condition and law of poetry. It is not indeed a necessary and invariable result, but one to which there is in the poetic state of mind an inherent tendency, and which, with diversities, has appeared with remarkable unanimity through the world.*

In the indifference of ordinary conversation, vocal utterance, it may easily be observed, is wholly irregular. On the other extreme, when passion has become overwhelming in its power, the utterance again is broken and fitful. But in the intermediate stage between indifferen ceand unbridled passion, when the mind steadily contem-

calculated to excite emotion in the minds of others." By this disjunctive reference of it either to emotion *or* the desire to excite it, he confounds two diverse theories; and subsequently is thereby necessitated, in order to draw the line between a poem and a tale or novel, to insist strenuously on the actual presence of verse as an essential of poetry. Emotion controlled, is by him affirmed implicitly, here explicitly. The beauty of the result is stated in his definition, and involved in mine. Metre is postulated by him, and deduced in this lecture; considered by him as always actually, by me as virtually present. Considering the latitude which he must give to his statement that it may conform to acknowledged facts, the two views are separated by a very narrow line. The present writer has in mind the plant in the various stages of growth, the reviewer, the perfect product in its highest form.

By the "religious Idea" pervading poetry, he characterizes, according to his own explanation, a state of mind here largely dwelt upon under other names. Roundly to call that state or idea a *religious* Idea, is better conformed to the standard of Hegelian than of Puritan orthodoxy.

* For the announcement of metre in the *definition* of poetry, it is urged that poetry has both a spirit and a form; and that the poetic spirit without verse is not poetry any more than a disembodied spirit is a man. The statement seems to me to fail in material respects. For, first, the poetic spirit includes a tendency to produce its own (rhythmic) body, and will secure it in recitation at least, while the disembodied spirit has no such tendency; secondly, the poetic spirit with even an unmetrical utterance, *has* a body, imperfect indeed but actual and effective. The whole "form" of poetry is more than its rhythm.

plates a subject with the emotions kindled but controlled, the dullest ear may observe that a speaker's voice usually attains a considerable regularity of movement, increasing with the depth of feeling. We perceive a more regulated rate of utterance, a more measured stress, greater correspondence of inflections, a more decided balancing of clauses. Sometimes, in emotion, the recurrence also of certain intervals is so decided, that we recognize and call it the tone of grief, of joy, of complaint, of admiration and the like. This last effect, however, is more especially the germ of music, which was the earliest accompaniment of verse—"Sphere-born harmonious sisters." The other tendency, the rhythmic principle, is no less marked; introducing into the various elements of speech a certain regularity or symmetry of movement in time and stress, in the smaller and the larger sections of utterance—a measured and balanced grouping both of syllables and clauses. It extends to a correspondence in the members of the period, as well as in the members of its sections; for in such a state, neither mind nor ear is satisfied with any apprehended whole which has not symmetry, or balance of parts. Here are the germs of the foot, the verse, the strophe.

Perhaps we should also recognize a tendency to repeat the same vocal element with a variation, as a growth of the principle; and we have rhyme and alliteration. As a unity in variety, it corresponds in some degree to the other forms of regularity; and facts would show it to be a wide spread offspring of the poetic state. Thus the little Margaret Davidson, before she knew the nature of verse, amused herself with rhyming about the trees and other objects of her childish delight; and rhyme and alliteration are profusely sprinkled over the poetry of the Teutonic tribes. But rhyme, at least, as will soon be seen, fulfils another function.

I might rest upon this manifest tendency of emotive states to rhythmic utterance, as an ultimate fact; and it would be sufficient for my purpose. But we may proceed another step, and refer it to a more ultimate principle. In the mysteriously blended two-fold nature of man, the spiritual and material,—a union so intimate that we speak indifferently of the body as animate, or the spirit as incarnate and materially organized—we do by certain material forms and functions shadow forth the states and functions of the soul. Thus our emo-

tions, the motions of the soul, are symbolized, to some degree, by the motions of the body in general, and in particular by the movements of the vocal organs and the voice in utterance. It is a principle which runs deep into the foundations of language. But I am now dealing simply with its relations to poetry and verse. Poetry springs from emotion controlled. Metre may then be traced, (in the words of Coleridge,) "to the balance in the mind effected by that spontaneous effort which strives to hold in check the workings of passion." Passion moves with propulsive energy; volition checks and brings it back; the process continues like the disturbance and the gravitation of a pendulum, or the rising and the sinking of a billow; and the regulated working of the stimulated soul, "this balance of antagonists," organizes and symbolizes itself in the regulated or wave-like movement of the physical function which gives it outlet.

Accept the theory or not, it is still a fact that controlled emotion tends to the more or less regular recurrence of vocal movement. This is the foundation of poetic rhythm. This tendency, the offspring of emotion, which other modes of utterance from their logical and business character and aim reject, poetry, from its own emotive nature and its freedom, cherishes and develops; the vital principle freely secretes its proper living body. Its degree of perfection will naturally vary with the genius of the people and their language, and with the influences modifying both. In some cases it is slight and simple; in others more elaborte and mature. Such a mastery over language as to mould its rhythmic powers to the very shape and image of our thought, must be the work of cultivation; of the native promptings of the heart to employ them for the purpose, there can be no doubt.

The simplest mode would be to secure a general symmetry of balanced clauses, in which the smaller rhythms are not inherent in the structure of the syllables and words, but are affixed by the movement of the voice in recitation. This was the case in Hebrew poetry, where parallelism of clauses, synonymous, antithetic and synthetic, was the great formal peculiarity. Even the members claimed no rigid uniformity of length, but the proportion was rather a proportion of the thoughts contained. Yet while there was no

inherent rhythmic structure in the words and syllables, their utterance of the poetry was rhythmical; as is proved by the system of Masoretic accents, whose office was, in part, to guide the rhythmic reading. Here, the prose and poetic consecutions were diverse. The recurrence of similar sounds in alliteration was not unfrequent, as in a well known passage of the Psalms, which may be imitated in translation, "then trembled and rumbled the earth"; in Isaiah, "and he looked for legal right, but behold bloody might, and for law prevailing, but behold a wailing;" and many other passages.

Let it not be supposed that this element of parallelism is confined to the Hebrew. Under less noticeable forms, it appears in all languages; not always a balancing of thoughts, so much as of sections of the same thought. "All simple songs and Church Hymns," says Herder, "are full of it; and rhyme, the great delight of Northern ears, is a continued parallelism." The several stanzas are made up of parallel couplets, and the couplets of balanced verses. And probably the principal function of rhyme is to denote this correspondence; in other words, to mark and support the larger rhythm. For it is noticeable that no people using the feebler rhythm of *accent* only, fail to strengthen it by rhyme. Most forms of verse divide themselves by the caesura into corresponding clauses; the Alexandrine, a popular form of early Spanish and of German poetry, thus drops asunder precisely in the middle. "The hexameter of the Greeks," says Herder again,* "is in regard to its sounds a continued, though ever changing parallelism. To give it greater precision the pentameter was adopted, and especially in the elegy. This again in the structure of its two hemistichs exhibits the parallelism. The finest and most natural species of the ode depend so much on the parallelism, as to justify the remark, that the more a less artificial parallelism is heard in a strophe in conjunction with the musical attenuations of the sound, the more pleasing it becomes. I need only to adduce the Sapphic or Choriambic verse. All these metrical forms are artificial circlets, finely woven garlands of words and sounds. In the East, the two strings of pearl are not twisted into a garland, but simply hang over against each other."

* Spirit of Heb. Poetry, Dial. 1. The views maintained in this paragraph are also sustained by De Wette, in the Introduction to his Commentary on the Psalms.

An advance upon the Hebrew structure in regularity of parts, was the early Spanish poetry as exhibited in the poems of the Cid; where the movement is incorporated into the language itself, though in a measure somewhat rude. It is composed of rugged Alexandrines of irregular structure, but adapted to recitative, for which it was designed.

A more artificial, though perhaps not more refined poetic form, was the ancient Anglo-Saxon. It insisted on a decided rhythmic movement in lines of nearly equal length; and made much of alliteration. Every two successive lines must contain three words with the same initial consonant. Line-rhyme and final-rhyme were common.*

From this have descended the characteristics of modern English verse modified by the influence of classic metre, losing the alliterative tendency and retaining rhyme.

I have neither the time nor the ability for tracing the growth of verse from its lowest to its highest form. The latter was undoubtedly elaborated by the Greeks. Their nice ear rejected the coarser expedients of rhyme and alliteration, and satisfied itself with the richest variety of rhythm, susceptible of every variety of adaptation, from the accent of love and the wail of sorrow to the Bacchanalian shout and the war-cry. As wielded by their great poets, the dullest ear can hardly fail to detect its analogical power. Greek metre was in its nature so different from the English, (as was the phonetic power of the language,) that it is difficult to exemplify it well in English. English metre is founded on mere accent or ictus of the voice; Greek on quantity, that most important element of vocal meaning. Hence the English is comparatively ineffective; in order to make it really effective, the good reader is obliged to superadd extemporaneously the element of quantity, which is included in the structure of the classic metre. One cause of much bad reading

* The following may serve as an example:

"Scealcas waeron scearpe,
Scyl waes hearpe;
Hlude hlynede,
Hleothor dynede;
Swegl-rad swinsade
Swithe ne minsade;" etc.

Codex Exoniensis, from Klipstein.

of English poetry, is the observance only of the ictus, and the neglect to add quantity as occasion may require. This quantity element becomes exceedingly impressive, by the lingering, or the hastening, or the equal movement of the voice. In feet of equal time, as in the epic hexameter, we have the stately march of dignity. Feet of unequal parts, with triple movement, better conform to the uses of dialogue and familiar poetry. The expression also differs with the position of the arsis. Passing from heavier to lighter, as the dactyle and the trochee, is more signiffcant of "ease, grace, and vivacity;" from the lighter to the heavier, as in iambic measure, "decision, energy and strength." This recognized adaptation of the various feet is indicated in many of their names. The trochee was named from its rapid movement, and like that natural sign, a tear, seems to have been equally expressive of vivacity in joy or grief; the spondee from its solemn character; the iambus from its invective force; the pyrrhic, paeon, and bacchius, from their respective use in the war-dance, the paean, and the song of Bacahus. Says Coleridge to his son:

> "Trochee trips from long to short.
> From long to long, in solemn sort,
> Slow Spondee stalks; strong foot, yet ill able
> Ever to come up with Dactyl trisyllable.
> Iambics march from short to long.
> With a leap and a bound the swift Anapaests throng.
> One syllable long, with one short at each side,
> Amphibrachys hastes with a stately stride."

Nearly thirty different feet, simple and compound, are enumerated as belonging to Greek poetry. By the various combinations of these feet in the same and in successive verses, modified by the position of the caesura, and by the catalectic or acatalectic structure, it could adapt itself to every shifting mode of mind, and had a music which, even with our imperfect appreciation, often makes one's blood stir in unison with the sentiment.

Fully to unfold this subject, would require a treatise by itself. Enough has been suggested, I would hope, to show that metre is no mere appendage; but that all the qualities of poetry down to its vocal form are the genuine growth of its fundamental life.

But this is true only when these forms are a manifest help and

not a hindrance. Whenever the poet seems hampered by his armor, and the sentiment labors as beneath a burden, when the necessity of rhyme and metre seem to have caused the least unfitness or redundancy of language or to have made the poet swerve a hair's breadth from the very happiest mode of expression—in short, when the utterance seems other than the only best; then verse has failed to do its office, has ceased to be the vital body and become the burden of emotive thought.

It would thus appear that though poetry, as the language of passion, was in its simpler modes one of the earliest forms of human composition, yet in its perfection it is the most grand and difficult. None but a genius of the highest order can express the higher moods of the human soul in a manner worthy of humanity. Great poetry is a serene and lofty work. Profound in thought and feeling, yet level to the mind and heart of the human race; of exalted dignity and natural simplicity; so nicely tempered that its strength is beauty, and its beauty strength; artlessly free, yet rigidly exact; sensuous, but spiritual; highly imaginative only to be more highly truthful; using a method so effective as to be felt and not perceived; culling, by instinct, language the very fittest for the sentiment, yet full of harmony to the ear; it is indeed "the blossom and fragrancy of human thought and feeling."

Of many thousand versifiers, not many score have gained distinction. Very few have risen to the rank of second or third-rate poets. Few indeed are the great lights in the firmament of poetry.

Most of us may be well content to write good manly prose; and to utter our poetic aspirations in the strains that more ethereal souls have left, as our perpetual delight.

A LECTURE

ON THE

RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC.

DELIVERED, AUGUST 12, 1850, AT THE

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON,

AT THE REQUEST OF NUMEROUS MEMBERS OF BOTH

HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

BY REV. CALVIN COLTON.

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LECTURE.

WHO HATH HEARD SUCH A THING? SHALL A NATION BE BORN IN A DAY?—Is. lxvi: 8.

We live in a period of the world, when events of great interest and moment crowd rapidly upon each other's heels. Science, and art, and invention, allied to the provisions of nature, and coming to the aid of human enterprise, have multiplied and are multiplying the power of man for the accomplishment of his objects, in such amazing and amazingly increasing degrees, that science, and art, and invention themselves, in the utmost stretch of their combined force, would together halt, in any attempt to estimate the progress embodied in the results of their own agency in the hands of man. And what is the reason? I will tell you;—and I will explain it on principles of Christian philosophy: It is because the powers of God's providence, in the government of the world, employing men as instruments, are *cumulative*—cumulative from the beginning, from age to age, from one cycle of ages to another cycle, *precipitating* events, and precipitating greater and more important events, as time advances, till men are surprised by their quick and rapid succession. But a profound consideration of this great theme will show us, that we ought not to be surprised, and that these grand results, so suddenly bursting upon the world, are nothing more nor less than the legitimate effects of that vast, comprehensive, and mighty machinery of Providence, composed of man's faculties, intellectual, moral, and physical, in their connection with the provisions and agencies of nature; a machinery which has been in the progress of construction from the earliest period of man's history, which has been armed with new powers, and new agencies, and endowed with higher capabilities, in every successive period of the world, and which, consequently, might be expected to display, in the progress of time, more impressive developments of its energy.

I come, then, directly to the main purpose of this discourse, which is to call your attention to one of the grand developments of this vast machinery of Providence, which, I think, is about to produce the most important results—results destined, as would seem likely, to change the current of human affairs, and gravely to affect the condition of nations. I mean, the

purpose now entertained of effecting a railroad connection from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across this continent. It is, however, and chiefly, the religious and Christian aspects of the subject to which I desire to direct your attention. "Who hath heard such a thing? Shall a nation be born at once?"

This last question may be taken both in a political and spiritual sense, and both are pertinent to our subject; and it may be regarded either as affirmatively prophetic, or negatively didactic. It suits my present purpose to regard it as prophetic. Behold, for example, the Sandwich Islands, born to political and spiritual life in a single age. Behold Oregon, all grown up in a few short years, and now organized and in operation as a political and civil commonwealth. Behold California, which, five years ago, was almost unknown to the civilized world, now marching onward in the gigantic strides of an independent and powerful State, and attracting the attention of all nations. See Utah, a name not spoken among us till within a few weeks, and her place on the map of the world not yet defined, knocking at the door of the American Congress for recognition as a candidate for the high destiny of political life. Behold, the entire field of the vast declivity of our western domain, extending from the summit ridge of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and from the British dominions on the north, to Mexico, on the south; a field, but lately, for the most part, an unknown and untravelled wilderness, but now swarming with a population from every quarter of the world, and about to rival the old States of the Union. Europe, as we all know, no longer ago than 1848, seemed to be on the eve of a thorough political regeneration, and it is not, perhaps, very far from that now. "Is not a nation born at once?" All feel, the people of the Atlantic States feel, the world feels that a great highway must be made between our new and great western world, so suddenly born, and the parent States, on the eastern declivity of the continent. Providence has called and planted the people there. Providence has pointed out the way of access, of communication, and what is remarkable, Providence has furnished the means. The numerous and populous Islands of the Pacific, too, and the vast and populous regions of eastern Asia, hitherto so far off, and so inaccessible, except at great expense, too great for any considerable trade—yes, all those remote parts of the world, so full of people and of human industry, have lifted up their voice, and demanded the rights of neighborhood to us, and to Europe across our bosom. For economical reasons, sufficiently obvious, a passage to those quarters of the world, across the Isthmus, between North and South America, whatever facilities, may be there created by railroad, or by ship canal, or by both, is, nevertheless, too formidable, and will prove altogether unsatisfactory, as a permanent reliance, inasmuch as distance, and time, and cost, are now, and in all future time, will be the controlling laws of human intercourse; and a railway directly across the continent, will be a great sav-

ing of distance, still greater of time, and an essential saving of cost, and is, therefore, necessarily destined to control the whole subject.

Again, it is to be remarked, as a Providential event, that this railway to the Pacific was conceived and matured before these great events on the western declivity of North America had transpired It was fully conceived, as long ago as 1842; in 1844, a memorial, declaratory of the whole plan, as it now stands before the American people, was prepared, and in January, 1845, was presented to the Congress of the United States, and is now on record in the journals of that body, bearing this date. From that time to the present, it has constantly been agitated throughout the Union, till it has become a theme of universal interest. It will be seen, therefore, that the plan of this road was Providentially matured previous to, and entirely independent of, those subseqent and pregnant events, which were developed in the sudden birth of those western communities; and which, in such a brief period, have rendered this great highway necessary to that new born world, in its relations to us on this side of the continent. Do we not observe, in this, the hand of Him who seeth the end from the beginning?

Moreover, every nation and every tongue, are being represented on our great Pacific border, drawing with them an ever augmenting train of followers, to be incorporated with our free institutions, and in that way to give to all nations a taste of them. As the human family, at a very remote period of antiquity, was scattered abroad over the face of the earth, from the base of the Tower of Babel, by the confusion of tongues, so the people of all those languages, thus created, are now coming together again, to erect another and a perpetual monument, not of human pride against heaven, but of freedom against despotism; and to perfect this work, they require to be chained to us by a band of iron across this continent. Is not the hand of Him who ruleth over all visible in this? And shall we, poor erring mortals, think it a resignation of the dignity of our nature, to take our place at his feet for instruction?

We see, then, that God in his providence, by the operation of the stupendous machinery of man's callective power, as organized by himself in the succession of ages, has *precipitated* these great and startling events, at the same moment that we find a pathway marked out by the same divine superintendence, to connect not only the great east with the great west of this continent, but also to connect America with Asia, and Europe with Asia across this continent by most intimate and neighborhood ties. There, too, is our public domain, a legacy of Providence, and of little value but for this object; and there is the path, almost as straight as a bird can fly through the air, and in the shortest possible line over this terrestrial sphere, for Eastern America and Western Europe, to establish intercourse, commercial, social, political, and religious, with the islands o the vast Pacific, and with all Asia. Events have pointed out, events demand,

and events will sustain the enterprise with the strong hand of interest; and that interest is nothing less than the united interest of all nations, and therefore powerful. Was there ever such a coincidence of Providential events on so large a scale, all tending directly to the accomplishment of such stupendous results? Nations—yes, nations born in a day to political existence for the higher and sublimer purpose, as we shall see, that many more nations, that the vast domain of paganism, should be born, in scarcely less time, to a spiritual and Christian life; and the great highway on which the tide of these mighty influences is to roll from Christian altars for the demolition of pagan temples and pagan rites, by the substitution of Christian temples and Christian worship—that way, I say, is no other than this thing of the world, this instrument of commerce, this great iron road from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It is now more than eighteen hundred years since the command was given to the Apostles, to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and it is allowed that this mandate was imposed on the Church. Why has it taken so long time to fulfil it? "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." The machinery of Providence, in the hands of men, has not yet been made ready; but all the while it has been accumulating its forces, and is being prepared for the accomplishment of these great results.

I need not say, that the success of Christian missions of modern times, on pagan ground, has been slender as compared with the means employed, and the hopes entertained. What is the reason? We observe, as a fact, that Christian missionaries have gone ahead of commerce. Though their success has been worth the pains and the cost, under a due estimate of the importance of the object, nevertheless the results have not equalled expectation. When would the pagan world be Christianized at such a rate? "An effectual door among the heathen," one that would be most satisfactory and cheering, seems never yet to have been opened since the first promulgation of Christianity. Let us see what are the prospects of this new and great highway across the American continent, as a door for Christian missions. I do not hesitate to say, that since the day when Christ commissioned his twelve Apostles to go forth and teach all nations, there has no such door as this been opened. You observe, by the map of the world, that it will connect the darkest regions of paganism with the brightest lights of Christianity—that it will put all Asia, where the great masses of the human family, and of the pagan world, reside, in immediate connection with Christian Europe and Christian America; and that it will bring these great parts of the world into the most intimate commercial contact—into constant and free intercourse, the one with the other. Even now the Chinese, and emigrants from other pagan nations, are swarming into California and the western coasts of America. Think you that Christianity will not travel where the trade of

Christian nations goes? It travels even where trade does not go; much more will it follow in the track of commerce.

Both Europe and America teem with Christian people, who are earnestly desirous of evangelizing the world, and who are waiting only for the opportunity. Their perseverance hitherto in this great work, under the greatest disadvantages, where they could only reckon a convert here and a convert there, sufficiently demonstrates how quickly and how eagerly they would embrace the facilities of this great highway from the heart of Christendom to the heart of paganism. Their messengers would fly in clouds to "publish the glad tidings of great joy to all people." It is only the way, only the door which they want. Open the way, open the door, and they will be there; there with the Bible; there with the Gospel; there with the sacraments of Christianity; and there with an offered Saviour. Establish commerce between Christian and pagan nations—a commerce, I mean, which is not forced by arms and conquest, but which springs up in the course of a peaceful trade, leaving pagan nations in the possession and enjoyment of their original political rights—do *this*, I say, and the pagans will be Christianized. This is the natural, the predestined result. Then, instead of a few converts, as now reported from year to year, on pagan ground "a nation would be born at once."

A people invaded and subjugated by arms, and held in subjection by arms, as in the British and Dutch East Indies, and as in Hindostan, will never love their subduers; nor can it be expected that they will readily entertain the gospel in that way. And this, undoubtedly, is the reason why the gospel has produced no greater effect in those quarters. But the way in which we expect Christianity will go to the heathen on the railroad across this continent, is, not by the sword, not by force of arms, but in the path of a peaceful and voluntary commercial traffic. The weapons of this warfare will be those of "peace on earth and good will towards man," "mighty through God," to the pulling down of the strongholds of paganism, and *not* by the hostile array of man's power.

Great as are the political and commercial objects to be attained by this great highway across the American continent—and they will certainly be great and momentous to that nation that shall make it, for it will give to it the command of the commerce of the world—great, I say, as these objects are, yet the Christianizing of the world is an infinitely greater, an infinitely more momentous object. And we here pause to contemplate with the profoundest admiration that mighty machinery of Providence, composed of men as instruments, in connection with the provisions of nature; a machinery which has been in the progress of construction for so many ages, and which, under the influence of its accumulated energies, is now making, in such quick and rapid succession, these new and grand developments, as well in the political and commercial affairs of mankind, as in the history and progress of

Christianity, the latter being brought about by the instrumentality of the former. And in our admiration of these results we cannot lose sight of th immediate cause. We see that this grand, this sublime facility for the propagation of the gospel, over the wide domain of paganism, is to come out of a great event in the affairs of this world.

There is our public domain unoccupied, and there are the means of accomplishing this great work, apparently locked up by Providence for this specific destination. It is good for little or nothing else; it is sufficient for this. So employed, it will be for the greatest good of the nation, and of the world, and so employed, it will open the whole pagan world to the introduction and final triumphs of Christianity.

With the honor of making this great highway of Christianity to the heathen world, seems to be associated that of standing first, most prominent, most powerful among the nations of the earth; for all must see that the great bulk of the commerce of the world, around its entire circle, and between its most densely populated portions, must for ever pass on the line of this road, as it will be economy of distance, of time, and of actual cost.

All this, however, if I may be allowed to say a word here on this subject, as it involves a question of public economy, as the best and only mode of accomplishing the end; *all* this, on the assumption that the road be built by capital, evoked from the land through which it passes, and then bestowed a positive and perpetual gratuity on trade and commerce; for it is proved that it cannot be sustained, if built by capital borrowed from foreign sources, and subject to the payment of interest by tax on transport. Here we see the wisdom of Providence in having furnished this domain, and in having left it for this very purpose. God works by means, by human agency, in connection with the provisions of nature, for the accomplishment of his great designs; and this *specific* provision is, apparently, I might say, evidently, the only means by which this road can be made, and by which this great end can be attained. It is a legacy of Providence; a legacy handed down to us by ages of preparation; a legacy which cannot be violated without sacrificing the end. There is, evidently, no other way, and that way is clear of all obstacles.

Is it not wonderful, does it not strike us with awe as well as with admiration, that God, in his providence, and by long ages of preparation, should have made such a provision for so stupendous a work, for the accomplishment of such stupendous results, temporal and spiritual, for this nation, as a political fabric, and for the cause of Christianity, without requiring of the people a single penny of contribution or tax, and that he should thus offer to bestow upon us, and upon the world, so great a benefit? Should not this provision be regarded as a special deposit, in the hands of this nation, consecrated to this high purpose, and to that alone? And would not any other appropriation thereof be sacrilege? There it is; God has placed it

there without our care or cost. *But* for this great purpose, the public domain, in that direction, is of little value; *for* this great purpose, the world itself is scarcely rich enough to pay its price. If it should be devoted to this end, this nation will be the first and richest of nations; we shall be the envy of the world, and the heralds of the Gospel to the dark places of the earth; the traffic of all nations will cross our bosom; and the Christian hosts of Europe will ally themselves to the Christian hosts of America, to move forward on this line, for the subjugation of the world to the banner of the Cross.

Think not, then, that this is a dream. It is not a dream. It is sober calculation. Take a terrestial globe—for I do not know of any common map that will answer this purpose—take, then, the globe in your hands, and find thereon, our relative position to Europe and Asia, and to the great masses of mankind; see how near and how easy of access all the great industrial and producing nations will be to us, with a great highway across this continent, on the line proposed; and there you will find the *great future bond* of nations, commercial, social, political, and religious; there you will see that the intercourse of nations is inevitably destined to follow this route, if the road be made, and, consequently, on the same condition, that Christianity must go that way to every part of the pagan world.

"Who hath heard such a thing? Shall a nation be born at once?" And why not? We have already seen that coming to pass which, if not tantamount, is at least an approximation; and the machinery of God's providence, in the hands of men, has been treasuring up its forces for all time. Great events accomplished by these accumulated and combined agencies, should not surprise us, however stupendous their character. Here, for example, is a stupendous work of man, but recently thought of, which, if executed, bids fair to change the face of the world, and the current of human affairs. It is connected, contingently, with the most stupendous results the world has ever witnessed, and yet the *mode* of its accomplishment is as simple as that of the smallest work of the kind—as simple as any railroad of twenty or a hundred miles; and we have already built in the United States four times the distance of railway that is required in this case. The plan proposed, (Mr. Whitney's,) and most in public favor—the only one sanctioned by the action of Congress in its committees hitherto—is different from all others in that it finds its means in itself. It is a self-moving and self-creating machinery, and will do its own work without any aid foreign to itself. There is nothing incredible in it or about it, when judged of by the practical principles of human conduct, and of human affairs in their ordinary course, simply because it depends on practical principles.

God works not by miracles for the accomplishment of the great designs of his providence, but by the voluntary agency of man; and often of man in the pursuit of his own worldly ends. Did he not name, yes, *name* Cyrus

of old, as his "anointed," for the restoration of his people, though Cyrus, for aught that appears, was a pagan, neither knowing nor fearing the true God:—"Thus saith the Lord to his *anointed*, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden. I have called thee by thy name, *though thou hast not known me.*"

Shall there be a pause, then, whether we, a *Christian* nation, will do this work? God, in his providence, has indicated our duty, and given us the means, without cost to us, ample means—means good for little else. Nature herself has pointed out the way. It is our mission, if we accept it—a mission having the stamp of the mandate of heaven—a mission such as no other nation was ever yet honored with—a mission not less rich in temporal blessings on those who shall fulfill it, than in spiritual blessings on the world—a mission worthy of a higher and purer zeal than man can boast of; worthy, I had almost said—and why not say it?—worthy of the ministry of the hosts of heaven, which, undoubtedly, it will have. And do we pause?—And will this nation pause?

How often do we see apparent *alternatives* in the instruments of Providence, for the accomplishment of great as well as of small events. A thing must be done by this or by that means. It must be done. And so we may say, this great highway must be made by one nation or another. It is not more certain, in my belief, that the sun will rise to-morrow. Now it happens, and I am authorized to say it by information that lies under my hand—it happens, I say, that it can be made on British ground, close to our northern border, from Halifax to the Pacific; it happens, too, and I am equally well informed on this point, that Great Britain already thinks of it, desires it. It needs but the signal of our decline, and she will accept the mission with alacrity, and fulfill i twith promptitude and energy, knowing it is the greatest prize that could possibly fall into a nation's hands. With that advantage, it is not too much to say, that the empire which claims to be mistress of the seas, would, thenceforward, be mistress of all lands; for the island of Great Britain, and the island of Vancouver, on the Pacific, which belongs to Great Britain, would, in that case, from the position they occupy in relation to the rest of the world, command the traffic of all nations; and in that case the United States would become second, both in political and commercial importance, to the Canadas; and Halifax would be the first and greatest city of the American continent. Such, I firmly believe, is the true aspect of the question, and it is with us, as a nation, to solve it. God has made our duty, our privilege; our mission, our benefit; but He has attached a fearful sacrifice to our neglect. By obeying his behest, as announced in his providence, we shall take the first rank among the nations of the earth, forever to maintain it, in honor, in power, in importance, and ours will be the glory of leading in the way for the conversion of the world to Christianity.

Singular posture, this, of the affairs of men and of nations. God, from his throne in heaven, now seems to ask, "*who—who* will build me an highway to the heathen?" And He seems to add, "I will make of that nation the greatest of nations." That honor and that benefit are now proffered unto us, and the means are provided—all provided without cost to us. I ask again: Will this nation pause? Thus standeth the momentous question, and the world looks on, heaven looks on, to see how it will be solved. It is, indeed, a momentous question. Nothing, in my esteem, has ever occurred in history, of a character more momentous.

NOTE.

Mr. Whitney's Plan of Railroad to the Pacific, as Reported to both Houses of Congress.

The preceding lecture is based on the assumption that Mr. Whitney's plan of road to the Pacific will be adopted and executed. The author of the lecture has not been able to see how that work can be accomplished in any other way. This plan has been favorably reported on by committees of four successive Congresses, including the present, (the 31st;) the Legislatures of twenty States of the Union have recommended it; the people of the United States, in various forms, have very extensively expressed their views and feelings in its favor; and the voice of the public press has been almost unanimous in the same opinion. It is thought it may be pertinent, in this *Note* to the foregoing lecture, to give a succinct view of the argument in favor of this plan, as contained in the two reports lately presented to both Houses of Congress by the committees of each on roads and canals.

Mr. Whitney's plan is peculiar, but nevertheless simple, and can easily be understood. It proposes to set apart a belt of the public domain sixty miles wide, or thirty miles on each side of the road, from its eastern terminus, on Lake Michigan, to its western terminus, on the Pacific, comprehending an area of about 78,000,000 acres, for which ten cents per acre of the avails of the land, including the good, bad, and indifferent, is to be paid into the public treasury, amounting to nearly $8,000,000. As only about 800 miles of the 2,030 in length is good land, or adapted to agriculture, and as our public policy is now rapidly tending to give away the public domain instead of selling it, as heretofore, it is sufficiently evident that this sum of $8,000,000, to be paid into the national treasury, is more than would ever be realized by the government for the people in any other way. It is estimated that the land-warrants bestowed on the soldiers of the Mexican War, and the bounty-land bill for soldiers of the war of 1812, and of our Indian Wars, which has now become a law, will together cover as much territory as is required to build this road. The Whitney plan, therefore, is the only way to save any land for this great purpose, and probably the only

way by which any more lands can be saved for any national object whatever.

Mr. Whitney engages, and is required by the bill reported for the purpose, to build the road out of the lands set apart for the object, besides the $8,000,000 to be paid into the public treasury. It is shown by the reports of the committees that the road, running through these lands, will impart a value to them adequate to the accomplishment of these ends. In this manner a capital is to be *created out* of the land to build the road by the effect of the road on its value, without one dollar of cost to the people, or to the public treasury. The bill also provides that, when the road shall be completed, no tolls shall ever be imposed except to keep the road and its machinery in working order. As the lands are to build the road, there will be no stock, and of course no dividends. It is this great principle of cheap transport, thus brought into force, that will draw and accumulate trade on this line to an indefinite and immense amount, forever augmenting, between the Atlantic and Pacific portions of the United States, between the United States and Asia, and between Europe and Asia. It will be seen by an examination and measurement of the globe, that this connection will bring into the most intimate commercial contact the great industrial and producing massess of mankind; and the cheap transport to be effected by this scheme, and which can only be done by this, will turn this immense commercial intercourse in this direction. All other plans, instead of *creating* the capital to build the road with, must *borrow* it, and consequently will be subject to tolls to satisfy the interest of such capital, preventing trade by the tax imposed, instead of inviting it by cheap transport; or else they will be doomed to a stupendous failure—in any case a failure. The cost of the road on the Whitney plan is estimated at $60,000,000, all to be raised out of the lands; the cost, if built by the government, is estimated at $200,000,000, all to be *borrowed* instead of being *created*.

The bill reported by the committee of Congress carefully and minutely guards the interests of the public, and a perfect control over the road and its interests is forever retained in the hands of Congress. The road is forced to be built, if there is capital enough in the land, of which there is no doubt; and it will be done with all the energy of private enterprise, which the committees of Congress think is of the greatest importance. The history of the Cumberland Road, and its failure by falling into the strife of parties, is cited as evidence of the danger of having this work undertaken by the government, besides the immense door it would open for corruption by executive patronage, for prodigal expenditures, and for the creation of a public debt. It is believed that the work in that way would be wrecked in the vortex of party politics. On the Whitney plan there is no cost and no risk to the public; and if authorized by law, it would be instantly commenced, and put forward with energy and rapidity. Mr. Whitney expects to be able to complete it in fifteen years. The proposed law gives him twenty-five. All the

capital required to go on with lies in abeyance to the passage of the bill, as the security of a lien on the rights to be conferred by the law would be abundant. There is no other way in which the road can be soon begun and completed.

The whole people of the United States, at first sight, feel the importance of this undertaking. This way across the continent once made, a net work of railroads would run into it from all important points, multiplying as time advances. It happens, fortunately, that the only route where the lands lie that will build the road, is directly on that line which is most fair for all parts of the Union in its broad extent, as is shown in the reports of the committees of Congress. That, too, is the most direct route across this continent, lying within one jurisdiction, between Europe and Asia. All the rivers and streams on that line, from our Atlantic ports to the Pacific terminus, can be bridged, which is not the case on any other route, and which is of indispensable importance. A break of water on the line would be fatal to that economy which the trade would require. It is also the line which is most free from the impediments of winter, and in all respects most feasible. Providence has placed and left the lands, necessary as capital to build the road with, precisely where the road should be, and the committees of Congress have undertaken to show, that, if the opportunity is neglected, the road can never be made for want of *means*. They consider it out of the question that it should be done by the government, as party strife would, to a moral certainty, defeat such a policy. In the future history of the world, therefore, these lands being once lost to this object, as they soon will be, if the bill now before Congress should not pass, the opportunity will never occur again. It will be lost for ever.

The prospective influence of this work, if executed, on the cause of civilizaton throughout the world, deserves consideration. In the first place, it would provide for the surplus, destitute, and miserable population of Europe and of other countries, in affording them a hospitable refuge, with a comfortable independence. It would relieve the nations where they now are, of an intolerable burden of poverty and crime, and make them useful members of a new and flourishing state of society. This enterprise combines the two objects of providing for the poor of all nations, and of promoting public wealth on an immense scale. Providence has made this specific and bounteous provision, for these specific ends, for this specific and stupendous work, in that specific direction, and nowhere else. In the execution of this plan, one wave of immigration would succeed another, each in turn to be first workers on the road, and next workers on the soil, or as producers in any other form required. The commencement of this work will be the commencement of a never ending and ever increasing tide of population, rolling onward in the western track of empire, wafting civilization on its bosom, to be stayed only by the waters of the Pacific; for in no other part of the

world will the motives for immigration be so powerful, either to the poor, or to the bold and enterprising. *There* is an inexhaustible world of dormant wealth, which needs but the wand of this great scheme to wake it into activity and ceaseless energy. No sooner will it be known—and all the world will see it—that a poor man can find employment on this road to provide himself with a farm, than the rush of immigration on that line will swell into a mighty volume, every wave pushed on by every succeeding wave, to increase the rapidity and force of the movement.

It is, however, chiefly the results which will naturally flow from the opening of this road, in bringing all nations into the most intimate commercial contact, the civilized with the barbarous, the Christian with the pagan, the more refined with the less refined nations, and the natural and direct tendency of this contact, first to make it the interest of all nations to be in amicable relations with each other, and thus prevent wars; and next, by the same causes, to raise the lower conditions of human society, wherever found, to a level with the higher, and to impart a general impulse to the entire circle of humanity, to rise yet higher than the highest, and to move onward in the path of universal improvement, with more rapid strides, and with a more effective march; it is *these* great ends which impart to this undertaking its most sublime and most beneficent character, as a means of civilization.

"War," said Napoleon, "is the trade of barbarians;" a notable authority for such a saying, and "pity 'tis, 'tis true." Bring all nations together into the same neighborhood, as will be seen must be the effect of this great highway across the American continent, and they cannot afford war. It would be their interest to cultivate peace. War, in such a case, would be universal devastation. That instrument, therefore, that means, which shall bring about such a millennium of peace among nations, will be the most effective civilizer of nations.

Christian civilization is, doubtless, at the head of all forms of civilized society, and it is shown, in the foregoing lecture, how Christianity must necessarily move forward on this new and great highway to every part of the pagan world. The history of the world, since the commencement of the Christian era, demonstrates the fact that civilization is always at the highest stage of improvement where Christianity shines in its purest light. Christianity, we believe, is destined to triumph, and in the train of its victories comes "peace on earth and good will towards men." In exact harmony with the precepts of Christianity comes this great harmonizer of nations, a railway to the Pacific. The great and comprehensive precept of Christianity for man, in all his relations to his fellow-man, is LOVE—KINDNESS.

Bind together the East and West of this continent by this railway; bind America to Asia, and Europe to Asia across our bosom, by the same strong tie; bring all these great and dominant parts of the world so near togeth $_{\odot}^{r}$

as would be the effect of this great highway, and would they not find it convenient, and most convenient *to be kind?* Could they afford to quarrel and destroy each other, as in that way they would? Nations, though they may allege other pretexts, will never go to war but for some hoped for advantage. Make it the advantage of all nations to be at peace, and you will have peace—and peace in perpetuity so long as the same reasons exist. Make this road across the American continent, and you will have a millennium of peace on earth; for in that case all nations will be neighbors; and it is the interest of neighbors to live in peace, and the natural consoquence of a general and lasting peace of the world, with all nations in intimate contact with each other in the pursuits of commerce, will be the progress of civilization, ever rising higher throughout the entire circle of this intercourse.

We might speak of our own country as the great centre of this mighty movement, and as the country of all others to be the most benefitted by it. See, by the map, how all nations, in their intercourse, if this road be built, must meet and pass each other at our very heart; and consequently how we shall have the greatest benefit of this intercourse. The Pacific Ocean, which has hitherto been almost a vacant waste of waters, would become the great and most active field of commerce, chiefly carried on under the flag of our country. As a consequence, the heart of North America would be the centre of the world's civilization, to which all civilization would tend, and from which its best influences would go out.

A LECTURE

ON

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

INCLUDING A BRIEF OUTLINE

OF THE

SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF AFRICA;

AND THE RELATIONS OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY TO AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF OHIO, JANUARY 19, 1850.

BY DAVID CHRISTY,

AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED BY J. A. & U. P. JAMES.
WALNUT STREET, ABOVE FOURTH.
1850.

Columbus, Feb 5th, 1850.

Dear Sir:—The undersigned members of the General Assembly of Ohio, being desirous of securing to the public the means of fully and calmly investigating the subject of the provision which ought to be made for our colored people, and, believing that the facts contained in your Lecture on African Civilization, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the 19th ult., would materially aid in the promotion of that object, we would respectfully request a copy of the same for publication.

To DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.
Agent of the African Colonization Society.

Geo. W. Bull,
J. S. Whiton,
H. B. Spelman,
James M. Burt,
David Dresback,
Daniel Keller,
John A. Weyer,
S. S. Sprague,
S. Lutz,
Dennis Smith,
E. B. Fee,
Andrew Ferguson,
Wm. P. Simpson,
Fisher A. Blocksom,
John Graham,
J. H. Dubbs,
V. Chase,
H. G. Blake,
Anselm T. Holcomb,
Richard Green,
James Rodgers,
Joshua Worley,
J. F. Patton,
J. S. Copeland,
M. R. Waite,
Wm. B. Fairchild,
Seth Woodford,
John Beaver,
Miller Moody,
Wm. Given,
John Gill,
Samuel Patterson,
J. S. Conklin,
G. W. Barker,
Wm. Lawrence,
E. K. Eckley,
H. B. Payne,
W. Dennison, Jr,
Samuel T. Worcester,
Geo. D. Hendricks,
Ruel Beeson,
Chauncey N. Olds,
Pinkney Lewis,
H. Vinal,
W. Howard,
Barnabus Burns,
James Cunningham,
J. W. Wilson,
James Myers,
M. S. Mustin.

Gentlemen:—It affords me pleasure to comply with your request for the publication of my *Lecture on African Civilization, as connected with, and dependent upon, American Colonization;* my only cause of regret being, that more of time and of talent has not been employed in its discussion, than it has been in my power to devote to the subject.

Since I had the honor, one year ago, of addressing the Representatives of the people of Ohio, on the subject of African Colonization, many events have transpired which serve to encourage us in our great work. One or two of these I may mention. Dispatches from President Roberts, recently received, state that agreements are now about completed for the purchase, from the native authorities, of the territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and that he is only awaiting the arrival of funds to perfect the titles. The effect of buying this region, and extending over it the laws of Liberia, will be the total suppression of the slave trade, and the emancipation from slavery, of the population included within its limits—numbering, perhaps, over 100,000 men. But the principal point of importance, connected with this movement, is the fact that the purchase now being made, to a considerable extent, will be paid for by the liberal donation of $5000, by Charles M'Micken, Esq., of Cincinnati, and that the lands purchased by his donation, are to be presented, *as a free gift, to the colored people of Ohio*, to afford them an opportunity of putting forth all their energies, intellectual and moral, in aiding to impart to Africa, a Christian Civilization. And a still further subject of interest presents itself, in the very recent movement of some of the intelligent colored men of Ohio, who are adopting preparatory measures to take possession of this territory at the earliest practicable moment.

Yours, respectfully,
DAVID CHRISTY.

JAMES & CO., STEREOTYPERS.

LECTURE

ON

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION.

The close of the last century exhibited the social and moral condition of the world in such an aspect as to prove the excellency of Christianity over all other religious systems. Paganism had long since wrought out its legitimate results, and demonstrated its impotency to produce a high degree of human happiness. Mohammedanism, a shade better in its principles, had progressed but little beyond Paganism in promoting the welfare of its votaries. Both of these systems, constructed on principles consonant with fallen human nature, were, of necessity, becoming effete, and stood before the world as gigantic edifices, whose foundations were giving way, and the whole structures tumbling into ruins.

Christianity, embracing principles antagonistic to all impurity and every form of injustice, and demanding of men implicit obedience to God, was no welcome visitor upon earth, but had to endure, from its earliest introduction, the most bitter enmity and the most sanguinary opposition. At the end of 330 years from Christ, in addition to the hostility of the Jews, it had passed through ten successive persecutions by the Roman Emperors, which, failing to suppress it, only served to prove that the religion of the Saviour of the world was *indestructible.*

When, therefore, despots discovered their inability to annihilate the new religion, combinations were formed to adopt it in the room of preëxisting systems, or rather, perhaps, to engraft it upon them, and mould it to suit their purposes. But notwithstanding that Christianity was thus corrupted and perverted into an engine of political and ecclesiastical despotism, it still retained much of its innate vitality, and greatly advanced the social and moral welfare of those subjected to its influence; thus proving its superiority over the false religious systems which had so long prevailed.

It being an essential element of the religion revealed by Christ to generate *independence of thought*, its believers were often found

holding opinions at variance with those established by law. These tendencies, it was feared, would make the unrestrained toleration of Christianity dangerous to Despotism, because freedom of thought and of speech, allowed to the people, would weaken confidence in the infallibility of the judgment of kings, and thus peril the stability of thrones. The art of printing being undiscovered, the *living teacher*, for a long period, was the chief agency for the propagation of the new faith. To silence his voice, when not in unison with despotic will, it was conceived, would limit independence of thought, and the desired uniformity of opinion and implicit obedience to rulers be secured. Hence arose efforts, extending through many centuries, and leading to the shedding of torrents of blood, to force upon the world a unity of faith. But the employment of the rack and the dungeon, the gibbet and the stake, only tended more fully to evolve another inherent principle of the doctrines taught by the Son of God—*the natural equality of mankind, and the individual responsibility of man to God, demanding for the human race equal rights and liberty of conscience.*

A doctrine so inconsistent with preconceived opinions, and fraught, it was perceived, with such dangers to civil and ecclesiastical despotisms, could not but lead to the most vigorous exertions for its suppression. Success so far attended their efforts, that the light of the Gospel became dimmed and ages of darkness ensued, during which despotism reposed in safety amid the moral night it had produced, until the forgotten Bible, chained within walls of massive stone, as if to hide it from the people, was discovered by the master-spirit of his age, and its divine light made to reillumine the world.

The occurrence of this event with the nearly simultaneous discovery of the art of printing, which led to a rapid and indefinite multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, now imposed upon despots the double task, of exterminating the living teacher, and of preventing the circulation of the printed Bible. Persecution again followed persecution, until, under the guidance of a kind Providence, a few of the advocates of civil and religious liberty, fleeing for their lives from Europe, Bible in hand, found a refuge in the new world. Here the legitimate fruits of Christianity, when untrammelled by the devices of men, were soon developed, and the American Republic arose, as a beacon to the world, teaching what a *Free Christianity* can accomplish for mankind.

In the mean time the principles of religious liberty had gained some favor in a few of the nations of Europe, and produced their appropriate results, though in a more limited degree than in the United States, because religion was left less free. And thus there was a progressive movement on both sides of the Atlantic, leading to a higher civilization and a greater sum of human happiness than the older systems had ever produced, or than has yet been attained where they still prevail.

Near the close of the last century, therefore, the contrast could be clearly drawn between Paganism, Mohammedanism, a Christianity

excluding the Bible from the people and modeled to fetter the freedom of thought and of speech, and a free Christianity taking the Bible alone as its basis, and, without the intervention of any human agent, placing the soul of man directly in communion with God. The effects of these various systems, in advancing or retarding human happiness, and in promoting or checking civilization, had become so manifest, that the Christian philanthropist, acting under the impulses of the law of love, resolved upon giving to the world a *Free Christianity*.

It is unnecessary, before an intelligent audience, to enumerate the obstacles which impede the progress of the agents employed to bestow a Free Christianity upon the world, with the view of securing to mankind a higher civilization and increased enjoyment in this life, as well as to impart to the hearts of men the hope of eternal happiness in the world to come. It is only necessary to our present purpose to say, that, in all these efforts there has been no field selected which was so dark and unpromising, and none that so long baffled all exertions, and so utterly failed of success, as that of Africa previous to the colonization of its coast by civilized and Christian colored men. The facts in relation to this subject were fully presented in our lecture, one year ago, in this hall. It is there shown that two hundred and forty years of effort by the Catholics, and one hundred and forty by Protestant missionaries, including the period of the operations of our Liberia Colony, had proved, conclusively, that the redemption of Africa from barbarism cannot be accomplished by *white men*, but that *colored men* must be employed in that vast work of benevolence. It was also proved, that the slave trade, after the expenditure, by England, of more than one hundred millions of dollars for its suppression, instead of being diminished in extent, has been steadily and rapidly increasing; and that the conviction is forced upon the public mind, that this greatest of crimes against humanity can only be suppressed by surrounding the coast with colonies of intelligent colored men, who must be protected and sustained by Christian governments until the civilization of the native population can be effected.

The important truth being ascertained, that the agents in the civilization of Africa must be men of African blood, the great question which presses itself upon the consideration of the philanthropist and the Christian, is this: Where can we obtain colored men in sufficient numbers, who are properly educated and enlightened, and who are themselves the subjects of redeeming grace, to act as agents in bestowing a Christian civilization upon Africa?

To answer this question, is a prominent object of the present lecture. But, to obtain a just conception of the magnitude of the work that lies before us, it becomes necessary to determine the extent and character of the social and moral evils existing in Africa; and this is the more necessary, because of the prevalence of the opinion, that the degradation of Africa is chiefly due to the slave trade. Our investigations, we believe, will fully sustain the truth of the assertion, that even if it were possible to break up the slave trade by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity

and little good accomplished for Africa; and that if the benevolent designs toward the African race, which so generally prevail among good men, be executed, there must be a union of effort of all the friends of this oppressed people, in supporting and extending the work of colonization in Africa; and further, that the United States is placed in such a peculiar position, as clearly to indicate that we alone, of all the nations in the world, are able to give to Africa that form of Christianity and of civil government which will secure to her the highest degree of civilization and the greatest amount of prosperity. The materials collected have been arranged under the following heads.

I. The social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade.

II. The modifications produced by the slave trade upon the social and moral condition of Africa.

III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

I. The earlier travelers in Africa, meeting with many acts of kindness, formed favorable opinions of the natives, and the impression has been created, that the greater part of the evils oppressing that country have had their origin in the slave trade, and are not a necessary consequence of her own social and moral condition. A better acquaintance with the state of the interior has tended to correct the first impressions. The iron despotism of their kings, the absoluteness of their domestic slavery, the objects of their idolatrous worship, the modes of performing their religious rites, the cruel superstitions existing everywhere, their degrading customs, their human sacrifices, their cannibalism, it was discovered, must have dated their origin far back beyond the period of the commencement of the slave trade, and produced the most debasing effects upon the inhabitants. The slave trade, it was evident, had not originated the *greater evils* under which Africa groaned, *but was itself one of the legitimate fruits of the social and moral degradation previously existing and still perpetuated on that continent.* A brief statement of facts will prove the accuracy of the view here presented.

When England, in 1808, prohibited the slave trade, it was anticipated that, as this traffic diminished, and a legitimate commerce increased, the civilization of the African people would necessarily be accomplished. While she had the monopoly of the slave trade, she had erected many forts on the coast of Africa, and on declaring it illegal and commencing her operations for its suppression, they were immediately transformed into trading posts for opening up a legal commerce with the natives. This change of policy, requiring many agents to reside on the coast and to visit the interior, soon made the world better acquainted with Africa.

As the power of Great Britain was considered almost omnipotent, it was not doubted at first, but that the slave trade would be annihilated through her influence and exertions, and the consequent civilization of Africa immediately follow. But *the elements of*

civilization were not then so well understood as at present. It was believed that to extend *commerce* was to extend civilization. The commerce conducted between the enlightened nations of Europe, it was known, had greatly promoted their civilization. It was soon found, however, that the causes of African degradation lay deeper than had been conceived. The difference between the intellectual and moral capacities of the civilized and uncivilized man was found to be almost infinite. The horrible superstitions by which the minds of the people of Africa had been darkened and bewildered must first be eradicated before civilization could progress. Commerce, unaided, it was soon demonstrated, could not accomplish this work. An active commerce at Cape Messurado, conducted for three hundred and fifty years, had failed to advance the natives a single step toward civilization. Similar results had followed elsewhere. Barbarous tribes, then as now, it was discovered, were incapable of comprehending moral truth while in the savage state; and could only be brought under its influence by a careful course of moral teaching. But the appetites and passions of their natures being the same as with other men, *commerce unavoidably imparted to them the vices of civilization, and introduced among them the elements of physical destruction, instead of planting the seeds of moral renovation.* The result of missionary efforts elsewhere, had led to the discovery that the light of the gospel must be let into the soul before the darkness of heathenism, in which it was shrouded, could be dissipated, and the intellectual and moral elevation of the people be promoted. Christianity, the only parent of a pure morality, it had been perceived, was the *primary element* in raising men from barbarism, and that civilization, industry, and commerce were necessary fruits of the gospel wherever planted. These facts being observed, though as yet but dimly and by few, led to efforts for the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the missionaries thus employed furnished to the world additional light upon the subject of its social and moral condition. The establishment of colonies upon the coast has also afforded further opportunities of investigation and supplied fuller information in relation to the terrible moral gloom overshadowing Africa.

It is, then, from the investigations of British agents, travelers, missionaries and colonists, that we derive our facts in relation to the social and moral condition of Africa.

We shall begin with their *human sacrifices.* According to their ideas, the future world will be a counterpart of this; will present the same objects to the senses, the same enjoyments, and the same distinction of ranks in society. Upon this belief are founded proceedings not only absurd, but of the most violent and atrocious description. A profusion of wealth is buried in the grave of the deceased, who is supposed to carry it into the other world: and human victims are sacrificed, often in whole hecatombs, under the delusion that they will attend as his guards and ministers in the future mansion. This savage superstition seems to have prevailed to a peculiar extent in those

great interior monarchies, which, in other respects, are more civilized than the rest of Western Africa.

The Ashantees have two annual customs, as they are called, says Mr. Bowditch, a British agent, of 1819, in which the King, and chief men, seek to propitiate the departed spirits of their ancestors, by the sacrifice of a crowd of human victims. Foreign slaves and criminals are selected in preference, but as each seeks to multiply the number, unprotected persons cannot walk abroad without the hazard of being seized and immolated. At the death of any of the royal family, victims must bleed in thousands; and the same is the case when the king seeks from the powers above, favorable omens respecting any great projected undertaking. On the death of the king, a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated, to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously among the crowd. Few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence. The king's household slaves are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. As the king is allowed three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, and as the immolation of the wife on the death of the husband is customary in Africa, it is probable that many of the slaughtered women are the wives of the king, despatched to attend their deceased lord in another world. The king of Ashantee, otherwise a very amiable and benevolent sovereign, on the death of his mother, says Mr. Bowditch, devoted three thousand victims to water her grave, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

That this is no fabled account of the cruel superstitions of Ashantee, is evident from very recent testimony. As late as 1844, intelligence from Liberia, published in the African Repository, states that at the death of the late king, one thousand human victims were sacrificed.

The kingdom of Dahomey is governed upon the same system as Ashantee, and with all its deformities—which it carries to a still more violent excess. The bloody customs take place on a still greater scale; and the bodies of the victims, says Mr. B., instead of being buried, are hung upon the walls, and allowed to putrify. Human skulls make the favorite ornament of the palaces and temples, and the king has his sleeping apartment paved with them.

This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the Rev. J. L. Wilson, missionary in Western Africa, in 1839, who writes, that "human sacrifices are still offered in great numbers, not only in Ashantee, but in all the petty principalities of the surrounding country. The story that the king of Dahomey has his yard paved with human skulls is no fable. There are Europeans on the coast who have seen it, and can bear witness to the truth of the statement."

Governor Abson, of Cape Coast Castle, visited the king of Dahomey

at a time when six slave ships were at Whydah, anxious to make purchases, and when, owing to the scarcity of slaves, the prices had risen to nearly thirty pounds. But such was the strength of superstition over avarice, that the king refused to sell his prisoners to the slave traders, preferring to put them to death for their skulls, in the contemplation of which the people seemed to take a horrible delight. When the governor inquired of the king, if his going to war was not to obtain captives to sell to the slave traders, he replied, "I have killed many thousands without thinking of the slave market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors, to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the customs."

The king of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened, that after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched, in like manner, with a postscript to his former message. Gov. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow selected for the honor of bearing his majesty's message, aware of what was to happen, declared he was unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, "I'll show you the way," and with one blow severed his head from his body—highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered a great honor.

Such seems to have been the inefficiency of British arrangements on the coast, at the period when Mr. Bowditch visited Africa; and such the want of moral influence exerted by the residents over the natives, that Sir James Yeo informed the committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their outposts were such, that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls. Two victims, says Mr. B., had been sacrificed, with the most refined barbarity, in *broad day*, close to the fort of Accra.

Human sacrifices, on a more limited scale, seem to be of common occurrence. The Rev. Mr. Schon, of the English Church Missionary Society, who accompanied the Niger Expedition in 1843, says that human sacrifices are offered by the Ibo people, residing one hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Niger. The usual modes of destroying life are to fasten the victims to the branches of trees close to the river and leave them to famish, or to tie their legs together and drag them from place to place until they expire, when the bodies are cast into the river to be devoured by alligators. In a tour of exploration along the coast, in 1839, the Rev. J. L. Wilson says, "We were informed that only a few days previous to our arrival, a neighboring chief had, in consequence of an eclipse of the sun, which

was regarded as ominous of approaching calamity, buried several of his subjects alive; and it was not known how many more would be subjected to the same fate."

On the gold coast, the shark is worshipped by the inhabitants. Every year, says Dr. Porter, the inhabitants of Bonney doom a guiltless child to expiate, with its life, the follies and crimes of its destroyers. The poor babe is named for this bloody rite at its birth, from which time it is called their Jewjew, and allowed every indulgence that its fancy can wish for, until it arrives at nine or ten years of age, when its sanguinary doom must be fulfilled. Its tears and lamentations avail not; its parents have placed their feelings of nature on the altar of a mistaken devotion; it is therefore left alone to plead with those that hope to benefit by its destruction. The sharks collect as if in expectation of the dainty meal being prepared for them. The spot chosen is a point of sand, into which a stake is driven at low water mark. The mother sees her innocent offspring bound to this, and as the tide advances, left alone. Various noises are made to drown the cries of the terrified child. Its little hands are seen imploring, and its lips calling for her aid; the water soon reaches the stake, and the greedy monsters are seen by the tender victim quickly approaching with the deepening tide. The shouting mob stand watching the stake until the advancing tide has emboldened the sharks to approach their prey—then their dreadful revelry begins. No tear is shed for the poor sufferer, but the day is concluded with rejoicing and festivities.

But we will only trespass upon your patience so far as to present one more case under this part of our investigations. The Liberia Luminary, of 1848, gives an account of the sacrifice of a human being, a short time previous, under circumstances which prove that there is no abatement of the power of superstition over men's minds in Africa, where the light of the gospel has not been reflected.

A famous Goulah chief, anxious for success in a military campaign upon which he was setting out against the Condoes, applied to a Mahommedan priest to know what he should do to insure success. The priest inquired of him whether he was *able* to make the necessary sacrifice, to which he replied that he could make any sacrifice that could be named. The nefarious imposter then told him he must sacrifice his son! and, taking his dead body upon his shoulders, his feet swung around his neck, and his head hung behind him, in this manner advance before his troops to the contest, and victory would be certain!! The directions were complied with. Calling his son into a house, he caught him, deliberately tied him, and then, with his own parental hand, he cut his throat! Having offered this sacrifice, he and his troops prepared to advance toward the jurisdiction of their enemies; then was this inhuman father seen with his dead son on his back, in the manner directed, without any display of parental affection or of emotion, save that aroused in his barbarous breast by the confident expectation of victory. Being successful in three subsequent engagements, this horrible sacrifice will, no doubt, be hereafter considered as the sure precursor of victory.

Such was African superstition in 1848, and such will it continue to be until Christianity dispels the gloom which overcasts the native mind.

We turn now to African *Idolatry*. The native Africans, generally, have very obscure conceptions of the nature and attributes of God and of a future state of moral retribution; while almost every superstition that can degrade the human mind reigns in full sway.

To express generally what is sacred, what is forbidden, what is endowed with supernatural powers, either beneficent or malignant, they employ the term *fetiche* or *gri-gri*. Everything which strikes the fancy of a negro is made his *fetiche*. This word is derived either from the Portugese word *fetisso*, a block adored as an idol, or from *feticzeira*, an enchantress. The Portuguese gave the name to the idols of the negroes on the Senegal, and afterward the word received a more extensive meaning. The general signification now given to *fetiche*, seems to be, an object worshipped, not representing any living figure. The grand natural fetiches are rocks, hills, or trees of remarkable size and beauty. But there are fantastic objects of veneration, which each individual adopts and carries about with him. Such are a piece of ornamented wood, the teeth of a dog, tiger, or elephant, a goat's head, a fish bone, or the end of a ram's horn. They believe the material substances which they worship to be endowed with intelligence, and the power of doing them good or evil: and also that the *fetichere*, or priest, being in council with their *fetiche*, is made acquainted with all that those divinities know, and thence is familiar with the most secret thoughts and actions of men. The household, or family *fetiche*, narrowly inspects the conduct of every individual in the house, and rewards or punishes each according to his deserts. The public *fetiches* are supposed to be equally watchful over community in general.

These *fetiches* they set up in the houses, the fields, or the entrance and center of the villages, erect altars to them, and place before them dishes of rice, maize, and fruits. The better sort of families have weekly festivals on which they sacrifice a cock or sheep. This *gri-gri* or *fetiche* worship is universal, and hours would not suffice to detail the particulars connected with it, or the debasing influence which it exerts over the mind. The Rev. Mr. Schon found it practiced far up the Niger. He says, 1843, "They showed me their gods. Under a small shade erected before almost every house, among the people of Iddah, were broken pots, pieces of yams, feathers of fowls, horns of animals, broken bows and arrows, knives and spears. Such are their gods! It is easy to attack them or to expose them to ridicule, but not so easy to eradicate the superstitious belief in them from out of the hearts of men."

The framing of these fantastic objects of African worship, consecrating them, and selling them at enormous prices, forms the chief occupation of the African priesthood. Various are the expedients resorted to by these priests, or *gri-gri* men, to obtain presents from the people, by operating on their superstitious notions. One mode is

by teaching that food must be placed at the graves of the dead for the deceased person. The Rev. J. L. Wilson visited one town, where the bones of the deceased king, who had been dead many years, have been enclosed in a box, and deposited in a house appropriated exclusively for this purpose. Fresh food, water, and every comfort which a living man could wish, are daily deposited in the house. These provisions, the people are told by a *gri-gri man*, who statedly visited the place to hold converse with the deceased majesty, are devoured by the king. Mr. Wilson, after some difficulty, obtained leave to enter this sacred place, through the small opening affording admittance, and found a bed, chairs, table, &c., used, no doubt, by the superintending priest during his visits.

But in addition to the fetiche idol worship, *idolatry* of the more common form among pagans, seems also to be practised in Africa.

In 1833, the Rev. Mr. Schon wrote the Church Missionary Society, from Sierra Leone, that he had been assured that idol worship was practised in the town, but that those engaged in it, desired to evade detection. Seeing a number of people surrounding a house, he went to the spot and found indications convincing him that some idolatrous ceremonies were being conducted within doors. Attempting to enter, he was repulsed. Returning some time afterward, in company with another missionary, and removing a little of the thatching, he looked in and beheld ten or twelve women prostrated before a hideous idol. Finding themselves discovered, the natives were thrown into the greatest confusion, and opening the door, allowed the missionaries to enter. The mere view, says Mr. Schon, was sufficient to fill the mind with horror. The large idol actually represented the devil, with a blood-stained face and two horns. Before him stood a water pot half filled with the blood of animals that were sacrificed to him. In another corner of the room were smaller idols and *gri-gris*, lying and hanging in great number; and fowls, which were sacrificed to them, were lying in their blood on the floor of the room.

Another peculiar form of the African superstition is their *Devil-worship*. The people cherish the general belief of a future state, little connected, however, with any idea of moral retribution. The question is, whether they have faithfully observed the promise made to the *fetiche*. They uniformly, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, ascribe the works of creation to God, but regard the devil as the author of all providence. Hence will be seen at every entrance into their towns, a *gri-gri pole*, with a rag upon it, or something of the kind, either to prevent his entrance, or conciliate his favor. They never open trade on board of a ship, without pouring a libation of rum into the water, as a portion with which the devil is particularly pleased.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop states, that at all the entrances in the enclosure, or roads to the town, are small houses called the *grand devil-house*, where the people deposite different articles in them to conciliate his dreaded majesty. These presents, of course, form a part of the perquisites of the priests.

Dr. A. C. Wilson, writing from the station at Fishtown, 1840, says, "Today there was a bullock sacrificed to conciliate the devil, asking those favors of him that should be asked of God, and giving him the honor which belongs to Jehovah alone."

The God whom the Africans are supposed to worship, says Dr. McDowell, who spent some time at the colonies, has been called the "*devil*," by European visitors. The place selected for the performance of the mysteries connected with his worship, is in the center of some thick forest, called the *gri-gri bush*, or *devil-bush*. The influence which it is made to exercise over the people generally, is partly superstitious, partly political. The chiefs or head men meet once a month, and offer goats or other animals, as a sacrifice to this evil being or devil. Into this sacred forest no woman or boy is allowed to intrude, the penalty being death, foreign slavery, or a fine. The young freemen of the tribe are initiated into manhood by being taken into the *devil bush*, where they are shown a wooden cross erected, and a loud hoarse voice addresses them from the deep recesses of the wood, telling them certain things they must not do, upon the penalty of being seized by the evil demon, or spirit, and hung upon the cross to be an example to others. These instructions, as might have been expected, are of a purely selfish character, having reference to themselves and their own tribe.

After any one has been initiated into these *gri-gri* mysteries, and offends the chiefs, they are liable to be taken into the *devil-bush*, from which they never return. Nor dare any one ask, "Where is he?" "The devil has taken him," ends all further inquiry or hope, and his friends must not mourn for him. If a chief suffers in this way, his people and his wives must suffer along with him, unless by timely notice from the priest, they desert the doomed one, and attach themselves to another chief or tribe before the arrival of the day of execution.

When Bob Gray, chief at Grand Bassa, sold the *devil-bush*, which now forms a part of the settlement of Edina, to the Agent of the American Colonization Society, the whole surrounding tribes were about to arm against him for his impiety, and he had to pay a heavy fine, as well as solicit the protection of the colony to save his head.

The Methodist church now stands not far from the spot where the blood of the victims of their superstition and cruelty has flowed profusely. Many a wretch has been dragged into the depths of that forest gloom never to return.

The superstitions of the African tribes seems to be the operation of a wild veneration manifested in the form of vague fears of some evil influence being continually impending over them, which they try to obviate by the performance of some ridiculous mummeries, and suspending round their persons their *gri-gris*. Out of this feeling arises the common belief in *Witchcraft*, and the overwhelming superstitious credulity which everywhere prevails, affording to the priests immense power over the inhabitants. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations and barbarous customs, are continually

practised, and in the power of which the people have unbounded confidence; and such is their influence upon the general mind, that they are accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil can invest them.

In the attempts to bewitch any one, the usual mode of operation is said to be, to take a gourd or vessel, containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different colored rags, cats' teeth, parrots' feathers, toads' feet, eggshells, fishbones, snakes' teeth, and lizzards' tails. This is secretly placed near the dwelling of the person intended to be brought under its influence, and upon whom the operator wishes to inflict an injury. Terror immediately seizes the individual, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases, death is the inevitable consequence.

Upon the death of any one, therefore, suspicion is excited that he has been bewitched or poisoned, by some one, and the friends invariably institute an inquiry into the question of who had "*made witch*," for the deceased. The power of determining this question rests with their priests, and of course constitutes one of the chief sources of their influence over the people. The instances of cruelty growing out of these trials are frequent and horrible. A certain number of witnesses are selected, and every individual who can be an object of suspicion is required to plunge his hand into a pot of boiling oil. If innocent, it is alleged, he suffers no pain; if guilty, his hand is severely burnt. Should the person thus found guilty, assert his innocence, he is subjected to another, and what everybody regards as a sure and infallible test, that is to swallow a strong and large potation of *sass-wood*. It either produces death, or violent and distressing vomiting. The quantity of the tea, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1836, that is given to the man, when his accusers are bent on his destruction, is altogether incredible—enough, were there no poisonous qualities in it, to destroy the life of any one. Several deaths occurred from this practice, near Mr. Wilson's station, but he finally succeeded in putting a stop to such glaring injustice and cruelty.

But this cruel mode of trial is still prevalent outside of the colonies and mission stations. The journal of the Rev. Mr. Payne, of the Protestant Episcopal Mission, Dec. 9, 1848, records the death of three women, in rapid succession, from this ordeal, who had been accused of causing the death of a man wounded in battle. Upon Mr. Payne remonstrating strongly and endeavoring to put a stop to the work of death, the chief accosted him thus: "Payne, what kind of a man are you? We are trying to rid ourselves of the witches who have caused our late reverses, and you are angry? We verily thought the *deya*, who declared these women to be witches, lied; but, behold, on trial, all prove guilty!!" "Alas," adds Mr. Payne, "for a bloody superstition which receives new strength from every additional victim! Help Lord, for vain is the help of man."

The cases arising under this means of detecting supposed crim-

inals are numerous, one only, in addition, will be presented. The Liberia Herald, 1844, says, "Directly after the death of King Shaka, of the Gallinas, a secret inquisition was set on foot to ferret out the *witch-man*. For a long time the search was fruitless; at length a *gri-gri man*, by continued incantations and daring diabolical communications, succeeded, and the hapless regicide was brought to light. Confronted with his accuser, he protested that he was innocent—the *doctor* protested he was guilty, and the all-discovering ordeal was resorted to, to decide the question. Of course the man was condemned to die, and as King Shaka was *big king too much*—the severity of the punishment was proportioned to the dignity of the deceased. Sentence was pronounced and thus executed—the man was taken to the mouth of the river, his tongue cut out, and he thrown alive to the sharks.

"This ordeal," continues the Herald, "is a most powerful engine of state policy in Africa. It is the right arm of an African monarch. He has only to keep on terms with the *doctors* or *gri-gri men*, who are the constituted inquisitors, and nothing is easier than to rid himself, at any time, of a dangerous or aspiring subject. Whether the ordeal be the *sassy water*, *the boiling oil*, *or the heated iron*, they are never at a loss for means to produce any result they wish. If it be the first process, they weaken or strengthen the decoction, and increase or lessen the quantity so as to render it innocent or fatal, just as interest or inclination may lead. If the second or third, they can, by previous application of some preparation to the part to be operated upon, enable it, for a short time, to resist the effect of heat; and then, by hurrying the ordeal, the accused escapes unscathed. If they conclude to murder the victim, they reverse the operation, and guilt is as clear as noonday. Thus this system puts the life of the whole community in the hands of this class of men, and renders it a formidable fraternity of conjurers."

Polygamy, says the Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1834, is universal. A man's importance in society is according to the number of his wives. These are regarded as his property, and in reality are his servants. They are usually purchased at a very early age. One of the wives in any family is the mistress of the others, and is honored by them as such. They are all in strict subjection to their husbands, and not unfrequently are severely chastised for the slightest offense. The women perform all the drudgery. At the age of about twelve the females are taken to the *devil-bush*, and retained for something like two years. They are under the care of the *grand devil-man*, who, at stated times, rushes out into the midst of them, and utters his oracles. They are induced to believe that he is a supernatural being, and his dress and manner both confirm it. So far as the object of this confinement could be learned, it was to prepare them for the duties of life—one of the chief of which is to make a full and unreserved communication of everything they may know to their husbands.

In 1839, Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, says, "That in all the tribes bigamy was common. No sacredness was attached to the marriage relation. They retain their

wives as long as they are pleased with them, and then sell them. In some tribes one man would have from one to twenty wives. The Manomoisies sometimes have as high as eighty. Wives are bought and sold. The females do the work; men work till they obtain wherewith to buy a wife, then work no more, only trade and fight."

It has been stated already, that the king of Ashantee, 1819, kept three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives. All the female sex is considered as at the king's disposal, says Mr. Bowditch, and an annual assemblage takes place, when, having made a large selection for himself, he distributes the remainder among his grandees, who are bound to receive them with the humblest gratitude.

The number of wives possessed by the king of Dahomey equalled those of the king of Ashantee. The stoutest of them, says Mr. Bowditch, were enrolled into a military regiment, regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers; and according to the testimony of several Europeans, went through the exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyoes, on which occasion he was attended by a body guard of eight hundred women.

English papers, for May, 1849, brought us some details of recent negotiations by an English agent, with the king of Dahomey, from which we learn that the number of his armed women is near six thousand at present. They constitute his body guard, and never leave him, and are answerable for the safety of his person.

It was the boast of the king of Eyeo, that his queens, linked hand in hand, would reach from one end of the kingdom to the other. These women, says Mr. Bowditch, act as the king's body-guards, perform the most menial offices, and are seen in every part of the kingdom, carrying on their heads heavy burdens from place to place, favored only with an exemption from ordinary toil.

But we need not multiply quotations. Enough is given to prove that one of the greatest evils which can mar the social condition of any people—polygamy—prevails to a vastly greater extent in Africa than in any other portion of the world.

Next in order comes the *domestic slavery of Africa.* In addition to the degrading customs and cruel superstitions, which cannot have had their origin in the slave trade, slavery, to a frightful extent, exists in Africa, and the wars and demoralization produced by ambition or the hope of making prisoners, for slaves, and to secure plunder, would still continue if slavery in all the world beside were abolished. On this subject the materials are ample, but we must limit ourselves to some of the more prominent facts. This view was forced upon the mind of Burkhardt, the African traveler, who, on concluding his labors, says, "Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent."

Mr. Burgess, writing from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast of Africa,

says that "slavery is common in all the tribes. They buy their own people. Some Manomoisies own four or five hundred slaves."

Major Denham, the English traveler, states, that on the occasion of the marriage of the shiek of Bornou with the daughter of the sultan of Mandara, a combined expedition was sent against the Musgow nation, which, after a desperate struggle, brought in three thousand slaves; and the nuptials were celebrated with barbaric pomp, furnished out of the tears and captivity of so many victims."

The Major further states, that, "For the last eight years the shiek of Bornou has carried on a very desperate and bloody war with the sultan of Begharmi, who governs a powerful and warlike people, inhabiting a very large tract of country south of Bornou, and on the eastern bank of the Shary. Although meeting with some reverses, and on one occasion losing his eldest son in the wars, who was greatly beloved by the people, he has, upon the whole, been successful; and is said to have, from the first to the last, destroyed and *led into slavery* more than thirty thousand of the sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns and driving off his flocks."

Kano, the capital of a province of the same name, and one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Soudain, has a population of from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Of these, according to Captain Clapperton, who visited it, more than half are slaves. The sale and purchase of slaves is as common as the sale or transfer of any other species of property. He describes the slave market as very extensive.

Even the wives of the kings, as already stated, are no better than slaves, in the common and harshest acceptation of the word; and as the pomp of the sovereign consists principally in the multitude of his wives, it is easy to conceive the numbers of one class alone who are reduced to servitude.

Dr. Goheen, the very intelligent and successful physician to the African mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, after more than a year's residence in Liberia, thus writes:

"Slavery in the United States, in its worst form, and under the lash, is not as bad as slavery here in its mildest form. It is a well known truth, that in Western Africa nine-tenths of the whole population are in a state of slavery. The females are all sold at an early age, to be, when they grow up, wives, or *beasts of burden*, as their proprietors may require. If the majority here were not slaves, how would they ever get into the foreign slave dealers' hands? They are sent in hundreds from the interior to the slave-factories and sold. They are not deprived of their liberty when they leave these shores—they only change masters. Slaves they are, and such they have been to the most savage rulers, who inflict upon them the severest punishments, and feel free to kill, to eat, or to throw them alive upon the funeral pile, at pleasure. Slavery in the United States, though an evil, cannot possibly be as great a one as it is here. Here is the country where slavery, with all its legitimate and concomitant horrors exists. Africa is the mother that clings to it as her only, her dearest offspring. And here is the country so deeply dyed in the

sin of slavery as to require all the Abolitionists and all the Colonizationists, and their united means and labors for centuries, in clearing its skirts and removing the foul stains that make her the prize money of other nations."

The testimony in relation to the domestic slavery of Africa might be greatly amplified, and the truth of the proposition, that it would continue, though slavery in all the world beside were abolished, be more fully proved, but what has already been presented is deemed fully sufficient for our purpose.

The evils arising from the *tyranny, cruelties, and wars* of Africa, have been incidentally presented, in the course of our investigations, and we shall not dwell upon them at length, though volumes might be filled with details of the most shocking character.

The Rev. J. L. Wilson, 1839, says, "Only a few years since, the king of Ashantee sent the governor of Cape Coast sixty jaw bones of human victims which he had killed, as an evidence of his despotic power, thinking at the same time it would prove to be a present of great value. The king of Ashantee thinks as little of taking off the heads of his subjects as those of his chickens."

The Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury, an English missionary in South Africa, 1829, thus describes a native chief, recently deceased. "His cruelties almost exceeded belief; he rioted in blood; and never had higher enjoyment than when killing his own subjects. When his mother died, immense numbers of his people were summoned together to weep, and the mourning was appointed to continue three days and nights. Every artifice was made use of to provoke sorrow, and cause the tears to flow; but it was impossible for the multitude to continue weeping constantly; and yet, when any one did not shed what the tyrant considered a sufficient quantity of tears, he was instantly despatched for want of affection to his mother's memory. In the course of those three days three hundred persons are said to have been put to death. And whenever a man was killed, his wife or wives, and all his children were destroyed on the same day."

The Rev. Mr. Champion, missionary in King Dingaan's country, South Africa, says, 1836, "The king holds his eminence by many customs that are in vogue. He eats the first green corn, and at the celebration calls all the nation together to dance before him. Sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, and such like, are cultivated and reserved for the king. No one can sit in a chair but the king. One of his captains was here not long since, who was afraid even to sit on a box, lest he should resemble the king. Blankets, except the very meanest description, are royal ones. For the common people to obtain and wear them would be instant death. Anything at all fine goes to the king, and for others to wear or use them is to aspire to be like the king. The ivory comes all to the king, and for this purpose he sends out many men to hunt elephants. With the teeth he obtains of the whites presents of beads, cloths, &c., which he bestows on his immense family and his favorite captains. When they return from war, all the cattle are driven to the chief town as the king's property.

Some he bestows on the brave and on his generals, but the many are reserved to increase his immense herds and for slaughter.

"He has another stern grasp on his people, in that punishment which is inflicted for small as well as great offenses. A word that bears in any way against the king, or is suspected even, and the die is cast, the man is counted for dead. A captain is killed, and often his family and dependents follow him. The king wishes perhaps to show his power, and to see spoils coming in from slaughter, and he sends, as lately, and in one night, after by stratagem he had collected all at home, cuts off a rich country of his own tribe or his own subjects.

"Cases of individuals put to death are almost always occurring. The people are shy to talk about the subject, after they have told you it was by order of the king. It is almost always because they are alleged to have done something wrong, but where or when, no one knows; only when reasoned into a corner, they say the king knows. Always it is, yes, father, it is all right—when even son, mother, father, or brother is slain."

Infanticide of a peculiar nature prevails in Africa: twins are never allowed to live. As soon as they are born, they are put into two earthen pots and exposed to beasts of the forest; and the unfortunate mother ever afterward endures great trouble and hardships.

The exposure of the aged and infirm, says Mr. Moffat, after they are incapable of supporting themselves, is common. They are left in desert places, with an allowance of food and water to subsist them for a time, after which, if not sooner devoured by beasts of prey, they are suffered to perish of hunger.

"Another sanguinary custom grows out of the superstitious veneration of the Africans for the shark. The person upon whom suspicion of crime has fallen, is ordered by the king to swim across the river, when, if innocent, he is expected to arrive safe upon the other side; but if otherwise, the sharks are to have him for breakfast. The trial takes place, says Dr. Porter, before his majesty and an immense concourse of people; the suspected person is brought forth and forced into the river, when the poor victim makes every exertion to reach the destined goal, but, strange to say, the king has never yet left the beach without being fully convinced of the truth of his suspicions, as no instance is on record of the sharks ever allowing him to be in the wrong."

The testimony already adduced, proves that many of the sanguinary wars of Africa have their origin in other causes than the stimulus furnished by the slave trade. Were additional testimony needed in proof of this point, much is afforded in Moffat's Southern Africa. The writer, long a resident missionary, and an active agent in many of the scenes described, has given the world a work of great interest and value. The army of forty thousand Mantatees, who approached and attacked the tribes in which Mr. Moffat was laboring, were themselves refugees, robbed of their cattle and driven from their homes, by superior force, and compelled, in turn, to rob others, that they themselves might live. Having heard that there were immense

flocks of sheep at the English colony at the Cape, which they wished to possess, they were fighting their way in that direction, when compelled to change their course by the valor of the better armed forces which they encountered. They do not seem to have had any connection whatever with the slave trade.

The Rev. Dr. Philip says, that king Moselekatse, who had descended on the thickly-peopled regions of the north, like a sweeping pestilence, capturing thousands of slaves, and leaving in his course nothing but dilapidated walls and heaps of rubbish, mingled with human bones and skulls, had never traded in slaves. The cruelties of the Matebele nation, of which Moselekatse was king, is thus depicted by Mr. Moffat, and will furnish an appropriate conclusion to these investigations. "Nothing less than the entire subjugation, or destruction of the vanquished, could quench their insatiable thirst for power. Thus, when they conquered a town, the terrified inhabitants were driven in a mass to the outskirts, when the parents and all the married women were slaughtered on the spot. Such as had dared to be brave in the defense of their town, their wives and their children, were reserved for a still more terrible death; dry grass, saturated with fat, was tied around their naked bodies and then set on fire. The youths and girls were loaded as beasts of burden, with the spoils of the town, to be marched to the homes of their victors. If the town was in an isolated position, the helpless infants were left to perish either with hunger, or to be destroyed by beasts of prey. On such an event the lions scent the slain and leave their lair; the hyenas and jackalls emerge from their lurking places in broad day, and revel in the carnage; while a cloud of vultures may be seen, descending on the living and the dead, and holding a carnival on human flesh. Should a suspicion arise in the savage bosom that these helpless innocents may fall into the hands of friends, they will prevent this by collecting them into a fold, and after raising over them a pile of brushwood, apply the flaming torch to it, when the town, but lately the scene of mirth, becomes a heap of ashes."

In relation to the *cannibalism* of Africa, a subject so revolting, we will not be expected to give many details. Of the existence of this practice there can be no doubt. The annual report of the American Colonization Society, 1828, contains the following statement:

"The most fierce and atrocious conflicts, instigated by slave traders, have prevailed during the last two years, among the tribes in the vicinity of Monrovia. The crime of cannibalism, shocking, it may be supposed, even to barbarous natures, has been perpetrated during these wars. On the capture of a small town among the Gorahs by the Deys, thirty victims were sacrificed to this detestable practice."

Many are the witnesses who have borne testimony to the general prevalence of cannibalism over large districts of Africa. Very recent reports of scientific exploring companies sent out from France, also give sufficient evidence to prove the truth of the previous reports, leaving us under the painful necessity of believing that all that has been said of cannibalism in Africa is true.

As stated in the outset, the object of the investigations of the subjects coming under our first head, has been to show the true state of Africa's social and moral condition, independent of the slave trade; and to prove that even if it were possible to break up that traffic by other means than colonization, but little would be gained to the cause of humanity and little good accomplished for Africa. And have we not succeeded? Have not facts enough been given, to prove that Africa's degradation is complete—that if the slave trade were this hour annihilated, and all the evils which we have enumerated as not dependent upon the slave trade still existing, the social and moral condition of that continent would demand the utmost efforts of Christians everywhere for its recovery from the horrors of barbarism.

It might, by some, have been supposed that the catalogue of woes oppressing Africa, *and belonging legitimately to herself*, were enough to atone for her iniquities. But no: such heaven-daring violations of divine law, such impious disregard of the principles of justice and humanity, could not escape the indignation of the Almighty. The sufferings of wicked men, the consequence of their own transgressions, *can never make atonement for their sins.* There is no principle of God's moral government of nations, that will permit the stay of execution of judgment for transgression, *but upon repentance.* Africa had not repented, but was adding iniquity unto iniquity. Justice, therefore, cried for vengeance, and the slave traders, resembling more the demons of the lowest pit than men, were let loose upon this doomed people, to involve the oppressor and the oppressed in one common ruin.

We shall see, however, before we close, *that mercy was mingled with judgment.* And we shall find that in the history of the African slave trade, and the events connected with it, we have another illustration of the truth of the proposition, that when God has designs of mercy toward a wicked people, the judgments with which he visits them for their sins, are adapted to secure their repentance and lead them back to Himself.

II. The Modifications which have been produced on the Social and Moral Condition of Africa by the Slave Trade.

Until introduced by the Moors, it appears that the trading in slaves was little known to the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. The prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the captors, and formed the marriage portions given to their children. It seems that, in general, they were humanely treated, excepting when the cruelties of their superstitions led to opposite results. It is, says Denham and Clapperton, to the pernicious principles of the Moorish traders, whose avaricious brutality is beyond all belief, that the traffic for slaves in the interior of Africa not only owes its origin, but its continuance. The eagerness of the interior population to possess the alluring articles of merchandize offered, tempted them to sell their slaves, while the enormous profits on their sale, in the cities along the Mediterranean,

caused the Moorish traders to refuse to receive anything in exchange for their goods but slaves.

On the western coast of Africa, as briefly detailed in our former lecture, the slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese. For a long series of years the supply was obtained by forcibly seizing the natives, and confining them on board their vessels, until a sufficient number for a cargo were obtained. This practice, though inconsiderable at its commencement, became general, says Rees' Cyclopædia, and was prosecuted by Portuguese, Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, &c. The wretched inhabitants were thus driven from the coast and compelled to take refuge in the interior. But the Europeans still pursued them, entering their rivers, and thus penetrating the heart of the country. The increased demand for slaves, however, soon became so great as to require a less precarious mode of securing a supply. Accordingly, forts and factories were established, merchandize landed, and endeavors made, by a peaceable deportment, by presents, and by every appearance of munificence, to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans.

These traffickers were not long in discovering the chiefs or kings of the African tribes, and making treaties of peace and commerce, by which it was agreed that prisoners of war and convicts for crimes should be sentenced to European servitude; and that the Europeans should, in return, supply the kings with the luxuries of the north. These treaties were immediately carried into effect, and the terrible consequences which might have been anticipated were soon developed. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that the results were foreseen by the traders, and this scheme of extending their operations, seemingly under the sanctions of justice, was thrown before the world, in this plausible form, to prevent the indignant frown of public sentiment from prohibiting the further prosecution of the traffic in slaves.

The number of persons convicted of crimes, fell so far short of the wants of the slave traders, that other means had to be adopted to augment their numbers. Not only those fairly convicted of crime were now sentenced to slavery, but even those who were suspected; and with regard to prisoners of war, they delivered into slavery, not only those who were taken in a state of public enmity and injustice, but those also who were taken in the arbitrary skirmishes of the venal sovereigns of Africa. Wars were made among the tribes near the coast, not as formerly, from motives of retaliation and defense, or from love of conquest, but for the sake of obtaining prisoners alone, and the advantages resulting from the sale of them. When a European ship came in sight, this was considered as a motive for war, and a signal for the commencement of hostilities. The despotic sovereigns of Africa, influenced by the venal motives of European traffic, first made war upon the neighboring tribes in the violation of every principle of justice; and if they did not thus succeed in their main object, they turned their arms against their own subjects. The first villages at which they arrived were immediately surrounded, and afterward set on fire; and the wretched inhabitants seized, as they were escaping from the flames.

In a few years the traffic in slaves became systematized, and the residents remaining along the coast became the regular agents between the slave merchants and the tribes in the interior, who were better able to procure slaves to send to the ports where they were in demand. The slave trade was thus gradually extended from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts into the interior, by Europeans, as it had been from the Mediterranean by the Moors, and it has been no uncommon occurrence for the slaves sold to the traders on the Atlantic coast, to have been brought from the interior a distance of 700 miles.

The influence of this horrible traffic upon Africa was most pernicious. Deplorable as was the social condition of her people, independent of the slave trade, it would seem, at first view, to have been rendered infinitely worse by it.

On this occasion, however, time will not allow us to present the wide range of facts which we have been able to collect upon this branch of our subject. At present we can only remark, that from the testimony of many witnesses—embracing travelers in Africa, and missionaries, and colonists—it appears that the slave trade, besides vastly aggravating some of the social evils previously existing, and greatly multiplying the causes of war among the different tribes, has exerted a paralyzing effect upon the little agricultural industry which previously existed; and that there is less of social happiness and less of personal enjoyment in the districts where the traffic prevails, than in the interior where its influence has not so fully reached; and further, that the king of Dahomey is at present largely engaged in supplying the slave traders with slaves, amounting to the number of 30,000 annually, to obtain which he makes annual slave hunts, the dangers of which he himself shares.

One case only we shall present, and of recent occurrence, to afford an idea of the cruelties practised at the depots for slaves on the coast, where they are collected for transportation; and to present a well-attested account of the horrible atrocities to which the slave trade leads those who are enlisted in it.

In July, 1842, Rev. J. L. Wilson visited a slave factory on the Gaboon, to inspect its condition. On his arrival at the gate of the barracoon, which was an enclosure of more than an acre, the slaves were talking and laughing cheerfully, but the moment the gate opened, the most profound silence ensued, and they became terrified, supposing that a victim was to be selected to be eaten. Among the slaves were persons of both sexes, from five to forty years of age, not one of the number having any covering. Most of the men were fastened two and two, one ankle of each being fettered. The women, girls, and half-grown boys were made secure by a brass ring encircling the neck, through which a chain passed, grouping them together in companies of forty or fifty each. Boys and girls under ten years of age were left unshackled. The poor wretches had to sleep on bamboo platforms arranged round the building, without any covering to protect them from the cold and the musquitoes, both of which were intolerable to persons in their situation at that season of the year.

"But there was one company which particularly arrested my

attention—affected my heart. It was made up of mothers who had recently been bereft of their children. How they came to be chained together, I cannot tell, unless their keepers, yielding to what they considered an innocent and harmless desire, allowed them to be drawn together by their sympathies and sorrows.

"Their owner knew, perhaps, what had become of their children, but he was unaffected by the reminiscence. Not so with them. Their countenances indicated an intensity of anguish that cannot be described. Though heathen mothers, a flame had been kindled in their hearts which no calamity could extinguish.

"When infants are born in the barracoon, or when they are brought there with their mothers—because it is inconvenient to keep them in the factory, and almost impossible to carry them across the ocean—they are subjected to a premature and violent death. I speak advisedly, when I affirm, that this is a common occurrence in the operations of the slave trade; and it was in this way, I was credibly informed, that these sorrowing females had been sundered from their offspring. * * * I left the barracoon with my curiosity amply satisfied, and with emotions which will never allow me to visit another."

The horrors of the *middle passage*, as the transportation of the slaves from the ports in Africa, to the countries where they are sold, is called, are so well known to every reading man, that I shall only present one instance of the revelations made by the capture of a slaver, with the view of affording an idea of the capacity of our Liberia colony to receive and provide for emigrants who may land upon its territory.

The Pons, a slave ship on the coast of Africa, was captured by an American vessel, in December, 1845, and her cargo of slaves landed at Monrovia, and provided for by the Liberians. She had eight hundred and sixty-six slaves on board, eighteen of whom died during the night after the capture. The vessel had no slave decks, and these poor wretches were almost literally piled in bulk on the water casks below. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. Forty-five or fifty of the number were females, who were confined in the round-house cabin on deck. Notwithstanding this crowded state of the vessel, it had been the intention of the captain to take on board an additional four hundred slaves. The stench from below was so great, says Capt. Bell, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. The men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes, when all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor slaves when the hatches were closed? "I am informed," says Capt. Bell, "that very often, in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and that this was probably the reason so many died, or rather were found dead, on the morning after the capture. None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures endure in their transit across the ocean."

The vessel was fourteen days in reaching Monrovia, during which

time one hundred and fifty died. "When they were landed," says the Liberia Herald, "nearly the whole population collected on the beach to witness the sight. The colonists, with the exception of a very few, had never witnessed such a spectacle before. The slaves were much emaciated, and so debilitated that many of them found difficulty in getting out of the boats. Such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness, inflicted by a lawless and ferocious cupidity, so excited our people that it became unsafe for the captain of the slaver, who had come to look on, to remain at the beach. Eight slaves died in the harbor the day before they were landed. The prize master says, as soon as a slave became helpless through debility or sickness, those nearest would throttle him, in order that his body removed, they would have more room. They were all, men and women, with the exception of two or three called headmen, landed in a state of perfect nudity!"

Dr. Lugenbeel, the United States' agent, immediately put them all out among the people of Liberia as apprentices. The Methodist mission took charge of eighty boys and twenty girls. The education of many of them has been progressing well, and a number of them are at present, 1849, members of the church, and rejoicing in the faith of the gospel. Oh what a kind Providence to turn the captivity of these poor creatures into a blessing of inestimable value!

Since the employment of a naval force on the coast for the capture of slavers, many expedients are adopted by the heartless villians engaged in the slave trade to escape detection. One instance only need be noticed to give a true idea of the recklessness of life which prevails. In 1830, Captain Homans, having taken on board six hundred slaves, on the coast of Africa, set sail for Cuba, found himself about being surrounded by four cruizers who had watched his movements. Favored by the darkness of the night, which soon set in, he extended a heavy chain cable around his vessel outside the railing, with a ponderous anchor attached, and bringing his slaves one by one on deck, by means of their handcuffs of iron he fastened them to the cable. The penwork of the hold and every thing that could create suspicion, was also brought on deck, bound in matting well filled with shot, and thrown overboard. The cable, by a single blow of the axe, was then cut loose, a heavy plunge was heard as the anchor reached the water, and a crash as the cable fell off the side, above which arose one terrible shriek—it was the last cry of the murdered Africans. One moment more, and all was still. Six hundred human beings had gone down with that anchor and chain into the depths of the ocean. Two hours after daylight the captain was overhauled. There was no evidence that his vessel was a slaver, and her captors were obliged to let her pass.

We have said that the slave trade did not originate the degradation into which Africa has been sunk, but that, though it aggravated many existing evils, and introduced some new elements of woe, by arousing the cupidity of the inhabitants, *yet it was itself only a legitimate fruit of the social and moral degradation previously existing on that continent.* Listen to the reasons upon which we base our opinion.

Africa, sunk in the gloom of the darkest superstitions known to the world, and neglecting all that industry which creates a surplus of products to constitute the elements of a legitimate commerce, and which secures to nations those comforts and luxuries not produced in their own latitudes; when an intercourse with civilized countries was opened up, had not an adequate supply of agricultural fruits, or mineral wealth, to exchange for the European commodities of which she found herself in want. This neglect of necessary labor on her own soil, which was so well adapted to yield abundantly the tropical products then beginning to be in demand in civilized countries, left her but one resource to secure the articles she desired—*and that resource was the selling of human flesh!* Alas, for poor Africa! Human flesh was the only commodity which she could supply, in sufficient quantity, to the commerce of the world. No proposition is more susceptible of demonstration than this, *that the slave trade is a legitimate fruit of Africa's degradation.* Had she not rejected the gospel which once blessed her, and, as a necessary consequence, lost her industry and sunk into barbarism, she would not have been under the necessity of selling her children, nor would it have been possible to have persuaded her to adopt a measure so unnatural, so cruel, so inhuman, so infernal, and fraught with such a deluge of woe. And there is but one way of suppressing the evils under which Africa groans, and that is, to restore to her that blessed gospel which she rejected, and that industry which she lost; and then, the causes creating the slave trade being removed, that traffic itself must necessarily be annihilated, and Africa permanently redeemed.

Had time allowed the presentation of all the testimony collected in reference to the modifications produced upon the social and moral condition of Africa by the slave trade, the picture, though dark indeed, would have been faint when compared with the sad reality, and limited when contrasted with the vast extent of that traffic and the agonizing sufferings which are its attendants. The slave trade, it will be perceived, had no tendency to check or suppress the domestic slavery of Africa, but made its perpetuation of greater importance as furnishing a principal means of keeping up the traffic with the slave trader. It has done nothing to break down the idolatry, the devil-worship, the witchcraft, the tyranny, and cruelties of Africa, which have deeply degraded her, but has left these all unchanged. The tropical cultivation employing slave labor, makes a demand upon Africa chiefly for males, and thus the slave trade, leaving an excess of females in that country, has, no doubt, increased polygamy, and the miseries growing out of that social evil. The slave trade did not originate the sanguinary wars of the powerful kings of the interior, who, actuated by ambition of conquest, or love of plunder, laid waste the weaker nations that surrounded them, strewing the earth with their corpses, that they might decorate their rude halls with skulls; but it has greatly multiplied the petty feuds of smaller tribes and led the larger ones to make regular slave hunts, to supply the increasing demand for slave labor. And though the

slave trade, by awakening the passion of avarice into a predominance over that of superstition, may have limited the number of human sacrifices, it was but to prolong a life that it might be subjected to all the vicissitudes of foreign slavery.

And thus, while the social and moral condition of Africa, independent of the slave trade, was truly deplorable, and sufficient to rouse to action every man whose heart can sympathize with human suffering, the slave trade rendered its condition still more dismal, making the call upon the Christian world for relief still more urgent.

III. The relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from Barbarism.

No great movements of mankind, either voluntary or compulsory, uprooting the population of one country and transplanting it into another, have ever occurred without producing important results, for good or for ill, to the people transferred and to the world. The removal to North America of portions of the populations of Europe and Africa—the first voluntary, and the second compulsory—the one the most enlightened and upright of the human family, and the other the most ignorant and debased—the extremes of humanity—and their coalescence, upon our soil, in the relation of master and slave, was one of those strange and incomprehensible events, the design of which cannot be fathomed by any depth of human wisdom and foresight, but can only be understood when time has wrought out its ultimate results.

Our first settlers from Europe were the advocates of a Free Christianity, who had been exiled by an intolerant zeal for religious uniformity, and forced to flee from persecution to a land where they could obtain equal rights and liberty of conscience. No sooner had they become fairly seated in their wilderness homes, than they began to afford examples of the practical tendencies of their religious faith, by attempting the education and conversion of the native Indians! The substance of their religious belief, so far as it had a controlling influence in modeling their course of policy, may be thus stated.

They believed that man was originally created a pure and holy being, and in the possession of an extent of happiness that was only limited by his capacity for enjoyment; but that by an act of disobedience he lost his original purity of character, and involved himself and all his posterity in moral ruin, and thus the whole race fell under the condemnation of the law of God. They believed, that all the ignorance, suffering, injustice, and oppression existing in the world are a necessary consequence of the depravity of men's hearts; and that these evils must continue until mankind are brought back to their allegiance to God, and the rebel receives pardon and is released from the curse of the divine law. They believed, that notwithstanding man's transgression, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life;" and that the Lord Jesus Christ, as the substitute for sinners, by his obedience, sufferings, and death, having

satisfied the demands of divine justice and made an atonement for sin, thus secured pardon, justification, and eternal life, for all who should believe in his name; but that those who believed not, must forever continue under condemnation and wrath. They believed that human misery would disappear from earth, in the proportion that men could be persuaded to embrace the religion of Christ, and to conform their conduct to the teachings of his gospel; and that as soon as the whole world could be brought under the influence of that gospel, Humanity would dry up her tears and peace and joy become universal. They believed that the command of the Saviour to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is as fully binding upon believers in after ages, as it was upon those to whom it was at first delivered, and that the consequences which he declared should attend that preaching—"He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned"—will continue to accompany it to the latest generations of men; and that, therefore, the responsibility of spreading the gospel as fully rests upon all believers, in all time, so far as their circumstances, pecuniary abilities, opportunities, talents, and spiritual gifts will allow, as it did upon Paul, when, in view of the sinfulness of men and their liability to wrath, he exclaimed, "for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."

Entertaining such views of their responsibilities to God and to man, the desire to promote the temporal and eternal interests of their posterity, and of the world, became a ruling principle of action with the first emigrants to New England. They commenced their labors on such a scale as their circumstances permitted, and in a few years mastered the language of the Indians, established schools for their education, and translated and printed the Bible in the native tongue, thus enabling the savage of the forest to read the words of eternal life. Such was the spirit of the Pilgrims, and such the origin, in this country, of that Christian philanthropy which includes within its embrace the whole human family, and is now exerting its energies to give the gospel to the whole heathen world.

The first of our supply of the population of Africa, dragged from their homes by the promptings of avarice, to gratify an unhallowed commercial cupidity, were landed in the colony of Virginia in 1620, the same year in which the Puritan Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. This is a remarkable coincidence. The first advocates of a Free Christianity, and the first African slaves who touched our coast were landed in the same year.

In thus bringing together darkness and light—in mingling the lowest form of Pagan ignorance and depravity with the highest development of Christian intelligence and integrity—it would seem that Divine Providence designed to demonstrate to the world the capability of a Free Christianity *to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined, and thus to prove the unity and natural equality of the human race.*

Our investigations under this head have been directed, though but

incidentally, to the facts connected with the solution of this great problem—*the sufficiency of a pure Christianity to restore to man his lost happiness*—with the view, principally, of pointing out the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

The best authorities make the number of slaves exported from Africa, up to 1847, about seven millions eight hundred and forty-five thousand. Great as this number appears, the estimate is no doubt within the actual number of the victims of the slave trade. And then, to have a proper conception of the extent of the sufferings following in the train of this traffic, it must be remembered, that the number of lives lost in Africa during the wars for the capture of slaves and their transportation to the coast, equals the number exported, making her entire loss fifteen millions six hundred and ninety thousand human beings. This statement will give a just conception of the extent to which Africa has been robbed of her children. To obtain the facts which we need in our discussion, our plan has been to follow the more prominent lines along which the slave trade has borne the population of Africa, and ascertain what results have followed, in the several countries to which the African people have been taken, with the view of determining the intellectual and moral progress they may have made, and the present qualifications of each group to act as pioneers in the work of Africa's redemption.

Passing by, for the present, those transported to the British West Indies, to Brazil, to Cuba and to Mexico, we find that those imported into the colonies now composing the United States, were very differently situated from each other and from their brethren left behind in the pagan darkness of Africa. A part of them fell into the hands of men, not so scrupulous, perhaps, as others of the colonists, on the subject of equal rights, but who, to say the least, were so far under the influence of Christian principle, that they deemed it an imperative duty to teach their households to read the Bible, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. The term *household*, according to their interpretation, included slaves. At that day apprentices were not *masters* in the shops where they learned trades, nor students *sovereigns* in colleges to which they were sent to be educated. The judgment of age was respected, because the experience of years was supposed to impart wisdom. Implicit obedience to those in authority, whether parents, teachers, masters or magistrates, was demanded and yielded; and the consequence was, that while education enlightened the mind, and religious instruction moulded the heart, a generation of men were ushered upon the stage of action, with a love of order and submission to law, as unalterable as was their hostility to despotism, and their determination to secure to themselves the rights of conscience, and the blessings of civil liberty—of liberty under the restraints of law. But while they rigidly held the doctrine of *the natural equality of the human race*, they as unchangeably believed *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government*

The school house and the church, the sources of intelligence and morality, with them were objects of the first importance, because the perpetuity of the free institutions they were founding would depend, they believed, not upon any magic in the mere possession of freedom, but in the intelligence and moral principle of their posterity. While, therefore, they labored for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Indian and the African, they refused to admit them to the privileges of citizenship. No morbid sentimentality upon the subject of equal rights could induce them to forget the peril into which they would cast the precious jewel of the elective franchise, by conferring it upon savage or half-civilized men, necessarily destitute of the ability through ignorance, of making a discreet use of the privilege. While, then, they believed the savage man to be equal, *by nature*, with the civilized man, and that, by education, he could be made his equal, also, *intellectually and morally*, until thus educated and capable of being controlled by moral principle, they would have conceived it to be madness to make the savage man the equal partner in commercial business with the civilized man, and much less would they have considered it a measure of safety to make him the equal in the administration of government.

It was into the midst of such men as these, though contrary to the principles and wishes of the majority, and in opposition to their remonstrances and legislative enactments, that England forced the population of Africa. And, as if by an instinctive forecast, despotism seems to have anticipated the effects, on this continent, of a Free Christianity, generating independence of thought, and demanding for men equal rights and liberty of conscience, and sought, by casting in a mass of ignorance from Africa, to retard if not to prevent the full development of these great principles. This disposition was clearly indicated by the English statesman, who declared, as a sufficient reason for turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Colonists against the further importation of slaves, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans—they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly Colonists."

That such motives prompted England to prosecute the introduction of slaves into the colonies with great activity, was fully believed by the American statesmen of the Revolution, and their views were thus energetically expressed, by Mr. Jefferson, in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, but which was afterward omitted:

"He (the king of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms

among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

But that desire to impart the blessings of the gospel to their fellow-men, which had prompted that yet feeble colony to attempt the conversion of the Indians, could not but lead also to efforts for the elevation of the poor African slave. In accordance with this view, we find that the slaves were subjected, more or less, to the rules of their masters' families, affording, to many of them, opportunities of intellectual and moral improvement, which soon began to elevate them in the scale of being from that of the lowest state of barbarism, which they had occupied in Africa, to one of approximate civilization. Pious ministers, also, being generally allowed free access to the slaves, obeyed the injunction to preach the gospel to every creature, and labored for their improvement and conversion. Thus nearly the whole mass of the victims of the slave trade, who were brought to the territory now forming the United States, were ultimately placed under circumstances which afforded to them advantages of infinite value, and from which, to this day, they might have been excluded, had they not been brought from Africa.

Many generations of men have been ushered into existence and disappeared again from the earth, while these causes have been in operation. Of the number of thousands of colored men who have lived, during this period, embraced the gospel, and died in the hope of a blessed immortality, we can form no estimate. But the number of professors of religion of African descent, now living in the United States, may be estimated at nearly three hundred and fifty thousand.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, many years since, commenced a systematic course of missionary labors among the colored people, but designed principally for the slaves. The Reports of this Church, for 1849, show that a large number of missionaries are employed in this field, and give twenty-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-nine colored persons as members at the North, and one hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-eight at the South. We find it stated in a southern paper, that the number of colored members, in the slave States, belonging to the Baptist Church, is over one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Associate Reformed Presbyterians, in the South, have also long been engaged in the religious training of the slaves, and have received many of them into church membership. At the present moment, the Sabbath schools of these several religious bodies are very extensive and very efficient. The Cumberland Presbyterians, we understand, are not inattentive to the religious wants of the slave, but we are without statistics on the subject of their operations. The number of colored members in the Baptist Church at the North is not known to us, but must amount to several hundreds. Our estimate of three hundred and fifty thousand, as the whole of the colored members of churches in the United States, is, therefore, probably not above the true number.

But besides these pleasing results of the agencies accompanying slavery in this country, it must be added, that we have at present about four hundred and sixty thousand free persons of color, from whom the shackles of slavery have fallen, and many of whom possess an amount of intelligence which indicates, very plainly, that equal advantages only are needed to enable them to attain a high standard in all that adorns the character of the civilized and Christian man. And, in addition to all this, it must be noticed, that the whole colored population of the United States, which will number, in 1850, about three millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand—though the standard of morality, with the larger part, is known to be very low—may be said to be freed from the degrading influences of African superstition and idolatry, and thus made more accessible to the Christian teacher. This result was greatly hastened by another most singular coincidence. Scarcely had the work of the religious training of slaves been fairly undertaken, and its practicability determined, when the further influx of heathenism was prevented by the prohibition of the slave trade, and the task of overcoming their pagan superstitions and idolatrous customs was thus more easily accomplished.

But this does not yet complete the catalogue of good results accompanying the transportation of the population of Africa to this country. In addition to the blessings of Christianity secured to them, in connexion with slavery, their captivity among us seems to have been but a preparatory step toward the development of another of the results to be produced in permitting the cupidity of the Christian world to make merchandise of the sons of Africa; and that result is their being constituted a distinct people, a civilized, enlightened and powerful nation. The indications of this are unmistakeable. In the progress of intelligence among the Africans of the United States, that passion for equal rights and privileges which characterized those who laid the foundations of American Independence, was also infused into their breasts, animating them likewise with the love of liberty and the determination to secure to themselves and their children the blessings of free government. But being conscious of the secondary position which they must necessarily occupy in the social relations of this country; and in view also of the important fact, that the respect and esteem of the world could not be secured to the colored race short of the demonstration of their capacity for self-government; and knowing the impossibility of *testing that point* where such a preponderance of whites existed; and where, by the more rapid increase of the whites, by foreign immigration, the colored people must necessarily for ever constitute a very small minority, and their influence scarcely be felt, excepting as their votes would be in demand during party contests: in view of these and other considerations, after the most mature deliberation, a few colored men were led, thirty years ago, to accept the proposition of making a noble and daring effort for nationality in Africa itself, where eighty millions of their brethren might be civilized and incorporated with them, thus creating a government whose numerical strength would be four-fold that of the one they would leave.

The encouraging success which has crowned this enterprize of the colored people, is well known, and proves as fully that it is of God, as that our own happy Republic was planted by the right hand of the Almighty, as a model to the world of the power of a free Christianity to promote human happiness. The Republic of Liberia, now numbering within its limits one hundred thousand souls, is but a transplantment to Africa of American civilization, American views of the rights of man, and American principles in relation to the freedom of religion. These principles are already beginning to produce their ameliorating effects in Africa, and their power to elevate and ennoble mankind are becoming more and more manifest every day. It is a fact, now acknowledged in Europe and America, that the moral influence already exerted by Liberia, has done more for the cause of humanity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and in the abolition of slavery and the other evils afflicting Africa, than has been accomplished by the combined efforts of the civilized world.

We have now traced the prominent results following the enslavement of the Africans in the United States, until we have seen the tide of emigration begin to flow back from our shores to Africa, bearing her children to her again, not as received from her, with minds darkened by heathenish superstitions, but, many of them, enlightened and christianized men, able to bless her and redeem her. The plan of our investigations leads us to follow the other lines of dispersion of the population of Africa; to ascertain the results in other countries, with the view of determining the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.

We shall turn first to the British West Indies, and as Jamaica is the most prominent of these islands, and will best serve as a type of the whole, our inquiries will be chiefly confined to it. We have obtained our facts, principally, from the recently written history of Jamaica, by the Rev. J. M. Phillippo, for twenty years a Baptist missionary in that island.

The Island of Jamaica, discovered in 1494, was settled by a colony of Spaniards in 1509, who, by their oppressions and savage cruelties, in less than fifty years, wholly exterminated the native population, originally numbering from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand. African slaves seem to have been introduced at an early day as substitutes for the natives, and up to 1655, when the English, then at war with Spain, took possession of the island, forty thousand slaves had been imported by the Spaniards, only fifteen hundred of whom were then surviving. Jamaica, by this change of masters, was not much improved in its social and moral condition, which, under the one hundred and forty-six years of Spanish rule, had been deplorable. It now became the rendezvous of buccaneers and piratical crusaders, a desperate band of men from all the maritime powers of Europe, who continued to perpetrate almost every degree of wickedness, both on sea and land, until 1670, when peace was made with Spain, and a more vigorous administration of law attempted. Twenty-six years after England conquered the island, 1696, up to which period the importation of slaves was still continued, the whites numbered fifteen

thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, and the slaves nine thousand five hundred. At the end of an additional forty-six years, 1742, during nearly the whole of which time the monopoly of the slave trade was held by England, the whites numbered fourteen thousand, and the slaves one hundred thousand. The annual importation of slaves into Jamaica now reached sixteen thousand, so that, at the end of another twenty-eight years, they numbered two hundred thousand, while the whites had scarcely increased two thousand. These numbers show, that from 1742 till 1770, a period of twenty-eight years, the number of slaves who sunk under the lash of the Jamaica task-master, must have been two hundred and forty-eight thousand, or almost nine thousand annually. The whole number of slaves imported by the English, up to 1808, when the slave trade was forbidden by Parliament, was eight hundred and fifty thousand, to which must be added the forty thousand imported by the Spaniards, making the total number of the population of Africa, transported to Jamaica, amount to eight hundred and ninety thousand men. And yet, the startling truth must be told, that when the census of the slave population of this island was ordered by government, in 1835, under the emancipation act, instead of an increase on the numbers imported, they amounted to only three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and ninety-two.

It will be an easy task for any person of ordinary intelligence, to picture to himself the state of morals and the social condition of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, during the several periods of its history to which we have referred; and what must have been the reflex influence of such a population upon the poor ignorant savages from Africa. To say that the moral character of the whites of Jamaica was the extreme reverse of that of the early settlers of the United States, would, perhaps, be strictly true. On this point, however, we shall not dwell. Our object is to see what were the results to the Africans introduced into that island, that their progress, intellectually and morally, may be contrasted with that of the colored population of the United States, that we may learn their qualifications to give to Africa a Christian civilization.

On this point we are not left to conjecture. The Rev. Mr. Phillippo is very full upon the subject of their social and moral condition, and the facts stated by him in his history, before referred to, are confirmed by the missionary history of the island. He represents the slaves as having retained, in full practice, all the gross and debasing superstitions which were capable of being transferred from Africa, and that "upward of one hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British crown, scarcely an effort had been made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an act was passed by the local legislature, directing that all slave owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptised, 'when fit for it,' it is evident, from the very terms in which the act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterward proved, a dead letter—a mere political maneuver, intended to prevent the parent state from interfering in the management of the slaves."

From this time to 1770, a period of seventy-four years, the question of slave instruction lay dead in Jamaica, when Parliament put certain questions to Mr. Wedderburn as to the actual state of the religious instruction of slaves in the Island. He replied, "There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no religious instruction." The same testimony was borne at the same time by Mr. Fuller, Agent of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, "What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves," answered, "We know of none such in Jamaica."

The Rev. Dr. Coke, who was sent out on a missionary exploration in 1787, says, "When I first landed in Jamaica, the form of Godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world. The language of the Apostle seems strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity: "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulcher; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known."

In 1796, Mr. Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, in his place in the House of Commons, when speaking of sending missionaries to a certain point in Jamaica, said, "I speak from my own knowledge when I say, that they are cannibals, and that instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him."

But this must complete our testimony of the effects of slavery upon its subjects in Jamaica. Mr. Philippo shows very conclusively, that the colored population of Jamaica, up to a very recent period, were elevated scarcely a jot above the natives of Africa. They had brought with them from Africa nearly all its gross and debasing superstitions, and all its social moral evils, making their new homes in Jamaica almost a *fac-simile* of those from which they had been torn in Africa.

One additional fact, however, must not be overlooked; and that is, that this the fearful moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, and their total destitution of all the means of *religious instruction*, did not render them peaceful and contented, and secure the safety of their masters. This is abundantly proved in the fact, that during the period in which the Island was held by England, nearly thirty insurrections of the slaves took place. This fact, when contrasted with the comparatively few attempts at insurrection which have taken place in the United States, where religious instruction among the slaves has been common, should teach the slaveholder, that the perpetuation of the ignorance and degradation of the slaves, is no safeguard against servile insurrections, but that the teachings of Christianity, while it opens up the way of eternal life to the slave, and prepares him to take upon himself the duties of a freeman, do not necessarily endanger the safety of the master.

We have already stated the fact, that *commerce* is incapable of civilizing savage men. In the history of Jamaica, we have still more positive evidence that *slavery* is equally powerless in the promotion of civilization, and that it can only be considered as a link in the chain of events which may bring savage tribes into the midst of a civilized people, but that the civilization of savages, under such circumstances, is no more a necessary result of slavery, than it is of their imprisonment in the slave ship that transported them across the ocean, or the manacles that bound them during the voyage. Let us look at the facts. The English conquered the Island in 1665. The last testimony on the subject of the want of religious instruction for the slaves, dates in 1796. The Island, therefore, had been under British rule for a period of one hundred and forty years. If, then, slavery could elevate, and improve, and civilize its victims, surely there was time enough for it to have produced these fruits in the one hundred and forty years of British rule in Jamaica. But no such fruits had been borne. The slaves were still savage. Now, to these one hundred and forty years must be added at least twenty more of British rule, because missionary operations, introducing the Gospel, were not actively commenced until twenty years after this period. But if longer time is claimed, then add the one hundred and forty-six years during which the Island was under the Spaniards, to the one hundred and sixty under the British, and we have three hundred years of absolute slavery in Jamaica, and yet the slaves made no advancement in the scale of moral being beyond the condition in which they had been originally found in Africa. The results of African slavery in Jamaica, at the end of these three hundred years, is thus graphically described by Mr. Phillippo, "It may be emphatically said, that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the Island groaned."

This particular reference has been made to this point, because of the fact, that many have a vague, indefinite, ill-defined notion, that the great good which has resulted to the slaves of the United States, in connection with slavery, *is a fruit of slavery*. And should it still be claimed, that the moral elevation attained by the African race in the United States, is a necessary fruit of slavery, with equal propriety it can be urged, that the moral degradation of the slaves of Jamaica, for the three hundred years preceding the beginning of the present century, was also due to slavery. Both these propositions cannot be true. The fact is, that they are untrue in both cases. That the intellectual and moral elevation of the slaves of the United States is not due to slavery, is amply proved by the fact, *that the least advancement has been made by them where slavery exists in its greatest strength, and where the Christian teacher has been the most carefully shut out from them.* And so far as Jamaica is concerned, it is true, beyond all doubt, that its slavery did not degrade its African population into savages. It found them savages, but was wholly powerless for their moral elevation, as long as the only

influences exerted over them were from a white population destitute of a Christian morality.

But if slavery, of itself, be powerless in the moral elevation of its subjects, it does not necessarily *prevent* all moral improvement. The truth of this proposition is fully sustained by the results in both the United States and Jamaica. It is further proved by the effects following the introduction of Christianity into all the British West India Islands. The work of missions in Jamaica, as well as in the other Islands, met with the most rancorous opposition from the planters, who viewed the religious instruction of the slaves as "incompatible with the existence of slavery." The mission work, though begun in Jamaica, by the Baptists, in 1813, and by the Methodists, under Dr. Coke, in 1789, and again in 1815—made but little progress, being resolutely opposed, until about 1820. In 1824, the Moravians, who had commenced in 1754, had four stations and four missionaries; the Wesleyan Methodists eight stations and eight missionaries; and the Baptists five stations and five missionaries.

Here then, are the dates of the commencement of regular religious instruction in Jamaica. Though overawed by the mother country, the planters still manifested bitter hostility to the religious instruction of the slaves, and in 1832, on a partial insurrection of the Blacks, their wrath overflowing all bounds, they destroyed fourteen chapels, with private houses and other property, belonging to the Baptists, amounting in value to $115,250, and six chapels, belonging to the Methodists, and property worth $30,000. Every species of cruelty and insult were inflicted upon the missionaries. The emancipation act of the next year, 1833, for ever put it out of the power of the planters to repeat such acts of injustice and violence, and the missionary work, uninterrupted, has been eminently successful. In 1842, says the Rev. Mr. Phillippo, the whole number of converts in Jamaica was one hundred thousand, out of a population of near half a million; the number of regular places of worship were two hundred and twenty-six, and the out stations swelling them to three hundred; while the number of missionaries were over one hundred and seventy, with nearly an equal number of native assistants. Thus stood the question of the religious instruction of the African population of the Island in 1842. Superstitions and immoralities were fast disappearing under the influence of the gospel, and the marriage relation was respected. But the fewness of the missionaries and teachers, in proportion to the population, rendering it impracticable to bring all under a course of instruction, makes the progress slower than is desirable, and leaves many portions of the Island still sunk in ignorance.

Previous to the year 1823, there were not more than one or two schools for the colored people on the whole Island. In 1824, the whole number of missionaries was seventeen, in a slave population of three hundred and eleven thousand, and a free colored population of forty thousand. Here, then, were the educational agencies of Jamaica, twenty-five years ago—not over nineteen missionaries and teachers to a population of three hundred and fifty-one thousand souls, or only one to each eighteen thousand four hundred.

In this brief outline of the history of Jamaica, ample evidence is furnished to show that slavery is powerless for good to its victims. It also proves, that a free Christianity can transform, and elevate, and civilize, even slaves. But, as a barbarous people cannot make much progress in a single generation, Jamaica, at present, can supply little aid in the bestowment of a Christian civilization upon Africa. In relation to Cuba, the tale is soon told. According to McQueen, its slave population, some years ago, was four hundred and twenty-five thousand, of whom one hundred and fifty thousand were females, and two hundred and seventy-five thousand were males. This disproportion of the sexes will sufficiently indicate the social evils growing out of such a condition of things. Since that period, the slave trade has received a great stimulus, by the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar, and the continued importation of slaves into Cuba, gives her at present six hundred thousand. She has also one hundred thousand free colored persons, and six hundred and ten thousand whites.

A report read before the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1843, represents the plantation slaves of Cuba as never receiving the least moral or religious instruction. "Most of them are baptized, because the curate's certificate of baptism serves as a title deed in the civil courts of the Island. They live, in general, in a state of concubinage. They have not the most distant idea of Christianity. The annual decrease by deaths over births is, among the plantation slaves, from ten to twelve per cent., and among the others from four to six per cent. The births exceed the deaths among the free colored population, from five to six per cent. The hours of labor were from four, A. M. until ten, P. M., including eighteen hours of the twenty-four, with an allowance of an hour for dinner."

An extract of a letter from an eyewitness in Cuba, which was addressed to Lord John Russell, and copied into Blackwood's Magazine, February, 1848, says, "It was crop time: the mills went round night and day. On every estate, (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact,) *every slave was worked under the whip, eighteen hours of the twenty-four*, and in the boiling-houses, from five to six, P. M., and from eleven o'clock till midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed it was necessary, to keep the overtasked wretches awake. The six hours which they rested, they spent locked in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex. While at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds. There was no marrying among the plantation slaves. On many estates females were entirely excluded. It was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to raise slaves." * * * * * * "Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination."

But a sense of propriety forbids that we should complete the quotation. Enough, truly, is given to show that the social and moral

condition of the slaves in Cuba is most deplorable. Nor have any ameliorating agencies been introduced to work a change. In a careful inspection of the operations of English and American missionary societies, we cannot find that any missionaries of a free Christianity have gained a foothold in Cuba. The exclusiveness of the established religion of Spain, which forbids freedom of religion, has, no doubt, been extended to her colony, and the poor African still toils beneath the lash of his merciless taskmaster, unconscious of his accountability to God, and of the offer of salvation through faith in the Saviour.

After this picture of the results accompanying the enslavement of the Africans in Cuba, no one will look to that island for aid in the civilization of Africa, until the self-denying missionaries of a free Christianity, are permitted to labor therein, for the instruction and salvation of the poor slave.

The slaves transported from Africa to Brazil have been subjected to influences as unfavorable to intellectual and moral improvement as those taken to any other country. Unfortunately for Brazil, a free Christianity was not secured to its early settlers from Europe, and the consequences have been deplorable. In accordance with the views and policy of the times, the most rigid and extreme measures were adopted to preserve unity of faith. Two ministers and fourteen students, sent out to Brazil by the Protestant Church of Geneva, were prevented, by the sanguinary fanaticism of the adherents of the established religion, from introducing a Bible Christianity. The leading men of the party of Huguenots, who fled to Brazil in 1555, from persecution in France, were thrown into prison, and after eight years' confinement, John Boles, the most prominent of the prisoners, was martyred, at Rio de Janeiro, "for the sake of terrifying his countrymen, if any of them should be lurking in those parts." The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a few years since, attempted to enter into Brazil as a missionary field, but the effort, proving unsuccessful, has been abandoned.

Without the Bible as a moral instructor of youth, and without the presence of the advocates of a free Christianity, *as rivals to stimulate and liberalize the state religion,* it is not a matter of wonder that the Brazilians should have sunk in the scale of moral being. The rising generations, coming more or less under the influence of the native heathenism, could not attain as high a standard of intelligence and morals as those which had preceded them. It was to be expected, therefore, that the costly church edifices, erected by the pious zeal and profuse liberality of the early Portuguese emigrants, should often be perverted from the use to which they were originally consecrated; and, as is asserted in KIDDER'S BRAZIL, that the preaching of the gospel should not be known among the weekly services of the church; and, also, as is declared by SOUTHEY, that its practices should be those of polytheism and idolatry.

Details of the social and moral condition of the Brazilians is uncalled for on such an occasion as this. But, as connected with our investigations, we must be permitted to say, that such were the evil

tendencies of the religious system of Brazil, that, in 1843, the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, addressed the Imperial Legislature as follows:

"The state of retrogression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishops and capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified:

"The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Pará, there are parishes which, for twelve years and upward, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, and the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranham, twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

"The bishop of St. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyaba, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as stated supplies, treat the bishop's efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

"In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past not more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.

"It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those priests who die, or become incompetent through age and infirmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and *respect*, or they look out for chaplaincies, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements, without subjecting them to the *literary tests*, the trouble and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical benefice.

"This is not the place to investigate the causes of such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requisite studies. Without doubt, a principal reason why so few devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits, is to be found in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the perquisites established as the remuneration of certain clerical services, have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primitive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parishioners into payment of them, almost always renders himself odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble."

After such a picture of the inefficiency of the established religion of Brazil, and such evidences of its decay and want of sufficient vital energy to preserve it from extinction, it will excite no surprise to find the government, in 1836, proposing to employ *Moravian missionaries* to catechise the Indians of the interior.

An American in Brazil, writing to the Boston Advocate from Rio, Sept., 1849, says: "Every one, on his first landing at Rio, will be forced to the conclusion that all classes indiscriminately mingle together; all appearing on terms of the utmost equality. If there be any distinction, it is perceptible only between freedom and slavery. There are many blacks here quite wealthy and respectable, who amalgamate with the white families, and are received on a footing of perfect equality. The mechanical arts are at least half a century behind those of our own. The churches, some fifty in number, are falling to decay, which gives to the city a look of dilapidation; few are still observant of its ceremonies; but little or no attention is paid to the Sabbath. The stores do business, and the workshops are open the same as on other days. A few may be seen going to worship on the Sabbath, but a greater number resort to billiard tables in the afternoon, and to theaters at night. The slave population is estimated at three times the number of that of the whites. *They are allowed to go almost naked, the upper part of the body of both male and female entirely so.*"

Amid this general dearth of religious interest among the Brazilians, it will of course be expected that the moral training of the poor slave has been totally neglected, and that he yet remains in all the darkness and degradation of African heathenism. Treated as a beast of burden, he can know but little more of his moral responsibility to God than the mule he drives.*

We find no evidence, thus far, that will warrant our adopting any other agency than Christianity as a *primary* means of moral improvement for the African slave, or in the civilization of any barbarous people. Nor do we find any agency elsewhere than in the United States, upon which reliance can be placed for extending a Christian civilization to Africa.

"But," says one, "you have passed by an element of human progress, more certain in its operation than any you have named. Give the slave but *liberty*, and he will vindicate his humanity, and rise to an equality with his imperious oppressor. This language once seemed oracular, but time, which tests opinions and theories, has fully shown that there is no magic power in *liberty and equality*, any more than in *trade and commerce*, to originate civilization and promote a moral revolution among a savage or semi-barbarous people.

In proof of this proposition, it is only necessary, to our present

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* The population of Brazil, at present, is as follows:

Slaves	3,000,000
Indians and Free Negroes	2,500,000
Whites	1,500,000

A large majority of the army, as well officers as privates, are of African descent.

purpose, to refer to Hayti, where, after enjoying liberty and equality for nearly half a century, the people have with apparent willingness submitted to despotism, and bid fair, if regenerating agencies from abroad are not introduced, to relapse into barbarism. Hayti, like Brazil and Cuba, having only a *fettered Christianity*, derived from France, made no provision for the instruction of the slaves. School houses for the people, *those earliest off-shoots of a free Christianity*, had not been provided by the French proprietors for their slaves. Hence, when the shackles of slavery were removed from the slaves of Hayti, by the act of the Constituent Assembly of France, *Intelligence* not prevailing, the *Industry* of the Island, formerly *compulsory*, was soon abandoned. Before emancipation, says Blackwood's Magazine, 1848, the exports from Hayti, of sugar alone, reached six hundred and seventy-two millions of pounds, and the consumption of French manufactures, in the island, reached $49,450,000; but at present, she neither exports a single pound of sugar, nor imports a single article of manufactures.

In this result we have a startling confirmation of the truth of the proposition stated in our former lecture, when discussing the results of West India emancipation, *that intelligence must precede voluntary industry.*

Nor has the Christian world neglected to offer to Hayti a free Christianity, that she too might be blest by its transforming power. The offer was made and rejected, and this day she is reaping the bitter consequences. In 1835, the American Baptist Missionary Society made an attempt to establish a mission in Hayti, which at first promised success, but was abandoned in 1837. When Mr. Phillippo visited that Island in 1842, about a dozen members, fruits of this mission, yet remained.

As early as 1816 the English Wesleyans commenced a mission in Hayti, but in 1819 the missionary had to leave on account of persecution from the adherents of the prevailing religion. The converts, left behind, faithful to the truth, endured a series of persecutions, bitter and relentless, only stopping short of actual martyrdom. In 1830, they numbered only ninety members, under the care of a native preacher ordained in England.

The missionaries found ignorance and immorality predominant at this period, and, in one or more instances, had evidence sufficient afforded to prove that idolatry was practised in Hayti.

Between 1820 and 1829, a brisk emigration from the United States to Hayti, was conducted, transferring, according to Benjamin Lundy, eight thousand free colored persons to that Island, the expenses of six thousand of whom being paid by the Haytien government. But this infusion of Republican leaven, though equaling in number the whole of the emigrants sent to Liberia, seems not to have wrought any wonders in the civilization of their brother Republicans. All have quietly sunk down together into despotism.

The present social and moral condition of Hayti may be inferred from the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Graves, one of the editors of the Christian Reflector, who recently visited the Island.

"The Sabbath is the great business day of the week to the middle and lower classes, while the rich employ it as a holiday. It is the day especially devoted to military parade and marketing. The public squares are crowded with buyers and sellers, and all the shops thronged with customers as on no other day of the week. The marriage relation is, for the most part, sustained without a marriage contract, and divorce and polygamy are too common to excite attention. The faithful husband of a wife is a character so rare as to be a marked exception to the general rule. * * * * In a word, the institutions of the Sabbath and of marriage, are alike prostrate. Both have a name; but the divine object of neither is secured, with a vast majority of the population. As a legitimate consequence, profaneness, intemperance, and vulgarity extensively characterize all classes of society."

The revolution in Hayti, which expelled Boyer from the Island, led to a correspondence having in view the introduction of missionaries from the United States. One of the letters from a prominent citizen of Jeremie, 1843, says, "You have exactly hit on the essential points in recommending the establishment of individual families by marriages, to serve as a basis of the great social family, the establishment of institutions for the diffusion of moral and religious instruction," &c.

The inference to be drawn from this letter is, that in 1843, as in 1849, the marriage relation was not established and respected in Hayti.

Here, then, in Hayti, we have the proof that *liberty and equality*, enjoyed socially and politically, to its fullest extent, are also powerless in the promotion of civilization. Even its newly made emperor, we are told, still practises some heathenish rites allied to the *devil-worship* of Africa. We shall not go to despotic Hayti for agents to help to build up Republican Liberia.

But shall we go to Mexico for aid in the civilization of Africa? A part of the population, torn by the slave trade from Africa, was taken to Mexico. As our plan contemplates the tracing of the various lines of dispersion, so as to inquire into the results, a glance at Mexico will be appropriate, especially as we have in that government still a different phase of the movement exhibited to us for our instruction.

The character of the earlier Spanish adventurers and colonists in Mexico, and the means by which they subdued and enslaved the natives, is too familiar to all to need a notice at present. From a statement in Jay's Review of the Mexican War, we learn that the population of Mexico stands as follows:

Indians, . .	4,000,000
Whites, . .	1,000,000
Negroes, . .	6,000
Mixed breeds, .	2,009,509 = 7,015,509.

Judge Jay, it must be remembered, is a warm abolitionist, and of course not disposed to asperse the character of the descendants of Africa anywhere. By this statement it will be perceived, that

one important object has been gained in Mexico, and which, in the opinion of many, constitutes the sole barrier to the colored man's elevation in the United States. We refer to *prejudice against color*. In Mexico it seems to have had no existence, but that, on the contrary, *amalgamation*, on an extended scale, has been practised, producing a population of *mixed breeds*, amounting to more than two millions of souls, out of seven millions, and reducing the pure negro stock, imported from Africa, to the meager number of six thousand. But this was not the only point gained for the African in Mexico. In due time, *liberty and equality* were also bestowed. Mexico, in 1813, threw off the yoke of Spain, and declared herself a Republic. But the attempt of Iturbide, to restore a despotism, raising up a race of military chieftains for his overthrow, afterward produced a struggle for power, resulting, in 1824, in the prohibition of the slave trade, and the adoption of a constitution declaring *free* all born after that date. Pedraza being elected President, Santa Anna at the head of the military, interposed, and placed in the presidential chair the defeated candidate, Guerrero, who, to strengthen himself, and the better to resist an invasion from Spain, then in process of execution, issued a decree, September, 1829, emancipating all the slaves. Thus was liberty and equality at once secured to the slaves of Mexico.

But Mexico, under Spain, had a *fettered Christianity*, transplanted to her soil, which is still retained, and she has carefully excluded from her limits a free Christianity, *with its schoolhouses and Bibles for the people*. The third article of her constitution of 1824, declares, that, "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will be perpetually, the Roman Catholic Apostolic. The nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibit the exercise of any other whatever." It is true, that when Bustamente, who deposed Guerrero, was overturned in 1833, by Santa Anna, this general attempted to pursue a liberal course of policy, and abolished ecclesiastical tithes, monastic vows, and the authority of the Pope; and took the education of youth out of the hands of the priests, appointing the professors in the five free colleges which he established, without regard to country or religious faith. But this effort to liberalize the religion of Mexico proved an abortion, the President, after putting down several revolts, being forced to readopt the old system as the established faith of Mexico.

Now let us see what has been gained for the Africans who were taken to Mexico. First, the abolition of *prejudice* and the adoption of *amalgamation;* and second, *emancipation with liberty and equality, including the right of suffrage*. Here, then, in the opinion of many, is a vast gain for the African, above what he has had granted to him elsewhere; because, though, in Hayti, he had liberty and equality, yet *all being African together*, there was not the *honor* conferred which was secured in Mexico, by making him the equal to the descendants of the proud Castilians who had conquered Montezuma. Now for the results of these favoring circumstances. But, happily for us, Judge Jay has drawn the picture of Mexico, for 1846, to the life.

"The Republic of Mexico had long been the prey of military

chieftains, who, in their struggles for power, and the perpetual revolutions they had excited, had exhausted the resources of the country. Without money, without credit, without a single frigate, without commerce, without union, and with a feeble population of seven or eight millions, composed chiefly of Indians and mixed breeds, scattered over immense regions, and for the most part sunk in ignorance, and sloth, Mexico was certainly not a very formidable enemy to the United States." In addition, the Judge states, that the exports from Mexico, in 1842, were, exclusive of gold and silver, $1,500,000, or a little over forty-nine and a half cents per head to her population, excluding the Indians. To those who are curious in seeking for contrasts, it may be interesting to them to know, that the export commerce of Liberia is about $25 per head for each emigrant residing in the Republic.

Here, now, are the results of the movements in Mexico. She adopted a Republican form of government, denounced the foreign slave trade, and emancipated her slaves, placing the whole population in a condition of social and political equality. But in thus obeying the dictates of one of the fundamental principles of the North American confederacy, which declares the *natural equality of mankind*, she overlooked the other still more important one, *that only men of intelligence and moral integrity are capable of self-government.* This fatal error, the source of all her misfortunes, was the result of another oversight which Mexico committed in the outset of her career. In casting off the shackles of political despotism, she retained the *fettered form of Christianity* which had been adopted to give security to crowned heads, and which is so antagonistic to the spirit of republican institutions. This system, where not stimulated by the rivalry, of a free Christianity, makes no provision for general education. The Republican leaders, therefore, who wished to advance the general intelligence of the people, could not accomplish the task, nor take the educational interests out of the hands of those who had previously possessed their control. The ignorance of the masses being thus perpetuated, the severing of the ties binding the slave to the master left the freed man, in consequence of his ignorance, a constant prey to the intrigues of military chieftains. The right of suffrage was thus rendered almost utterly valueless in Mexico, because the decisions of the ballot-box were repeatedly set aside, and the power of the sword interposed to give to the nation its rulers. How far emancipation in Mexico may have arrested the prosperity of the nation, and tended to destroy its internal peace, rendering property and life insecure, by letting loose a large number of semibarbarous and savage men from the restraints of slavery, to be controlled at will by ambitious chieftains, we shall not wait to inquire. Our concern is with the effects produced upon the Africans by their transfer to Mexico. Their history tells us, that liberty and equality in Mexico, have fallen far short in the production of the good to the slave which his wants require ; *not that these privileges are valueless and ought to be withheld, but because that the intellectual and moral culture, which impart intelligence and moral integrity, were not included in the gift.*

We have now completed the circuit of our investigations. The facts revealed in relation to the intensity of the wretchedness of the African race, not only in Africa itself, but in many of the countries to which they have been transported, are well calculated, at first view, to cause the philanthropic heart to shrink from making an effort to afford relief, because of the immensity of the obstacles to be overcome, before their deliverance can be accomplished. But, upon a closer view of the subject, it would seem that their dispersion to the different countries in which they have been enslaved, was permitted by Divine Providence, with the view of teaching the world some great lessons upon the subject of *the true elements of human progress*, and at the same time to make ample provision for the recovery of Africa from barbarism. Let us see.

Without at present recapitulating the facts upon which we base our opinions, or stating the arguments by which they may be supported, the investigations, just completed, afford much material to sustain the following conclusions:

I. That a *Free Christianity*—revealing the individual responsibility of man to God, producing a pure morality, generating independence of thought, begetting a spirit of philanthropy, and teaching the natural equality of mankind—is the *primary* element of civilization and all useful human progress.

II. That the *secondary* but essential elements of civilization and useful human progress, and which are included in and necessarily dependent, for their full development, upon the primary, are these:

1. Liberty of conscience in the worship of God
2. Both secular and religious education.
3. Personal freedom.
4. Social and political equality.
5. The sacredness of the marriage relation, and the possession and control, by parents, of their offspring.
6. The right of property in the fruits of industry.
7. Time, for the operation and development of these elements.

From the possession of these rights and privileges, and their *constant exercise*, there necessarily is produced among men: First, The fear of God and just conceptions of moral responsibility. Second, An enlightenment of conscience, begetting moral integrity and a pure morality, thus securing confidence between man and man, and creating the basis of the safety of society. Third, A proper estimate of man's relations and responsibilities to his fellow-man. Fourth, Philanthropy, or the desire of the welfare of our neighbor. Fifth, The love of home and of offspring, leading to untiring efforts for their welfare. Sixth, Industry, to accumulate property for the individual's or the family's use. Seventh, Trade and commerce, to supply the artificial wants which advancing civilization creates.

The truth of these conclusions being admitted, it will follow, that just so far as the *primary* and *secondary* elements of civilization and useful human progress are possessed, or not possessed, in whole or in part, by a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, to the same

extent and in the same proportion may we expect them to advance or retrograde. And if we find that the progress or non-progress of the Africans, who form the subject of our inquiries, has been in the proportion in which they have enjoyed, or not enjoyed, all, or some, or none, of the blessings, rights, and privileges named, then we have evidence to establish the truth of the proposition, that the catalogue given, constitutes the elements of civilization. And further, it being thus proved, that a free Christianity necessarily begets intelligence and moral integrity, and therefore tends to restore man to his original state of knowledge and uprightness; and as such a moral condition necessarily secures the welfare of society, it follows, that our proposition, heretofore stated, is true, viz: *that Christianity, uncorrupted, is capable of restoring to man his lost happiness.* Now let us see how far our conclusions are sustained by the facts brought out in our investigations.

In the United States, where the *primary* element, a free Christianity, had its birth, the commencement of the slave's elevation is of equal date with his touching the shore. But as the *secondary* elements of progress have been mostly denied to the slave, and the primary often enjoyed but imperfectly, his advancement has been impeded, and his progress falls short of what it would have been, had his privileges been more extended, so as to include more of the elements of civilization. This view is fully sustained by the fact, that the greater advancement made by the *free colored man* over the *slave*, in the United States, is about in the proportion of the extent of the additional privileges which he has enjoyed.

In Jamaica, which, for three hundred years, was emphatically *without religion*, and where, during that time, neither the primary nor a single one of the secondary elements of civilization were in the possession of the slaves, no progress was made by them until a free Christianity was introduced and their religious education commenced. Nor was the progress rapid until the emancipation act, of 1833, put them in possession of an increased number of the elements of civilization. As they still lack an essential element, social and political equality, and as secular and religious education is not supplied to the extent of the wants of the population, retarding causes exist in Jamaica, which will prevent that high intellectual and moral development that should be secured to the African.

In Cuba and Brazil, it does not appear that the slaves possess either the primary or secondary elements of civilization, and, consequently, the first step in human progress remains to be taken. Unlike Jamaica, which was without religion, Cuba and Brazil had a fettered Christianity, but sunk so low as to have lost what little vitality it once possessed, and consequently, in these countries no one has cared for the soul of the slave, but he is still left to toil on in mental and moral night, and in anguish and in woe, until a premature death kindly wrests him from the oppressor's grasp.

In Hayti, one fact presents itself, of peculiar importance in proof of our proposition, that a free Christianity is the *primary* element of civilization. The primary element alone existed among the slaves

of the United States, and all the secondary, except liberty of conscience, and religious education, were wanting; yet progress was made, and an approximation to civilization attained. But in Hayti, for nearly half a century, *all the secondary elements of progress*, excepting liberty of conscience and secular and religious education, were in possession of the people, but instead of progress under these advantages, there has been retrogression; and no other sufficient reason can be assigned for it, but that the primary element, a free Christianity, which alone can develope the moral powers of man and impart life and activity to the secondary elements, was wholly excluded from the island. Had Hayti, when she became republican, possessed the primary element of progress, she would have been dotted over with schoolhouses and churches; secular and religious education would have prevailed everywhere; the sacredness of the marriage relation would have been respected; the welfare of offspring promoted; *voluntary industry* adopted, and the energies of its inhabitants roused into action. Under these circumstances despotism could not have rëentered the island.

The facts in relation to the colored population of Mexico, are so strictly the same with those of Hayti, that we need not state them. Twenty years' possession of nearly all the secondary elements of civilization, but in complete destitution of the primary, has scarcely impelled them forward a step beyond their original barbarism. To the white population of Mexico, the results have been very similar to what has occurred in Brazil. In both countries, there is danger, it would seem, *from the natural tendencies of fallen human nature to barbarism*, that the civilization transplanted from Europe, in the absence of the primary element of progress, may greatly retrograde, in consequence of the overpowering influence of heathenism, by which it is surrounded. This remark will equally apply to nearly all the South American governments, which, on throwing off the European yoke of political despotism, and giving freedom to the slave, made no provision for public education, either secular or religious.

But this examination of the different results that have grown out of the various degrees, in which the African has been brought under the influence of the elements of civilization, in the countries where he has been enslaved, may now be closed. Facts enough are given, certainly, to teach us important lessons in relation to the elements of useful human progress—facts enough to show that Christianity is the primary element of civilization; not Christianity, as fettered and made an engine of despotic sway over mankind, holding them in ignorance of their rights and obligations; but a free Christianity, based upon the Bible, demanding for men, equal rights and liberty of conscience, and teaching them that respect for the rights of others, and that moral integrity which gives security to governments, based upon law—facts enough, too, to prove, that unless all the elements of progress, *primary and secondary*, be enjoyed unrestrained, and in *full exercise*, by a people, there will exist impediments to their advancement—facts enough, further, to prove that it is dangerous to

withhold from men, the elements of *moral* progress, when conferring upon them those of social and political advancement—and facts enough, furthermore, to prove, that for a civilized community, or state, or nation, to admit a barbarous or semi-barbarous people into its bosom, or to retain them when forced upon it, without supplying to them the elements of intellectual and moral elevation, is to cherish an agent antagonistic to civilization, and which must react unfavorably upon itself, in retarding, if not preventing, its further prosperity.

Our investigations also show, that the African race is not in possession of all the elements of civilization in any of the countries to which they have been transported. A further investigation would show that there is no prospect, at present, of their ever attaining them in these countries. But as their possession and free exercise, is essential to the production of the highest mental and moral developments of which the race is susceptible, the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, becomes a matter of the highest importance, and most profound interest to the colored race.

In the Republic of Liberia, and in Liberia only, can the *colored man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. In the Republic of the United States, and in the United States only, can the *white man* obtain possession and the free exercise of all the elements of civilization, and useful human progress. Here are two facts, not to be controverted. There exists at present, no European government, whose population possesses all these elements of progress. France has put herself in possession of the secondary, but is destitute of the primary. England may be said, in a good degree, to possess the primary, but withholds a part of the secondary from a large portion of her people. We repeat the assertion, therefore, that the Republic of the United States, is the only nation under the sun, where the *white man* can enjoy all the elements of useful human progress, and that the Republic of Liberia, is the only point, on the whole earth, where the *colored man* can enjoy them. And, further, we assert, that the United States is the only country, where the colored man has had the opportunity *of enjoying any part of these blessings, and of witnessing the workings of the whole, and of comprehending their nature, and learning their value.*

And now we are prepared also to assert, that the United States, only, of all the governments of the earth, *possesses the necessary agents, in the persons of intelligent and industrious colored men, to recover Africa from barbarism, and to bestow upon that benighted land, as we are now doing in Liberia, all the elements necessary to the production of the highest degree of civilization, and of thus securing to her, the greatest amount of prosperity, and of happiness.*

Here, then, are the results of bringing together, on the soil of the United States, the highest developments of Christian intelligence and integrity, and the lowest form of pagan ignorance and depravity. Here are the results of the experiment which, seemingly, was to test

the capability of a free Christianity to transform the grossest material of humanity into the most refined—proving the unity and natural equality of the human race. Here is ample testimony, to prove the sufficiency of a pure Christianity, to restore to man his lost happiness. And here, now, is unfolded to view, the solution of the great question involved in all our investigations, *the relation which the slavery of the United States bears to the recovery of Africa from barbarism.*

The people of Liberia are themselves a standing wonder to the world. The greater part of them were slaves, until the hour they left our shores, and of all men in the world, would have been pronounced, and were pronounced, the least able to accomplish the work they were sent to perform. But the elements of progress were borne along with them. The missionaries of a free Christianity offered themselves as a willing sacrifice, from year to year, to plant the elements of civilization in Africa, that there, amid moral darkness and degradation, the evidence might be furnished, that the religion of their Lord and Master was divine; and able, not only, to secure eternal life to the soul of the believer, but to redeem the world from oppression and woe.

Europe stands astonished at the mighty progress of the United States, in all that is ennobling and great. Its people imitate our example, and aim at our results, without understanding the secret of our success, and therefore fail. They seem to be wholly incapable of comprehending the nature of our free institutions. Liberty, under the restraints of law, is an enigma they cannot solve. Thus far, we have stood alone, as a monument of the power of Republican Institutions, to advance the welfare of man. And, indeed, such seemed to be our unique position, that we were ready to boast that only the Anglo-Saxon could be safely free. But now Liberia, as if to rebuke us for our pride, stands forward, and begins to loom up as another monument of the power of free institutions. He that was once a poor slave, and cowered beneath the voice of the white man, now stands erect in Liberia, like his own native palm tree, nor bows in meek submission but to the voice of the Eternal.

The citizens of Liberia are beginning to realize the relations and responsibilities of their new position, and call loudly for help to execute the high destiny to which they are called. Said the Rev. Mr. Paine, of Liberia, when on a visit to New York, with President Roberts, 1848: "Nearly every one of the officers, from the least even to the greatest, are communicants in some evangelical church, and adorn their life by a holy walk and conversation. You do not find them on the Sabbath day, strolling about the streets, and seeking for pleasure, as I have seen your people in this country, but they are found in the school and sanctuary. As an evidence of their being a strictly moral and religious people, he would state, that out of eleven members in the House of Representatives, and six in the Senate, seventeen in all, only one was not a professor of religion. Intelligent Liberians," continued Mr. Paine, "are impressed with the conviction, that the Supreme Disposer of events, has called them to a

high mission; that they have transferred Plymouth to Africa, and that civilization, republicanism, and Christianity, are to proceed from them over a vast continent that lies in the shadow of death. They are nerving themselves to the fulfillment of such a destiny. They have grasped the great idea, and have incorporated it with the foundations of the Republic."

APPENDIX.

☞ Attention is directed to the following movement:

OHIO IN AFRICA.

At a meeting of colored citizens of Cincinnati, held on the 14th inst., the following preamble and resolutions were offered and adopted:

Whereas, Believing, that with all the exertions on our part, and the assistance of those friendly to our elevation, we must despair of ever seeing the prejudice manifested against our people done away in the United States, for centuries yet to come, from two ostensible reasons:

First, As no colored persons ever voluntarily emigrated to this country, but were brought here in chains, consequently, we that are here, are either slaves or their descendants; and being thus situated, the vain *pride* of the white race will never admit the *social equality* of a people who are their bondsmen, or whose fathers have been their slaves.

Second, We believe all nations, or men, are respected according to their ability to control, by *numbers*, or *intelligence;* we, possessing neither, can never expect to enjoy a *political equality* where we must fail to command and enforce respect.

Under these considerations, having feelings and aspirations such as other men, we feel it to be a duty which we owe to posterity, to seek a home where we may be free and our children reared under the blessings of liberty. Other nations have colonized and prospered, and why not we? When blessed with the same advantages, we are equal to any and inferior to none. Therefore,

Resolved, That we believe that Liberia offers to the oppressed children of Africa a home where they may be free: and that it is the only place where we can establish a nationality, and be acknowledged as men by the nations of the earth.

Resolved, That the present meeting enter into the organization of an Association for the purpose of emigrating to the territory now being purchased on the coast of Africa, by Charles McMicken, Esq., of this city, for the colored people of Ohio.

Resolved, That we believe it expedient, before emigrating to Liberia, to send out efficient agents to examine the country, and bring back some satisfactory report to our people.

Resolved, That this preamble and resolutions be published in several of the papers of this city.

ELIAS P. WALKER, Chairman.

Wm. Byrd, Secretary.

The following important letter, from the Rev. J. P. PINNEY, formerly Governor of Liberia, was not received in time for insertion in the proper place :

DAVID CHRISTY, Esq.

Dear Brother—Your interesting letter of the 16th ult., lingered, and then my absence for a few days, to attend a meeting at Annapolis, delayed a reply until it is probably too late to do you a service. In Mr. Tracy's pamphlet, entitled "Missions in Africa," there is a note with some interesting facts relative to cannibalism.

I never saw men eating human flesh, but have heard of its being done in the vicinity of Liberia.

The letters of Sion Harris and Rev. G. Brown, who were attacked at the mission of the M. E. Church, at Heddington, in 1840, by Gotorah, the famous Condo warrior, (he had threatened to eat the missionary), state that the dried limbs of men slain previously were thrown away in their flight.

This same warrior visited Gov. Buchanan, in 1839, to treat for a peace, and while there gave, in public council, as an objection to making peace, that he would have nobody to eat.

In 1835, while I was agent of the Colonization Society, I sent two Methodist ministers, who were men of high standing, each having before been elected to the office of Vice Governor of the Colony, as commissioners to negotiate a peace between the Veys and Condoes. While they were at Bo-poro, the chief town of the Condo nation, they stated that human flesh was offered in the market for food.

In 1833, I made a tour sixty or seventy miles, to a king north-east of the Bassa Cove Colony. My purpose was to proceed several hundred miles, but the king resolutely refused leave, and no bribe or importunity prevailed to change his decision. The reason assigned was, that as I came with letters from the Governor, the King was responsible for my safety, and the neighboring tribe, Pessa men, would kill and eat me.

The missionaries from England to Coomassie, capital of Ashantee, stated in their published journal, in 1841, that they saw men returning from the market with human limbs for food.

Of the Gallinas, I know nothing from actual observation. I imagine that Cape Mount would furnish you as good a point for a settlement. By occupying Gallinas, you would more surely exterminate the greatest slave mart in western Africa.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. B. PINNEY.

New York, March 2, 1850.

OBITUARY ADDRESSES

DELIVERED ON THE

OCCASION OF THE DEATH

OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

A SENATOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

APRIL 1, 1850.

WITH THE

FUNERAL SERMON

OF THE

REV. C. M. BUTLER, D.D.,

CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE,

PREACHED IN THE SENATE, APRIL 2, 1850.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY JNO. T. TOWERS.
1850.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

APRIL 3, 1850.

Mr. CASS addressed the Senate as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT—I present the following resolution, and ask its immediate and unanimous consideration. This is due, not less to the memory of him we have lost, than to the feelings of the country in whose service he passed a life without spot and without reproach.

Resolved, That the committee of arrangements be directed to cause to be published in pamphlet form, and in such manner as may seem to them appropriate, for the use of the Senate, ten thousand copies of the addresses made by the members of the Senate, together with the discourse of the Reverend Dr. Butler upon the occasion of the death of the Honorable John C. Calhoun.

Passed the Senate, April 3, 1850.

Attest, ASBURY DICKINS,

Secretary.

OBITUARY ADDRESSES.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Monday, April 1st, 1850.

On the motion of Mr. KING, the reading of the Journal of Thursday was dispensed with.

Mr. BUTLER rose and said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT, I rise to discharge a mournful duty, and one which involves in it considerations well calculated to arrest the attention of this body. It is, to announce the death of my late colleague, the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He died at his lodgings in this city, yesterday morning, at half-past seven o'clock. He was conscious of his approaching end, and met death with fortitude and uncommon serenity. He had many admonitions of its approach, and without doubt, he had not been indifferent to them. With his usual aversion to professions, he said nothing for mere effect on the world, and his last hours were an exemplification of his life and character, truth and simplicity.

Mr. CALHOUN, for some years past, had been suffering under a pulmonary complaint, and under its effects could have reckoned but on a short exist-

ence. Such was his own conviction. The immediate cause of his death was an affection of the heart. A few hours before he expired, he became sensible of his situation; and when he was unable to speak, his eye and look evinced recognition and intelligence of what was passing. One of the last directions he gave was to a dutiful son, who had been attending him, to put away some manuscripts which had been written a short time before, under his dictation.

Mr. CALHOUN was the least despondent man I ever knew; and he had, in an eminent degree, the self-sustaining power of intellect. His last days, and his last remarks, are exemplifications of what I have just said. Mental determination sustained him, when all others were in despair. We saw him, a few days ago, in the seat near me, which he had so long and honorably occupied; we saw the struggle of a great mind exerting itself to sustain and overcome the weakness and infirmities of a sinking body. It was the exhibition of a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens in which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again.

Mr. PRESIDENT, Mr. CALHOUN has lived in an eventful period of our Republic, and has acted a distinguished part. I surely do not venture too much, when I say that his reputation forms a striking part of a glorious history. Since 1811 until this

time, he has been responsibly connected with the Federal Government. As Representative, Senator, Cabinet Minister, and Vice President, he has been identified with the greatest events in the political history of our country. And I hope I may be permitted to say that he has been equal to all the duties which were devolved upon him in the many critical junctures in which he was placed. Having to act a responsible part, he always acted a decided part. It would not become me to venture upon the judgment which awaits his memory. That will be formed by posterity before the impartial tribunal of history. It may be that he will have had the fate, and will have given to him the judgment that has been awarded to Chatham.

I should do the memory of my friend injustice were I not to speak of his life in the spirit of history. The dignity of his whole character would rebuke any tone of remark which truth and judgment would not sanction.

Mr. CALHOUN was a native of South Carolina, and was born in Abbeville district, on the 18th March, 1782. He was of an Irish family. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was born in Ireland, and at an early age came to Pennsylvania, thence moved to the western part of Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, moved to South Carolina, in 1756. He and his family gave a name to what is known as the Calhoun settlement in Abbeville district. The

mother of my colleague was a Miss Caldwell, born in Charlotte county, Virginia. The character of his parents had no doubt a sensible influence on the destiny of their distinguished son. His father had energy and enterprise, combined with perseverance and great mental determination. His mother belonged to a family of revolutionary heroes. Two of her brothers were distinguished in the Revolution. Their names and achievements are not left to tradition, but constitute a part of the history of the times.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in the Revolution, and in his childhood felt the influence of its exciting traditions. He derived from the paternal stock, intellect and self-reliance, and from the Caldwell's, enthusiasm and impulse. The traditions of the Revolution had a sensible influence on his temper and character.

Mr. CALHOUN, in his childhood, had but limited advantages of what is termed a literary tuition. His parents lived in a newly-settled country, and among a sparse population. This population had but a slight connection with the lower country of South Carolina, and were sustained by emigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania. There was, of course, but limited means of instruction to children. They imbibed most of their lessons from the conversation of their parents. Mr. CALHOUN has always expressed himself deeply sensible of that influence. At the age of thirteen he was put under the charge of

his brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, in Columbia county, Georgia. Scarcely had he commenced his literary course before his father and sister died. His brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, devoted himself about this time to his clerical duties, and was a great deal absent from home.

On his second marriage, he resumed the duties of his academy; and, in his nineteenth year, Mr. CALHOUN put himself under the charge of this distinguished teacher. It must not be supposed that his mind, before this, had been unemployed. He had availed himself of the advantages of a small library, and had been deeply inspired by his reading of history. It was under such influences that he entered the academy of his preceptor. His progress was rapid. He looked forward to a higher arena with eagerness and purpose.

He became a student in Yale College in 1802, and graduated two years afterwards with distinction, as a young man of great ability, and with the respect and confidence of his preceptors and fellows. What they have said and thought of him would have given any man a high reputation. It is the pure fountain of a clear reputation. If the stream has met with obstructions, they were such as have only shown its beauty and majesty.

After he had graduated, Mr. CALHOUN studied law, and for a few years practiced in the courts of South Carolina, with a reputation that has descend-

ed to the profession. He was then remarkable for some traits that have since characterized him. He was clear in his propositions, and candid in his intercourse with his brethren. The truth and justice of the law inculcated themselves on his mind, and when armed with these, he was a great advocate.

His forensic career was, however, too limited to make a prominent part in the history of his life. He served for some years in the Legislature of his native State; and his great mind made an impression on her statutes, some of which have had a great practical operation on the concerns of society. From the Legislature of his own State he was transferred to Congress; and from that time his career has been a part of the history of the Federal Government.

Mr. CALHOUN came into Congress at a time of deep and exciting interest—at a crisis of great magnitude. It was a crisis of peril to those who had to act in it, but of subsequent glory to the actors and the common history of the country. The invincibility of Great Britain had become a proverbial expression, and a war with her was full of terrific issues. Mr. CALHOUN found himself at once in a situation of high responsibility—one that required more than speaking qualities and eloquence to fulfil it. The spirit of the people required direction; the energy and ardor of youth were to be employed in affairs requiring the maturer qualities of a statesman. The part which Mr. CALHOUN acted at this time

has been approved and applauded by cotemporaries, and now forms a part of the glorious history of those times.

The names of CLAY, CALHOUN, CHEVES, and LOWNDES, GRUNDY, PORTER, and others, carried associations with them that reached the *heart of the nation*. Their clarion notes penetrated the army,* they animated the people, and sustained the Administration of the Government. With such actors, and in such scenes—the most eventful of our history—to say that Mr. CALHOUN did not perform a second part, is no common praise. In debate he was equal with Randolph, and in council he commanded the respect and confidence of Madison. At this period of his life he had the quality of Themistocles—*to inspire confidence*—which, after all, is the highest of earthly qualities in a public man; it is a mystical something, which is felt, but cannot be described.

The events of the war were brilliant and honorable to both statesmen and soldiers, and their history may be read with enthusiasm and delight. The war terminated with honor; but the measures which had to be taken, in a transition to a peace establishment, were full of difficulty and embarrassment.

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* Governor Dodge (now a senator on this floor), who was at that time a gallant officer of the army, informs me that the speeches of Calhoun and Clay were publicly read to the army, and exerted a most decided influence on the spirits of the men.

This distinguished statesman, with his usual intrepidity, did not hesitate to take a responsible and leading part. Under the influence of a broad patriotism, he acted with an uncalculating liberality to all the interests that were involved, and which were brought under review of Congress. His personal adversary at this time, in his admiration for his genius, paid Mr. CALHOUN a beautiful compliment for his noble and national sentiments, and views of policy. The gentleman to whom I refer, is Mr. Grosvenor, of N. Y., who used the following language in debate:—

"He had heard with peculiar satisfaction the able, manly, and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina. (Here Mr. Grosvenor recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose out of the warm party discussions during the war, paused for a moment, and then proceeded.)

"Mr. SPEAKER, I will not be restrained. No barrier shall exist, which I will not leap over for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent, and national course which he has pursued in this House for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same manly independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and to fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular ap-

plause may not cheer him on his way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

At the termination of Mr. Madison's administration, Mr. CALHOUN had acquired a commanding reputation; he was regarded as one of the sages of the Republic. In 1817, Mr. Monroe invited him to a place in his Cabinet. Mr. CALHOUN'S friends doubted the propriety of his accepting it, and some of them thought he would put a high reputation at hazard in this new sphere of action. Perhaps these suggestions fired his high and gifted intellect; he accepted the place, and went into the War Department under circumstances that might have appalled other men. His success has been acknowledged. What was complex and confused, he reduced to simplicity and order. His organization of the War Department, and his administration of its undefined duties, have made the impression of an *author*, having the interest of originality, and the sanction of trial.

To applicants for office, Mr. CALHOUN made few promises, and hence he was not accused of delusion and deception. When a public trust was involved, he would not compromise with duplicity or temporary expediency.

At the expiration of Mr. Monroe's administration, Mr. CALHOUN'S name became connected with the Presidency; and from that time to his death he had

to share the fate of all others who occupy prominent situations.

The remarkable canvass for the President to succeed Mr. Monroe, terminated in returning three distinguished men to the House of Representatives, from whom one was to be elected. Mr. CALHOUN was elected Vice President by a large majority. He took his seat in the Senate, as Vice President, on the 4th of March, 1825, having remained in the War Department over seven years.

While he was Vice President, he was placed in some of the most trying scenes of any man's life. I do not now choose to refer to anything that can have the elements of controversy; but I hope I may be permitted to speak of my friend and colleague in a character in which all will join in paying him sincere respect. As a presiding officer of this body, he had the undivided respect of its members. He was punctual, methodical, and impartial, and had a high regard for the dignity of the Senate, which, as a presiding officer, he endeavored to preserve and maintain. He looked upon debate as an honorable contest of intellect for truth. Such a strife has its incidents and its trials; but Mr. CALHOUN had, in an eminent degree, a regard for parliamentary dignity and propriety.

Upon General Hayne's leaving the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina, Mr. CALHOUN resigned the Vice Presidency, and was elected in

his place. All will now agree that such a position was environed with difficulties and dangers. His own State was under the ban, and he was in the national Senate to do her justice under his constitutional obligations. That part of his life posterity will review, and, I am confident, will do it full and impartial justice.

After his senatorial term had expired, he went into retirement by his own consent. The death of Mr. Upshur—so full of melancholy associations—made a vacancy in the State Department; and it was by the common consent of all parties that Mr. Calhoun was called to fill it. This was a tribute of which any public man might well be proud. It was a tribute to truth, ability, and experience. Under Mr. Calhoun's counsels, Texas was brought into the Union. His name is associated with one of the most remarkable events of history—that of one Republic being annexed to another by the voluntary consent of both. He was the happy agent to bring about this fraternal association. It is a conjunction under the sanction of his name, and by an influence exerted through his great and intrepid mind. Mr. Calhoun's connection with the Executive department of the Government terminated with Mr. Tyler's administration. As a Secretary of State, he won the confidence and respect of foreign ambassadors, and his dispatches were characterized by clearness, sagacity, and boldness.

He was not allowed to remain in retirement long. For the last five years he has been a member of this body, and has been engaged in discussions that have deeply excited and agitated the country. He has died amidst them. I had never had any particular association with Mr. CALHOUN until I became his colleague in this body. I had looked on his fame as others had done, and had admired his character. There are those here who know more of him than I do. I shall not pronounce any such judgment as may be subject to a controversial criticism. But I will say, as a matter of justice, from my own personal knowledge, that I never knew a fairer man in argument, or a juster man in purpose. His intensity allowed of little compromise. While he did not qualify his own positions to suit the temper of the times, he appreciated the unmasked propositions of others. As a Senator, he commanded the respect of the ablest men of the body of which he was a member; and I believe I may say that, where there was no political bias to influence the judgment, he had the confidence of his brethren. As a statesman, Mr. CALHOUN'S reputation belongs to the history of the country, and I commit it to his countrymen and posterity.

In my opinion, Mr. CALHOUN deserves to occupy the first rank as a parliamentary speaker. He had always before him the dignity of purpose, and he spoke to an end. From a full mind, fired by genius,

he expressed his ideas with clearness, simplicity, and force; and in language that seemed to be the vehicle of his thoughts and emotions. His thoughts leaped from his mind, like arrows from a well-drawn bow. They had both the aim and force of a skillful archer. He seemed to have had little regard for ornament; and when he used figures of speech, they were only for illustration. His manner and countenance were his best language; and in these there was an exemplification of what is meant by Action in that term of the great Athenian orator and statesman, whom, in so many respects, he so closely resembled. They served to exhibit the moral elevation of the man.

In speaking of Mr. CALHOUN as a man and a neighbor, I am sure I may speak of him in a sphere in which all will love to contemplate him. Whilst he was a gentleman of striking deportment, he was a man of primitive taste and simple manners. He had the hardy virtues and simple tastes of a republican citizen. No one disliked ostentation and exhibition more than he did. When I say he was a *good neighbor*, I imply more than I have expressed. It is summed up under the word *justice*. I will venture to say, that no one in his private relations could ever say that Mr. CALHOUN treated him with injustice, or that he deceived him by professions or concealments. His private character was illustrated by a beautiful propriety, and was the exem-

plification of truth, justice, temperance, and fidelity to all his engagements.

I will venture another remark. Mr. CALHOUN was fierce in his contests with political adversaries. He did not stop in the fight to count losses or bestow favors. But he forgot resentments, and forgave injuries inflicted by rivals, with signal magnanimity. Whilst he spoke freely of their faults, he could with justice appreciate the merits of all the public men of whom I have heard him speak. He was sincerely attached to the institutions of this country, and desired to preserve them pure and make them perpetual.

By the death of Mr. CALHOUN, one of the brightest luminaries has been extinguished in the political firmament. It is an event which will produce a deep sensation throughout this broad land, and the civilized world.

I have forborne to speak of his domestic relations. They make a sacred circle, and I will not invade it.

Mr. BUTLER then offered the following resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, which will take place to-morrow, at 12 o'clock meridian, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, deceased, late a member

thereof, will go into mourning for him for one month, by the usual mode of wearing crape on the left arm.

Resolved unanimously, That, as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CLAY.—Mr. PRESIDENT, prompted by my own feelings of profound regret, and by the intimations of some highly esteemed friends, I wish, in rising to second the resolutions which have been offered, and which have just been read, to add a few words to what has been so well and so justly said by the surviving colleague of the illustrious deceased.

My personal acquaintance with him, Mr. PRESIDENT, commenced upwards of thirty-eight years ago. We entered at the same time, together, the House of Representatives at the other end of this building. The Congress, of which we thus became members, was that amongst whose deliberations and acts was the declaration of war against the most powerful nation, as it respects us, in the world. During the preliminary discussions which arose in the preparation for that great event, as well as during those which took place when the resolution was finally adopted, no member displayed a more lively and patriotic sensibility to the wrongs which led to that momentous event than the deceased whose death we all now so much deplore. Ever active, ardent, able, no one was in advance of him in advocating the cause of his country, and denouncing the foreign

injustice which compelled us to appeal to arms. Of all the Congresses with which I have had any acquaintance since my entry into the service of the Federal Government, in none, in my humble opinion, has been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were in the House of Representatives of that Congress which declared the war, and in that immediately following the peace; and, amongst that splendid constellation, none shone more bright and brilliant than the star which is now set.

It was my happiness, sir, during a large part of the life of the departed, to concur with him on all great questions of national policy. And, at a later period, when it was my fortune to differ from him as to measures of domestic policy, I had the happiness to agree with him generally as to those which concerned our foreign relations, and especially as to the preservation of the peace of the country. During the long session at which the war was declared, we were messmates, as were other distinguished members of Congress from his own patriotic State. I was afforded, by the intercourse which resulted from that fact, as well as the subsequent intimacy and intercourse which arose between us, an opportunity to form an estimate, not merely of his public, but of his private life; and no man with whom I have ever been acquainted, exceeded him in habits of temperance and regularity, and in all the freedom, frankness, and affability of social intercourse, and in all

the tenderness, and respect, and affection, which he manifested towards that lady who now mourns more than any other the sad event which has just occurred. Such, Mr. PRESIDENT, was the high estimate I formed of his transcendent talents, that, if at the end of his service in the executive department, under Mr. Monroe's administration, the duties of which he performed with such signal ability, he had been called to the highest office in the Government, I should have felt perfectly assured that under his auspices, the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of our country would have been safely placed.

Sir, he has gone! No more shall we witness from yonder seat the flashes of that keen and penetrating eye of his, darting through this chamber. No more shall we be thrilled by that torrent of clear, concise, compact logic, poured out from his lips, which, if it did not always carry conviction to our judgment, always commanded our great admiration. Those eyes and those lips are closed forever!

And when, Mr. PRESIDENT, will that great vacancy which has been created by the event to which we are now alluding, when will it be filled by an equal amount of ability, patriotism, and devotion, to what he conceived to be the best interests of his country?

Sir, this is not the appropriate occasion, nor would I be the appropriate person to attempt a delineation of his character, or the powers of his enlightened mind. I will only say, in a few words, that he

possessed an elevated genius of the highest order; that in felicity of generalization of the subjects of which his mind treated, I have seen him surpassed by no one; and the charm and captivating influence of his colloquial powers have been felt by all who have conversed with him. I was his senior, Mr. President, in years—in nothing else. According to the course of nature, I ought to have preceded him. It has been decreed otherwise; but I know that I shall linger here only a short time and shall soon follow him.

And how brief, how short is the period of human existence allotted even to the youngest amongst us! Sir, ought we not to profit by the contemplation of this melancholy occasion? Ought we not to draw from it the conclusion how unwise it is to indulge in the acerbity of unbridled debate? How unwise to yield ourselves to the sway of the animosities of party feeling? How wrong it is to indulge in those unhappy and hot strifes which too often exasperate our feelings and mislead our judgments in the discharge of the high and responsible duties which we are called to perform? How unbecoming, if not presumptuous, it is in us, who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were our perpetual home!

In conclusion, sir, while I beg leave to express my cordial sympathies and sentiments of the deep-

est condolence towards all who stand in near relation to him, I trust we shall all be instructed by the eminent virtues and merits of his exalted character, and be taught by his bright example to fulfill our great public duties by the lights of our own judgment and the dictates of our own consciences, as he did, according to his honest and best comprehension of those duties, faithfully and to the last.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I hope the Senate will indulge me in adding a very few words to what has been said. My apology for this presumption is the very long acquaintance which has subsisted between Mr. CALHOUN and myself. We are of the same age. I made my first entrance into the House of Representatives in May, 1813, and there found Mr. CALHOUN. He had already been in that body for two or three years. I found him then an active and efficient member of the assembly to which he belonged, taking a decided part, and exercising a decided influence, in all its deliberations.

From that day to the day of his death, amidst all the strifes of party and politics, there has subsisted between us, always, and without interruption, a great degree of personal kindness.

Differing widely on many great questions respecting the institutions and government of the country, those differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of

the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration.

Mr. CALHOUN was calculated to be a leader in whatsoever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of undoubted genius, and of commanding talent. All the country and all the world admit that. His mind was both perceptive and vigorous. It was clear, quick, and strong.

Sir, the eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned—still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him through such a long course of years to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all—is appreciated, venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others; no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity. I think there is not one of us but felt when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no

means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did, in fact, possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive, and, I may say, an imposing manner, who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived.

Sir, I have not in public nor in private life, known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress, he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted.

My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms of his colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation not often found. He delighted, especially, in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose that there has been no man among us who had more winning manners, in such an intercourse and conversation, with men comparatively young, than Mr. CALHOUN. I believe one great power of his character, in general, was his conversational talent. I believe it is that, as well

as a consciousness of his high integrity, and the greatest reverence for his intellect and ability, that has made him so endeared an object to the people of the State to which he belonged.

Mr. PRESIDENT, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was, unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, and honorable, and noble. There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or the heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive, or selfish feeling.

However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him here, will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person,

his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his cotemporaries, that we have seen him, and heard him, and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And, when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism.

Mr. Rusk.—Mr. President: I hope it will not be considered inappropriate for me to say a word upon this solemn occasion. Being a native of the same State with the distinguished Senator whose death has cast such a gloom upon this Senate and the audience here assembled, I had the good fortune, at an early period of my life, to make his acquaintance. At that time he was just entering on that bright career which has now terminated. I was then a boy, with prospects anything but flattering. To him, at that period, I was indebted for words of kindness and encouragement; and often since, in the most critical positions in which I have been placed, a recurrence to those words of encouragement has inspired me with resolution to

meet difficulties that beset my path. Four years ago, I had the pleasure of renewing that acquaintance, after an absence of some fifteen years; and this took place after he had taken an active part in the question of annexing Texas to the United States, adding a new sense of obligation to my feeling of gratitude.

In the stirring questions that have agitated the country, it was my misfortune sometimes to differ from him, but it is a matter of heartfelt gratification for me to know that our personal relations remained unaltered. And, sir, it will be a source of pleasant though sad reflection to me throughout life to remember, that on the last day on which he occupied his seat in this chamber, his body worn down by disease, but his mind as vigorous as ever, we held a somewhat extended conversation on the exciting topics of the day, in which the same kind feelings, which had so strongly impressed me in youth, were still manifested toward me by the veteran statesman. But, sir, he is gone from among us; his voice will never again be heard in this chamber; his active and vigorous mind will participate no more in our councils; his spirit has left a world of trouble, care, and anxiety, to join the spirits of those patriots and statesmen who have preceded him to a brighter and better world. If, as many believe, the spirits of the departed hover around the places they have left, I earnestly pray

that his may soon be permitted to look back upon our country, which he has left in excitement, confusion, and apprehension, restored to calmness, security, and fraternal feeling as broad as the bounds of our Union, and as fixed as the eternal principles of justice in which our Government has its foundation.

Mr. CLEMENS.—I do not expect, Mr. PRESIDENT, to add anything to what has already been said of the illustrious man, whose death we all so deeply deplore; but silence upon an occasion like this, would by no means meet the expectations of those whose representative I am. To borrow a figure from the Senator from Kentucky, the brightest star in the brilliant galaxy of the Union has gone out, and Alabama claims a place among the chief mourners over the event. Differing often from the great Southern statesman on questions of public policy, she has yet always accorded due homage to his genius, and still more to that blameless purity of life which entitles him to the highest and the noblest epitaph which can be graven upon a mortal tomb. For more than forty years an active participant in all the fierce struggles of party, and surrounded by those corrupting influences to which the politician is so often subjected, his personal character remained not only untarnished, but unsuspected. He walked through the flames, and even the hem of his garment was unscorched.

It is no part of my purpose to enter into a recital of the public acts of JOHN C. CALHOUN. It has already been partly done by his colleague; but, even that, in my judgment, was unnecessary. Years after the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ, a traveler, on visiting the spot, found a monument with the simple inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Lacedæmon that we died in obedience to her laws." "Why is it," he asked, "that the names of those who fell here are not inscribed on the stone?" "Because," was the proud reply, "it is impossible that any Greek should ever forget them." Even so it is with him of whom I speak. His acts are graven on the hearts of his countrymen, and time has no power to obliterate the characters. Throughout this broad land

> "The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolls mingling with his fame forever."

Living, sir, in an age distinguished above all others for its intelligence, surrounded throughout his whole career by men, any one of whom would have marked an era in the world's history, and stamped the time in which he lived with immortality, Mr. CALHOUN yet won an intellectual eminence, and commanded an admiration not only unsurpassed but unequaled, in all its parts, by any of his giant compeers. That great light is now extinguished; a place in this Senate is made vacant which cannot be filled. The sad tidings have been borne upon the lightning's

wing to the remotest corners of the Republic, and millions of freemen are now mourning with us over all that is left of one who was scarcely "lower than the angels."

I may be permitted, Mr. PRESIDENT, to express my gratification at what we have heard and witnessed this day. Kentucky has been heard through the lips of one, who is not only her greatest statesman, but the world's greatest living orator. The great expounder of the constitution, whose massive intellect seems to comprehend and give clearness to all things beneath the sun, has spoken for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. From every quarter the voice of mourning is mingled with notes of the highest admiration. These crowded galleries, the distinguished gentlemen who fill this floor, all indicate that here have

> "Bards, artists, sages, reverently met,
> To waive each separating plea
> Of sect, clime, party, and degree,
> All honoring him on whom nature all honor shed."

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Tuesday, April 2, 1850.

The remains of the deceased were brought into the Senate at 12 o'clock, attended by the Committee of Arrangements and the Pall-bearers.

Committee of Arrangements.

Mr. MASON,	Mr. DODGE, of Wisconsin,
Mr. DAVIS, of Miss.,	Mr. DICKINSON,
Mr. ATCHISON,	Mr. GREENE.

Pall-Bearers.

Mr. MANGUM,	Mr. CASS,
Mr. CLAY,	Mr. KING,
Mr. WEBSTER,	Mr. BERRIEN.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER,

APRIL 2, 1850,

AT THE FUNERAL OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY THE REV. C. M. BUTLER, D. D.,

CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE.

I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.—PSALM lxxxii. 6, 7.

ONE of the princes is fallen! A prince in intellect; a prince in his sway over human hearts and minds; a prince in the wealth of his own generous affections, and in the rich revenues of admiring love poured into his heart; a prince in the dignity of his demeanor—this prince has fallen—fallen!

And ye all, his friends and peers, illustrious statesmen, orators, and warriors—"I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like this one of the princes!"

The praises of the honored dead have been, here

and elsewhere, fitly spoken. The beautifully blended benignity, dignity, simplicity, and purity of the husband, the father, and the friend; the integrity, sagacity, and energy of the statesman; the compressed intenseness, the direct and rapid logic of the orator; all these have been vividly portrayed by those who themselves illustrate what they describe. There seem still to linger around this hall echoes of the voices, which have so faithfully sketched the life, so happily discriminated the powers, and so affectionately eulogized the virtues of the departed, that the muse of history will note down the words, as the outline of her future lofty narrative, her nice analysis, and her glowing praise.

But the echo of those eulogies dies away. All that was mortal of their honored object lies here unconscious, in the theatre of his glory. "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye"—*there he lies!* that strong heart still, that bright eye dim! Another voice claims your ear. The minister of God, standing over the dead, is sent to say—"Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." He is sent to remind you that there are those here, not visible to the eye of sense, who are greater than the greatest of ye all—even DEATH, and DEATH'S LORD AND MASTER.

Death is here. I see him stand over his prostrate victim, and grimly smile, and shake at us his unsated

spear, and bid us all attend this day on him. He is King to-day, and leads us all captive in his train, to swell his triumph and proclaim his power. And there is no visitant that can stand before the soul of man, with such claims on his awed, intent, and teachable attention. When, as on a day, and in a scene like this, he holds us in his presence and bids us hear him—who can dare to disregard his mandate? Oh, there is no thought or fact, having reference to this brief scene of things, however it may come with a port and tone of dignity and power, which does not dwindle into meanness, in the presence of that great thought, that great fact, which has entered and darkened the Capitol to-day—DEATH! To make us see that by a law perfectly inevitable and irresistible, soul and body are soon to separate; that this busy scene of earth is to be suddenly and forever left; that this human heart is to break through the circle of warm, congenial, familiar and fostering sympathies and associations, and to put off, all alone, into the silent dark—this is the object of the dread message to us of death. And as that message is spoken to a soul which is conscious of sin; which knows that it has not within itself resources for self-purification, and self-sustaining peace and joy; which realizes, in the very core of its conscience, retribution as a moral law; it comes fraught with the unrest, which causes it to be at once dismissed, or which lodges it in the soul, a visitant whose first coming is

gloom, but whose continued presence shall be glory. Then the anxious spirit, peering out with intense earnestness into the dark unknown, may, in vain, question earth of the destiny of the soul, and lift to heaven the passionate invocation—

"Answer me, burning stars of night,
Where hath the spirit gone;
Which, past the reach of mortal sight,
E'en as a breeze hath flown?"

And the stars answer him, "We roll
In pomp and power on high;
But of the never dying soul,
Ask things that cannot die!"

"Things that cannot die!" God only can tell us of the spirit-world. He assures us, by his Son, that death is the child of sin. He tells us what is the power of this king of terrors. He shows us that in sinning "Adam all die." He declares to us that, sinful by nature and by practice, we are condemned to death; that we are consigned to wo; that we are unfit for Heaven; that the condition of the soul which remains thus condemned and unchanged, is far drearier and more dreadful beyond, than this side, the grave. No wonder that men shrink from converse with death; for all his messages are woful and appalling.

But, thanks be to God! though death be here, so also is death's Lord and Master. "As in Adam

all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." That Saviour, Christ, assures us that all who repent, and forsake their sins, and believe in him, and live to him, shall rise to a life glorious and eternal, with Him and His, in Heaven. He tells us that if we are his, those sharp shafts which death rattles in our ears to-day, shall but transfix, and only for a season, the garment of our mortality; and that the emancipated spirits of the righteous shall be borne, on angel wings, to that peaceful paradise where they shall enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Then it need not be a gloomy message which we deliver to you to-day, that "ye shall die as men and fall like one of the princes;" for it tells us that the humblest of men may be made equal to the angels; and that earth's princes may become "kings and priests unto God!"

In the presence of these simplest yet grandest truths; with these thoughts of death and the conqueror of death; with this splendid trophy of his power proudly held up to our view by death, I need utter to you no commonplace on the vanity of our mortal life, the inevitableness of its termination, and the solemnities of our after-being. Here and now, on this theme, the silent dead is preaching to you more impressively than could the most eloquent of the living. You feel now, in your inmost heart, that that great upper range of things with which you are connected as immortals; that

moral administration of God, who stretches over the infinite of existence; that magnificent system of ordered governments, to whose lower circle we now belong, which consists of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, which rise,

"Orb o'er orb, and height o'er height,"

to the enthroned Supreme;—you feel that this, your high relation to the Infinite and Eternal, makes poor and low the most august and imposing scenes and dignities of earth, which flit, like shadows, through your three-score years and ten. Oh happy will it be, if the vivid sentiment of the hour become the actuating conviction of the life! Happy will it be, if it take its place in the centre of the soul, and inform all its thoughts, feelings, principles, and aims! Then shall this lower system of human things be consciously linked to, and become part of, and take glory from that spiritual sphere, which, all unseen, encloses us, whose actors and heroes are "angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven." Then would that be permanently and habitually felt by all, which was here, and in the other chamber yesterday so eloquently expressed, that "vain are the personal strifes and party contests in which you daily engage, in view of the great account which you may all so soon be called upon to render;"* and that "it

* Mr. Winthrop's speech in the House of Representatives.

is unbecoming and presumptuous in those who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were your perpetual home."* Then, as we see to-day, the sister States, by their Representatives, linked hand in hand, in mournful attitude, around the bier of one in whose fame they all claim a share, we should look upon you as engaged in a sacrament of religious patriotism, whose spontaneous, unpremeditated vow, springing consentient from all your hearts, and going up unitedly to heaven, would be—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

But I must no longer detain you. May we all

"So live, that when our summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan, that moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
We go not like the quarry-slave at night
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach our grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

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* Mr. Clay's speech in the Senate.

SKETCHES OF LIBERIA:

COMPRISING

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS,

AND DISEASES,

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

BY J. W. LUGENBEEL,
Late Colonial Physician and U. S. Agent in Liberia.

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SKETCHES OF LIBERIA.

INTRODUCTION.

A decided conviction of the necessity of a work in which the earnest inquirer may find the principal topics of information, which he may desire, respecting the Republic of Liberia, is the motive which has induced the author of these sketches to consent to their publication. His long residence in Liberia, and the great care with which he endeavored to make observations, and to acquire information from the most authentic sources, embolden him to believe that these sketches, presented as they are with the utmost ingenuousness, are worthy the candid consideration of all who desire a knowledge of the truth, respecting the condition and prospects of the little African Republic. Though they may possibly contain some slight inaccuracies, yet the author believes that a more truthful, comprehensive, and impartial account of matters and things as they really exist in Liberia, has not been given to the public. And with no other motive in view than a desire to impart needful and correct information, he leaves this little work to the candid perusal of the unbiassed reader; in the hope that some good may result from this part of his labors in the cause of humanity.

It was his design at first to preface these sketches with an outline of the history of Liberia, but fearing that this would too greatly swell the size of this pamphlet, he has concluded to omit all historical details, and to present a simple and concise account of *Liberia as it is*. It may not be amiss, however, to state briefly, for the information of those persons whose attention has not been particularly directed to the rise and progress of the young Republic, that the first company of emigrants sent from this country under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, embarked at New York, in February, 1820. They did not, however, succeed in establishing a permanent asylum for themselves and for their followers and descendants, until the early part of the year 1822; at which time the American flag was first hoisted on Cape Mesurado, the site of the present handsome and flourishing town of Monrovia. From that time, the little colony continued to progress, with various trials and discouragements, under the government of the indefatigable Ashmun, and other white persons sent out from time to time by the Colonization Society, until the early part of 1839, when, under the government of Thomas Buchanan, Esq., the "Commonwealth" was established; marking a new epoch in the progress as well as in the history of Liberia. Gov. Buchanan having died while in the discharge of the arduous and responsible duties of his station, the management of the government devolved on Gen. Joseph J. Roberts, the Lieutenant Governor, who was appointed Governor of the Commonwealth by the

Colonization Society, soon after the melancholy tidings of the death of Governor Buchanan reached the United States; and who continued to fill the office, under the auspices of the Society, until the establishment of the Republic, and the consequent new organization of the Government.

In the month of July, 1847, a convention of delegates, elected by the people, met at Monrovia, and formed the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, which, with a *declaration of independence*, was given to the people, and published to the world. And in the month of October of that year, Gov. Roberts was elected the first President of the Republic. During the succeeding year, the independence of the Republic of Liberia was formally recognized and acknowledged by the Governments of Great Britain and France. And thus, in about twenty-six years from the time of the founding of a little colony on the western coast of Africa, composed of about one hundred free persons of color from the United States, an independent Republic composed entirely of colored persons, has sprung up as it were on that distant coast, recognized by two of the most powerful nations in the world, and standing "self-poised and erect," a monument of American benevolence, under the direction and fostering care of Divine Providence.

To all who may wish to peruse a very interesting, correct, and strikingly beautiful history of Liberia, the author cordially recommends a little book which has lately appeared, the "*New Republic*," written by an American lady, and published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.

SKETCH—No. I.

Geography.—That portion of the western coast of Africa which has received the appellation of Liberia, embraces a tract of country included between the parallels of 4° 20′ and 7° north latitude, extending about 400 miles along the coast. All the territory which lies between these two points has been purchased from the original proprietors and rightful owners of the soil, except two or three small tracts, comprising in all about twenty-five miles of sea-coast. Negotiations will be entered into, as early as practicable, for the fair and honorable purchase of these remaining tracts; and also for that important section of country lying between the northern boundary of Liberia and the Colony of Sierra Leone. It is hoped and expected that these purchases will soon be effected; and that the whole line of the sea-coast between the British Colony and the south-eastern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia," (about 500 miles,) will soon be under the jurisdiction and government of the Republic and the Maryland Colony.

The first tract was purchased in the early part of 1822, embracing a small extent of territory in the vicinity of Cape Mesurado. Other portions have, at different times, been purchased—the greater part within the last few years. The interior boundaries of the purchased tracts are generally not definitely prescribed. They usually extend from about ten to thirty miles from the coast.

In no instance, have the natives, from whom the land was purchased, been required to remove their residences, or to abandon their usual customs, except that of trading in slaves, and the practice of such superstitious rites or ceremonies as

Note.—Since the above was put in type, information has been received from Liberia of the purchase, except two small tracts of about five miles each, of all the territory above referred to, including Gallinas, which, until very lately, was one of the most noted slave-marts on the coast of Africa.

tend to deprive any of their fellow beings of life. And, in all the written contracts which have been entered into between the Agents of the Colonization Society and the native chiefs, the latter have invariably obligated themselves, in behalf of the people over whom they preside, to conform to the laws and regulations of the Liberia government.

As in most other countries, similarly situated, the land in the immediate vicinity of the ocean in Liberia, is generally low; and, in some places, it is very marshy. There are some elevated spots, however; such as those on which the villages of Monrovia and Harper are located. The land generally becomes more elevated towards the interior; and, in some places, within fifty miles of the coast, it is quite mountainous.

Far as the eye can reach from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean, the whole country presents the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hill-top rising above hill-top towards the vast interior; the country consisting, not as is supposed by some persons, of arid plains and burning sands, but of hills and valleys, covered with the verdure of perpetual spring. The country is well watered:—many beautiful streams may be seen winding their way amidst blooming flowers and wild shrubbery; and many cooling springs of clear, sparkling water invite the weary traveler to linger and quench his thirst. In all the settlements in Liberia, good water can be procured without much difficulty; and though in the dry season, as in this country after a long dry spell in summer, some of the springs fail, for a time; yet, as good water can always be obtained by digging wells, and as many of the springs never fail, there need not be any fear about getting plenty of good water at any time in the year.

Soil. The soil of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quality, and productiveness. That of the uplands, though generally much inferior to that of the low lands, is better adapted for some articles. The upland soil usually consists of a reddish clay, more or less mixed with soft rocks and stones, containing considerable quantities of iron. That of the low-lands, in the immediate vicinity of the ocean, consists principally of sand; and it is really astonishing to perceive how well many vegetables will grow in this kind of soil, even within fifty yards of the ocean, in some places. Besides this sandy soil, there are two other varieties of lowland soil; one of which is that on the banks of the rivers, within a few miles of the sea: this consists of a loose, deep, black mould; which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of those kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. The other variety is that which is generally found extending back from the banks of the rivers, farther from the sea than the last named: this consists of a light-colored clay, more or less tempered with sand; and it is well adapted to almost every kind of vegetable which will thrive in tropical climates.

Rivers. There are no very large rivers in Liberia; and, although some of them are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, for fifty miles or more from their entrance into the ocean; yet, none of them are navigable to a greater distance than twenty miles; the navigation being obstructed by rapids. The St. Paul's, the St. John's, and the Junk are the largest; and, indeed, they are the only rivers of any considerable length or width. The other principal rivers are the Cape Mount, the Mechlin, the New Cess, the Grand Cess, the Sanguin, the Sinou, and the Grand Sesters. Some of these present a bold appearance at their mouths; but they are all comparatively short; and none of them are navigable for boats, or even for canoes, more than twenty miles.

The *St. Paul's* river is a beautiful stream of water. It is three-fourths of a mile wide at the widest part, (at Caldwell,) and about three-eighths of a mile wide at Millsburg, about fourteen miles from its mouth.

The banks of this river rise from ten to twenty feet above the water; and, except in places which have been cleared, they are covered with large forest trees; among which may be seen the graceful palm, rearing aloft its green-tufted head, and standing in all its pride and beauty, the ornament and the glory of its native land. The St. Paul's is perhaps the longest river in Liberia. It is studded with many beautiful islands, abounding in camwood, palm, and many other valuable forest trees; and its banks furnish many beautiful sites for residences. Many native hamlets may be seen on the banks of this lovely river—the homes of the untutored children of the forest—the benighted sons and daughters of Africa. The St Paul's bifurcates about three miles from its mouth: the principal stream rolls on towards the ocean, while the other fork flows in a south-easterly direction, almost parallel with the beach, and unites with the little Mesurado river near its mouth; and thus an island is formed, about eight miles long, and from one to two in width, called Bushrod Island. This latter fork of the river is called *Stockton Creek*, in honor of Commodore Stockton of the United States Navy.

The *St. John's* river is also a beautiful stream. It is about sixty miles south-east of the St. Paul's; and it flows through that part of Liberia, which is known as the Grand Bassa country. At the widest point, it is nearly or quite a mile wide. Its length, however, is supposed to be less than that of the St. Paul's. The St. John's is also studded with numerous islands; the largest of which is Factory Island, about three miles from its mouth. The banks of this river also rise considerably above the water; and the land bordering on it is also very productive.

The *Junk* river, which is about equidistant from the other two named rivers, is the third in size and importance. The main branch is supposed to be equal in length to the St. John's. The northern branch, which is only about forty miles long, is noted as a thoroughfare between Monrovia and Marshall. At the place of embarkation, a few miles below its source, it is not more than five yards wide; but it gradually expands to the width of more than half a mile.

The appearance of the country along the banks of these rivers, and of the numerous little islands which they form, is highly picturesque.

The banks of the St. Paul's and the St. John's, in many places, present encouraging scenes of agricultural industry; showing the handiwork of a people, whose social condition is vastly superior to that of their aboriginal neighbors; and who are thus placing before the indolent and improvident natives, illustrations of the great superiority of the habits of civilized people to their own degrading customs; examples which must eventually exert a powerful influence on the minds and practice of the contiguous native tribes.

And thus, while the mind of the traveler is oppressed by the melancholy consideration of the moral and intellectual darkness of the scattered tribes of human beings, whose desolate-looking hamlets frequently meet his view, as he wends his way amidst the dense forests of the uncultivated hills and dales of Africa; he is encouraged to believe that the time will come, when this extensive "wilderness shall be made glad" by the labors of industrious agriculturists, and when this vast desert of intellectual and moral degradation "shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."

SKETCH—No. 2.

SETTLEMENTS.—The villages and townships in Liberia, are Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell, Virginia, Millsburg, Marshall, Edina, Bassa Cove, Bexley, Greenville and Readsville. Besides these, there are a few other localities, which are sometimes called by one name and sometimes by another.

Monrovia is the largest and oldest of all the settlements; and it is the metropolis, and the seat of government of the Republic. It is located near the mouth of the Mesurado river, (a small stream about fifteen miles long,) about four miles southeast of the entrance of the St. Paul's river into the ocean, on an elevated site, immediately in the rear of Cape Mesurado, in latitude 6° 19′ North. The highest point of the hill on which the village stands, and which is near its centre, is about eighty feet above the level of the ocean, and about three-fourths of a mile from the summit of the Cape, which is about two hundred and fifty feet above the sea. Cape Mesurado is a bold promontory, covered with massive forest trees and dense undergrowth; except in places which have been cleared. On the summit of the Cape is a light-house and a fort; and along the sloping declivity, towards the village of Monrovia, there are several cleared lots, on which small houses have been erected; in some places, affording very pleasant places of residence. The greater part of the promontory, however, is very rocky. The course of the coast north of the Cape, forms a kind of bay, which generally affords safe anchorage for vessels; and the cove, near the base of the Cape, affords as good a landing on the beach as can be found on almost any other part of the coast.

The village of Monrovia, although more compact than any of the other settlements in Liberia, occupies a considerable extent of ground; being about three-fourths of a mile in length. It is laid off with as much regularity as the location will allow; and the streets, of which there are about fifteen in number, have received regular names. The village is divided into lots of one-fourth of an acre, and most of the dwelling-houses have a lot attached to each of them. Most of the lots, and several of the streets, are adorned with various tropical fruit trees; and some of the gardens present a handsome appearance. If the streets were kept entirely clear of weeds and bushes, the village of Monrovia, viewed from the summit of the Cape, or from the mouth of the Mesurado river, would present a beautiful appearance, in contrast with the dense forest, by which it is almost surrounded. The houses are generally one story or a story and a half high: some are two full stories. Many of them are substantially built of stone or brick; and some of the best houses are built partly of both these materials. The state-house is a large stone building, which was erected in 1843–4, at an expense of nearly five thousand dollars. In the rear of this building, is a substantial stone prison. There are three commodious stone houses for public worship in the village—Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian; nearly all of the professing christians in the place being attached to one or the other of these religious denominations.

At the base of the hill on which stand the principal dwelling houses, there are several large stone buildings, which are occupied as stores and warehouses. The dwellings of many of the citizens of Monrovia are not only comfortably, but elegantly, and some of them richly, furnished; and some of the residents of this little bustling metropolis live in a style of ease and affluence, which does not comport with the contracted views of those persons, who regard a residence in Africa as necessarily associated

with the almost entire privation of the good things of this life. For several years past, there have been two newspapers published regularly at Monrovia; the "Liberia Herald," and "Africa's Luminary." The population of Monrovia is about twelve hundred: exclusive of native children and youths who reside in the families of the citizens.

New Georgia is a small township, located on the eastern side of Stockton Creek, about five miles from Monrovia. It is occupied principally by native Africans, who were formerly slaves. Upwards of two hundred of the liberated Africans who have been, or who now are, residents of New Georgia, were sent to Liberia by the United States Government, at different times. Many of these have married persons, who were born in the United States; and have thereby become more strongly identified with the Liberians, as citizens of the Republic. Some of them are partially educated; and, a few years ago, one of them occupied a seat in the Legislature. As most of the citizens of New Georgia have taken the oath of allegiance, they are permitted to enjoy equal immunities with other citizens. A great portion of the vegetables which are used in Monrovia are raised at New Georgia.

Caldwell is situated on the eastern side of the St. Paul's river. The whole settlement, which is divided for convenience, into Upper and Lower Caldwell, is about six miles in length, extending along the bank of the river; the nearest part to Monrovia being about nine miles distant. The houses are from one hundred yards to a quarter of a mile, or more, apart; and, of course, this settlement has not much the appearance of a town. Some of the most enterprising farmers in Liberia reside at this place. The land about Caldwell is generally remarkably productive.

Virginia, or New Virginia, as it is sometimes called, is a new settlement, formed principally in the early part of 1846. It is also on the St. Paul's river, opposite Caldwell. This is the site of the United States Receptacle for liberated Africans, erected in 1847.

Millsburg is the farthest settlement from the sea-coast of any in Liberia. It is situated on the northern bank of the St. Paul's river, about fourteen miles from its mouth, and about twenty miles from Monrovia. Like the other farming settlements, the houses generally are separated at a considerable distance from one another; so that, the whole township extends about a mile and a half along the bank of the river. Millsburg is perhaps the most beautiful, and one of the most healthy locations in Liberia. The land is remarkably good, and of easy cultivation. A flourishing Female Academy is in operation at this place, under the care of Mrs. Wilkins, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And, on the opposite side of the river is White Plains, a mission station of the same Church.

Besides these settlements, there are numerous other points along the St. Paul's river, which are occupied by farmers; so that, the banks of this beautiful stream present, in many places, the appearance of agricultural industry and comfort.

Marshall is situated at the mouth of the Junk river, about thirty-five miles south of Monrovia. Most of the houses in this place are built along the sea-shore. This place is particularly noted for the manufacture of lime; which is obtained altogether from oyster and other shells. Most of the lime that is used in Liberia is made in the vicinity of Marshall. The river at this place abounds in oysters. And though they are not quite equal to those procured in some parts of the United States, yet they

are quite palatable, when served up as they ought to be.

Edina is located on the northern bank of the St. John's river, about half a mile from its mouth. It is handsomely situated; and, in reference to the healthiness of the location, it is perhaps equal to most others in Liberia. Some of the citizens of Edina are engaged in the cultivation of exportable articles of produce.

Bassa Cove is located at the junction of the Benson river (a small stream) with the St. John's, nearly opposite Edina. Several of the citizens of this place also have given considerable attention to the cultivation of coffee, arrow-root, and ginger, during the last few years.

Bexley is situated on the northern side of the St. John's river, about six miles from its mouth. This place, like the settlements on the St. Paul's river, occupies a considerable extent of territory. It is divided into Upper and Lower Bexley; both together extending about four miles along the river. Bexley is a fine farming settlement; the land is excellent; and the location is comparatively healthy. Several of the citizens of this place are pretty actively engaged in cultivating articles for exportation. This is certainly one of the most interesting settlements in Liberia. The mission of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions is located at this place; also the head-quarters of the Southern Baptist Mission.

Greenville is situated at the mouth of the Sinou river, about one hundred and thirty miles by sea southeast of Monrovia. Like the settlement of Marshall, most of the houses are located along the sea-shore. Greenville presents a handsome appearance from the anchorage. It is one of the most healthy settlements in Liberia. The land in the immediate vicinity of Greenville, and indeed, of all the other settlements near the sea-shore, is much inferior to that on the banks of the rivers, several miles from their entrance into the ocean. Consequently, those persons who expect to live by "the sweat of their brow," in the cultivation of the soil, will find it greatly to their advantage to locate beyond the sound of the breaking surf of the ocean.

Readsville is a small farming settlement, on the Sinou river, about five miles above Greenville. It was formed principally by the people who were manumitted by the late Mrs. Read of Mississippi.

In every settlement, there is one place, or more, of public worship, in which religious services are regularly held. And, in nearly every settlement, there is one regular day and Sunday school, or more. The principal deficiency in the system of education in Liberia, consists in the inability to procure the services of a sufficient number of competent teachers. I trust that the time is not far distant, when a more uniform, permanent, and effectual system of education will be in operation, in all the settlements in Liberia. Most of the schools are supported by benevolent societies in the United States; and most of the pulpits are filled by ministers who receive stated salaries from one or other of the Missionary Societies in the United States.

As the census has not been taken for several years, I cannot give the exact population of the different settlements, and the exact aggregate population of the Republic. I think, however, that the whole number of inhabitants of the Republic, exclusive of the aborigines, may be set down at about 4,000.

Maryland in Liberia.

The Colony of "Maryland in Liberia," which has always maintained a distinctive character, and which has always been under a different government, from the Republic of Liberia, was established in the early part of the year 1834. Ever since that period, it has continued to progress in in-

terest and importance; and, at present, it occupies a prominent position, as an asylum for the proscribed descendants of Ham; to whom the siren song of "My native land" loses its mellowing cadence in the thrilling, patriotic sound of "Sweet land of liberty."

This interesting Colony is located about two hundred and fifty miles by sea south-east from Monrovia. *Harper*, the principal town or settlement, is situated near the point of the Cape; (Cape Palmas, a bold projecting promontory, which is one of the most prominent points or land-marks on the western coast of Africa;) and, from the anchorage, it presents a handsome appearance. At the distance of about half a mile from Harper is the town of *East Harper;* in which are several beautiful sites for residences, commanding a fine view of the ocean, and of the adjacent hills and vales. Between these two villages, there are two large native towns, comprising several hundred houses, which present a marked contrast with the comfortable looking dwellings of the colonists. At the distance of about two and a half miles beyond East Harper is another settlement, called Tubmantown. Most of the land near the road between these two villages is occupied by the colonists; so that on both sides of this highway, many neat little cottages may be seen, and many handsome gardens and small farms.

The whole population of Maryland in Liberia, exclusive of aborigines, is about 900.

SKETCH—No. 3.

Climate and Seasons.—The territory of Liberia being within a few degrees of the equator, of course the nature of the climate is essentially different from that of the United States, the vicissitudes of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, not being experienced in the equatorial regions of the earth; there being continued summer weather throughout the year; interrupted only by occasional slight variations in the thermometrical state of the atmosphere; caused by the greater strength of the ordinary breezes, and by clouds and rain; which latter prevail so much more, during one half of the year, than during the other half, as to give rise to the usually recognized division of the year into two seasons—the *wet* or *rainy season*, and the *dry season;* or, in common parlance, "the rains" and "the dries;" the former of which answers nearly to summer and autumn, and the latter to winter and spring, in temperate latitudes.

This unqualified and somewhat arbitrary division of the year, however, has led many persons into error, respecting the real state of the weather, during these two seasons; some supposing that during the rainy season, more or less rain falls every day; and, on the other hand, during the dry season, an uninterrupted spell of hot and dry weather prevails for six successive months. This is so far from being the case, that, as a general rule, it may be stated, that some rain falls during every month in the year; and, in every month, there is some fine, clear, pleasant weather. During my residence in Liberia, I seldom observed a deviation from this general rule. Much more rain, however, falls, during the six months beginning with May, than during the remaining six months beginning with November. It is difficult, however, to determine at what time each of the two seasons actually commences and closes. As a general rule, I think the middle of May may be set down as the beginning of the rainy season, and the middle of November that of the dry season. In order, however, to give an accurate and comprehensive statement of the character of the climate and seasons of Liberia, it may be the best plan, to note the vicissitudes of each month in the year, as they are usually presented.

January is usually the driest, and one of the warmest months in the year. Sometimes, during this month, no rain at all falls; but generally there are occasional slight showers, particularly at night. Were it not for the sea-breeze, which prevails with almost uninterrupted regularity, during the greater part of the day, on almost every day throughout the year, the weather would be exceedingly oppressive, during the first three or four months of the year. As it is, the oppressiveness of the rays of the tropical sun, is greatly mitigated by the cooling breezes from the ocean; which usually blow from about 10 o'clock A. M. to about 10 P. M., the land-breeze occupying the remainder of the night and morning; except for an hour or two about the middle of the night, and about an hour in the forenoon. During these intervals, the atmosphere is sometimes very oppressive. The regularity of the sea-breeze, especially during the month of January, is sometimes interrupted by the longer continuance of the land-breeze, which occasionally does not cease blowing until 2 or 3 o'clock P. M. This is what is called the *harmattan* wind; about which a great deal has been written; but which does not generally fully accord with the forced descriptions of hasty observers or copyists.

The principal peculiarity of the harmattan wind consists in its drying properties, and its very sensible coolness, especially early in the morning. It seldom, perhaps never, continues during the whole day; and usually not much longer than the ordinary land-breeze, at other times in the year. When this wind blows pretty strongly, the leaves and covers of books sometimes curl, as if they had been placed near a fire; the seams of furniture, and of wooden vessels, sometimes open considerably, and the skin of persons sometimes feels peculiarly dry and unpleasant, in consequence of the rapid evaporation of both the sensible and the insensible perspiration. But these effects are usually by no means so great as they have been represented to be. What is generally called the harmattan season usually commences about the middle of December, and continues until the latter part of February. During this time, especially during the month of January, the atmosphere has a smoky appearance, similar to what is termed Indian summer in the United States, but generally more hazy.

The average height of the mercury in the thermometer, during the month of January, is about 85°, it seldom varies more than 10°, during the twenty-four hours of the day; and usually it does not vary more than four degrees between the hours of 10 A. M. and 10 P. M. During this month, however, I have seen the mercury stand at the lowest mark, at which I ever observed it, in Liberia, that is, at 68°. This was early in the morning, during the prevalence of a strong and very cool land-breeze. During this month I have also seen the mercury stand at the highest mark, at which I ever observed it—that is, at 90°. The air is sometimes uncomfortably cool, before 8 o'clock A. M., during this month.

During the month of *February*, the weather is generally similar to that of January. There are, however, usually more frequent showers of rain; and sometimes, towards the close of this month, slight tornadoes are experienced. The harmattan haze generally disappears about the last of this month; and the atmosphere becomes clear. The range of the thermometer is about the same as in January.

March is perhaps the most trying month in the year to the constitutions of newcomers. The atmosphere is usually very oppressive during this month—the sun being nearly vertical. The occasional showers of rain, and the slight tornadoes, which occur in this month, do not usually mitigate the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, as

might be supposed. The variation in the state of the atmosphere, as indicated by the thermometer, seldom exceeds 6° during the whole of this month. The average height of the mercury is about 85°.

April is significantly called the "tornado month," the most numerous and most violent tornadoes usually occurring during this month. The ordinary state of the weather, in reference to the degree of heat, and its influence on the system, is not very different from that of the three preceding months. The showers of rain are usually more frequent, however; and the visitations of those peculiar gusts, called *tornadoes*, are much more common in April, than in any other month. These are sudden, and sometimes violent gusts, which occur much more frequently at night, than during the day. Although they usually approach suddenly and rapidly, yet certain premonitory evidences of their approach are almost always presented, which are generally easily recognized by persons who have frequently observed them. They generally commence from northeast, or east-northeast, and rapidly shift around to nearly southeast; by which time the storm is at its height.

At the commencement of a tornado, dark clouds appear above the eastern horizon, which rapidly ascend, until a dense lurid-looking mass spreads over the whole hemisphere. As the heavy mass of clouds ascends and spreads, the roaring sound of the wind becomes stronger and louder, until suddenly it bursts forth in its fury; sometimes seeming as if it would sweep away every opposing object. Very seldom, however, is any material injury sustained from these violent gusts. The scene is sometimes awfully grand, for fifteen or twenty minutes, during the formation and continuance of a heavy tornado. Sometimes the whole hemisphere presents a scene of the deepest gloom; the darkness of which is momentarily illuminated by vivid flashes of lightning, in rapid succession; and sometimes tremendous peals of thunder burst upon the solemn stillness of the scene. The rain seldom falls, until the violence of the gust begins to subside; when a torrent of rain usually pours down for a short time, seldom more than half an hour; after which, the wind shifts around towards the west; and generally, in about an hour from the commencement of the tornado, the sky becomes serene, and sometimes almost cloudless.

The weather during the month of *May* is usually more pleasant, than during the two preceding months. The atmosphere is generally not quite so warm and oppressive. Sometimes copious and protracted showers of rain fall, during the latter half of this month; so that the beginning of the rainy season usually occurs in this month. Tornadoes also occasionally appear, during the month of May. The average height of the mercury in the thermometer is usually two or three degrees less, than during the four preceding months.

June is perhaps the most rainy month in the year. More or less rain usually falls nearly every day or night in this month. Although there are sometimes clear and pleasant days in June; yet, there are seldom twenty-four successive hours of entire freedom from rain. The sun is, however, seldom entirely obscured for a week at a time; and he frequently shines out brightly and pleasantly, in the interstices between the floating clouds, several times during the day; occasionally for several hours at a time. During this month, as during all the other rainy months, more rain always falls at night than in the day time; and, indeed, there are very few days in the year, in which the use of an umbrella may not be dispensed with, sometime during the ordinary business hours. In the month of June, the atmosphere is always consider-

ably cooler than during the preceding months; and I have generally found it necessary to wear woolen outer as well as under garments; and to sleep beneath thick covering at night, in order to be comfortably warm. The sensible perspiration is always much less, during this month, and the five succeeding months, than during the other six months in the year. The mercury in the thermometer seldom rises above 80° in this month, the average height being about 75°.

During the months of *July* and *August*, a great deal of rain also generally falls; but perhaps less in both these months than in the preceding one. There is always a short season of comparatively dry, and very pleasant weather, in one or both of these months. This season usually continues from three to five weeks; and generally commences about the 20th or 25th of July. Sometimes, for several successive days, the sun shines brilliantly and pleasantly all day; and no rain falls at night. The air, however, is always refreshingly cool and agreeable. This is perhaps the most pleasant time in the year. This is what is commonly called "the middle dries." It seems as if Providence has specially ordered this temporary cessation of the rains, for the purpose of permitting the ripening and gathering of the crops of rice, which are generally harvested in August.

September and *October* are also generally very rainy months; especially the former. Sometimes more rain falls in September, than in any other month in the year. Towards the close of October, the rains begin to be less copious; and sometimes slight tornadoes appear, indicative of the cessation of the rainy season. The sea-breezes are usually very strong, during these two months; and the atmosphere is generally uniformly cool, and invigorating to the physical system.

During the month of *November*, the weather is generally very pleasant, the temperature of the atmosphere being agreeable to the feelings—not so cool as during the five preceding months, and not so warm as during the five or six succeeding ones, the average height of the mercury in the thermometer being about 82°. Frequent showers of rain usually fall during this month, both in the day and at night; but generally they are of short duration. Slight tornadoes also generally appear in this month. The sun may usually be seen, during a part of every day in the month; and frequently he is not obscured by clouds, during the whole of the time in which he is above the horizon. The middle of this month may be regarded as the beginning of the dry season.

December is also generally a very pleasant month. Occasional slight showers of rain fall during this month, sometimes several sprinklings in one day, but seldom for more than a few minutes at a time. The mornings in this month are peculiarly delightful. The sun usually rises with brilliancy and beauty; and the hills and groves, teeming with the verdure of perpetual spring, are enriched by the mingled melody of a thousand cheerful songsters. Nothing that I have ever witnessed in the United States exceeds the loveliness of a December morning in Liberia.

On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant; notwithstanding the scorching rays of the tropical sun, and the "abundance of rain" which falls during the year, especially during the months of June, July, September and October. So far as the pleasantness of the climate and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia, to one in any part of the United States.

The extremes of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65° and 90°. I have never heard of the mercury in a good thermometer having sunk below the former, nor arisen above the latter point,

in the shade. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, may be set down at about 76°, and, during the dry season at 84°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°.

In regard to the comparative healthiness of the two seasons, I may state, that my observations fully convinced me, that the rainy season is decidedly more conducive to health than the dry season, in both new-comers and old settlers. The oppressiveness of the atmosphere, and the enervating effects of the weather, during the dry season, tend to debilitate the physical system, and thereby to render it more susceptible of being affected by the local agents of disease. Consequently, those persons who arrive in Liberia during this season, are more liable to frequent attacks of fever, than those are who arrive during the rainy season. In reference, however, to the acclimating process, I do not think that any great advantage can be gained by arriving at any particular time of the year, more than at any other time. Unnecessary exposure to the heat of the sun during the dry season, and to the rain during the wet season, should alike be avoided. Care and prudence should be exercised by new-comers at all times during the year.

SKETCH—No. 4.

Productions.—Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots, and fruits, which are peculiar to intertropical climates, thrive well in Liberia; and many garden vegetables which belong more properly to temperate climates, may be raised, in quality not much inferior to the same kind of articles, produced in climates peculiarly adapted to their growth and maturation.

The only kind of grain, however, which has yet been cultivated to any considerable extent, is *Rice*, which is the great staple of intertropical Africa, and the principal article of food of the numerous aboriginal inhabitants. It is also used extensively by the Liberians. And it is undoubtedly the most wholesome article of food which can be used in that country. It is not cultivated very extensively by the Liberians, in consequence of their being able generally to purchase it more cheaply from the natives, than the cultivation of it would cost. In consequence, however, of the increasing demand, it has, of late years, commanded a better price than formerly; which has induced some of the citizens to engage in raising it. Until within the last few years, scarcely any persons attempted to raise it; but, at present, this valuable grain may be seen growing in the neighborhood of several of the settlements in Liberia. Although it grows much better in low, wet land; yet it thrives very well in land more elevated; such as will produce most other articles usually cultivated. It is usually sowed in April, and harvested in August. Sometimes two crops may be made in one year; but generally only one is made. It yields so abundantly, that, notwithstanding the extreme indolence of the natives, who do not work on their farms during three months in the year, they usually raise much more than they require.

Indian corn, or maize, will grow very well on some lands in Liberia; and although it does not thrive so well as in some parts of the United States; yet I am quite satisfied that it might be cultivated much more extensively in Liberia than it ever yet has been. I have seen some fine, large ears of corn, which were raised on the St. Paul's river. The small-grained corn, usually called Guinea-corn, no doubt will grow well in Liberia (Guinea, whence its name;) but strange to say, I have seldom seen it growing there. The natives in the vicinity of the settlements seldom, if ever, raise it.

A variety of esculent roots may be raised in Liberia; the most common of which are, the sweet potato, cassada, yam, and tania.

Sweet potatoes may be raised in great abundance, with very little labor, on al-

most every kind of land, at any time during the year. I have seen them growing freely in the sandy soil, within fifty yards of the ocean. The poorest persons may easily have a sufficiency of this nutritious vegetable. Those raised in some parts of Liberia are very fine. They generally thrive better during the rainy season, especially on the high lands; but in some places, they thrive very well during the dry season, especially on the flat land bordering on the rivers; and, in many places, they may be gathered during every month in the year, from the same piece of land.

The *Cassada* (as it is usually called, but perhaps more properly *cassava*) is a shrub, which grows from four to eight feet in height, having several white, fleshy roots, covered with a course, rough skin. The stem of the shrub is round and jointed, having numerous branches, which are furnished at the upper part with alternate leaves, divided into three, five, or seven acute lobes. The root, which is the only part that is used, arrives at perfection in from nine to fifteen months. The roots vary in size, from six to eighteen inches in length, and from three to eight inches in circumference. In taste, when not cooked, it very much resembles the taste of a fresh chesnut. This vegetable may be raised abundantly, on any kind of soil. It is the only vegetable, except rice which is cultivated to any extent by the natives. It is usually prepared for use, by being boiled, after the skin or rind has been removed, or by being roasted in ashes; and, when properly cooked, it is very palatable and nutritious. The tapioco of the shops is the fecula of the root of the cassada.

The *Yam* is a slender, herbaceous vine, having large tuberous roots, sometimes nearly round, but generally elongated, like the cassada, but much larger. The roots of the yam are sometimes three feet long, and weigh twenty or thirty pounds. They usually arrive at perfection in four or five months; and they yield very abundantly. The root of the yam is more farinaceous or mealy, when cooked, than that of the cassada—almost as much so as the Irish potato. They are more digestable than the cassada; and I think more palatable. The yam is one of the most wholesome and nutritious esculent roots of any country; and it may be produced in any desired quantity in Liberia.

Tania is a delicate, broad-leafed plant, about two feet in height, having a bulbous root, which, when prepared like Irish potatoes, resembles those excellent vegetables very nearly in taste; and it is a very wholesome and nutritious article of food. It may be raised easily and abundantly.

There are other esculent roots, peculiar to tropical climates, which have not yet been introduced; but which, no doubt, would thrive well in Liberia. I have alluded particularly to those only which have been introduced, and which are cultivated there—those which I have seen and eaten myself. And, in addition to those articles to which I have alluded, I may name a few other garden vegetables, which I have seen growing in Liberia: the most common of which are, lima or butter beans, snap beans, black-eyed peas, cabbage, tamatoes cucumbers, watermelons, pumpkins, muskmelons, cantelopes, beets, radishes, and carrots.

Lima beans may be raised abundantly, at any time during the year. In consequence of the absence of frost, the vines live and bear for several years; and as the beans are being continually reproduced, they may be gathered from the same vines, during every month in the year, and for three, four, five, or more, successive years. The vines yield in a few months after the planting of the bean; so that, no family ought ever to be without this excellent vegetable. They are equal to those raised in any part of the United States.

Black-eyed peas may be raised in any necessary quantities. They come to maturity in about six weeks from the time of

planting; and they may be raised at any time during the year.

Cabbages do not thrive so well in Liberia as they generally do in the United States—that is, they do not produce so fine heads. They grow very rapidly; and sometimes the stalk attains the height of several feet. They do not go to seed. When, however, good seed can be procured from other countries, and proper attention is given to the cultivation of the cabbage, fine, large, tender heads may sometimes be produced. I have occasionally eaten as good cabbage in Liberia, as I ever ate in the Old Dominion.

Tomatoes may be easily raised; and when the seed are procured from abroad, the fruit is large and well flavored—equal to the produce of most other countries.

Cucumbers will perhaps thrive as well in Liberia, as in most other countries. I have seen as fine cucumbers there as I ever saw in any part of the United States. A sandy soil seems to be best adapted for them.

Watermelons thrive as well in some parts of Liberia, as in most parts of the United States; especially when good seed can be procured from abroad. Some as fine watermelons as I ever saw were raised in the vicinity of Monrovia. So far as I could learn, the best time to plant the seed is in March or April.

All the other articles which I have enumerated, and several other garden vegetables, which seem to belong more properly to temperate climates, may be raised in Liberia without much difficulty, if the seed can be obtained from those countries, to which these vegetables seem to be peculiarly adapted. Several of these vegetables do not go to seed at all in Liberia; consequently, they cannot be reproduced. And I believe all the rest which belong more properly to temperate climates, soon degenerate so much in quality, as to become unfit for use. Hence, the necessity of importing seeds, if persons wish to have American vegetables on African tables.—And here I would particularly recommend to persons, who intend to emigrate to Liberia, to take with them a variety of garden seeds. And, in order to protect them from being injured by the salt air of the ocean, I would advise that they should be sealed up in vials or bottles; or wrapped in paper, and packed away in saw dust.

A great variety of *fruits* is raised in Liberia; many of which are indigenous. The principal fruits are, the orange, lime, lemon, pine-apple, guava, mango, plantain, banana, okra, papaw, cocoanut, tamarind, pomegranate, granadilla, African cherry, African peach, soursop, sweetsop, sorrel, cocoa, rose-apple, and chiota.

The *Orange* tree thrives as well perhaps, and bears as fine fruit in Liberia as in any other part of the world. The tree, when full-grown, is about the size of ordinary apple trees in the United States; but much more handsome. One tree usually bears as many oranges, as an apple tree of the same size bears apples. Although ripe oranges may be procured at any time of the year; yet, there are two seasons, at which they are more plentiful, than at other times. One season is about the middle of the year, and the other about the close of the year. It is not uncommon to see blossoms, buds, young fruit, and full-grown fruit, on the same tree, at the same time; so that while some of the oranges are ripening, others are being produced.—In the town of Monrovia, many orange trees may be seen adorning the sides of the streets, as well as in the yards and gardens of the citizens.

Limes and *lemons* are in superabundance, in nearly every settlement in Liberia.

Pine-apples grow wild in the woods, in great abundance; and when allowed to ripen, before being pulled, they are very finely flavored. The apple grows out of the centre of a small stalk, one or two feet high, and it is surrounded by prickly, pointed leaves or branches. I

have seen thousands of them, in half an hour's walk. They are considerably improved by cultivation in good, rich land. They are not, however, a wholesome fruit, although very palatable; and many persons have made themselves sick by eating them too freely.

Guavas grow very abundantly, on trees about the size of ordinary peach trees. This fruit resembles the apricot in appearance, but not in taste. It is not very palatable, when uncooked; though some persons are very fond of it. It, however, makes the best preserves, and the best pies, of any fruit with which I am acquainted. The *guava jelly*, which is almost universally regarded as a very delicious article, is made from this fruit. Though I believe the guava tree is not indigenous to Liberia; yet it grows so luxuriantly, as to become a source of much inconvenience, in some places.

The *Mango* (or mango-plum, as it is usually called in Liberia) also thrives well. It is the product of a handsome tree, about the size of an ordinary apple-tree. The fruit is about the size of an ordinary apple, but oval, or egg-shaped. In taste, it approaches more nearly to the American peach, than any other tropical fruit I ever ate; and I regard it as the best fruit which is raised in Liberia. The mango makes very superior preserves.

The *Plantain* is a beautiful, broad-leafed, tender, fibrous stalk, which grows to the height of from eight to fourteen feet. The leaves, which are the continuation of the fibrous layers of the soft, herbaceous stalk, are generally about six feet long, and from one to three feet broad. The fruit-stem proceeds from the heart of the stalk; and, when full-grown, it is about three feet long, and beautifully curved, extending about two feet beyond the cluster of fruit, and terminating in a singular and beautiful purple bulb, formed of numerous tender layers, which can be easily separated. One stalk produces only one cluster or bunch of fruit; and, when this is removed, by cutting the stem, the stalk dies; but cions spring up from the original root, around the old stalk; and in a few months, these also bear fruit; and then die, giving place to other new stalks. So that, in two or three years from the time of the first planting, the number of stalks and bunches of fruit will be increased six-fold, or more. The venerable parent-stalk, as if loth to leave her rising progeny unsheltered from the sweeping tornado, generally continues to spread her broad leaves over them, until they shall have attained a sufficient size to stand firmly before the destroying blast of the storm-king; and then one by one, the expansive leaves or branches wither, and fall to the ground, leaving the aged, worn-out stalk to be prostrated by the passing breeze. The fruit of the plantain is cylindrical and slightly curved, somewhat tapering towards the end. It is usually from six to nine inches long, and about one inch in diameter. At first, it is of a pale green color; but, when fully ripe, it is yellow. It arrives at maturity in about eight months. Most persons in Liberia cut the bunches before the fruit has ripened; but, it is much better, when it is allowed to ripen before being separated from the stalk. It is usually prepared for the table, by being boiled, baked, or fried; and it is perhaps the most luscious and wholesome vegetable of tropical climates, and one of the most valuable fruits in the vegetable kingdom. It may be produced at any time in the year; and, with a little judicious management, every family may have this excellent and nutritious article, every day in the year.

The *Banana* is so much like the plantain, in every respect, except in the taste, and a slight difference in the appearance of the fruit, that the description of one will answer for both. Indeed, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, when they are growing. The fruit of the banana is only about half the length of the plantain; and

is not so much curved. It is also much softer, when ripe, and is more frequently eaten uncooked; although it may be prepared in the same manner as the plantain. The taste of the plantain very much resembles the taste of apples cooked in the same way; while that of the banana is *sui generis*—unlike any fruit of the United States. The plantain and banana trees are among the most beautiful vegetable growths of tropical climates.

Okra is the fruit of a small tree, ten or twelve feet high. It is a soft, pulpy, and very mucilagenous fruit; which, when boiled, forms a thick, semi-fluid, pleasant, and nutritious article of food—an excellent adjuvant to rice. It may be raised easily and abundantly in Liberia.

The *Papaw* is a tall, slender, herbaceous tree, of very rapid growth, sometimes attaining the height of thirty feet. The body of the tree is usually naked to within two or three feet of the top, and is marked with the cicatrices of the fallen leaves, which wither and fall as the tree continues to grow, giving place to others above them. Sometimes, however, there are several branches attached to the upper part of the body of the tree; each of which branches produces a cluster of fruit. The leaves are very large, have long footstalks, and are divided into numerous lobes.—The fruit is nearly round, of a pale-green color, becoming yellowish as it ripens, and is about the size of the head of a very young infant. One variety of the papaw, however, bears fruit of an elongated shape somewhat like a pear; but considerably larger than the other variety. The fruit of the papaw has a sweetish taste. It is very soft; and, when fully ripe, and stewed, it resembles in both appearance and taste the best pumpkins of the United States;—when it is stewed, before it has ripened, and is made into pie, it so much resembles the green-apple pie, in taste as well as appearance, that the most fastidious epicure might be deceived by it; if he did not stop to think that apples do not grow in Liberia.

The *Cocoanut* is perhaps the most beautiful tree of tropical climates. It has long, curved leaves or branches; which hang gracefully from the upper part of the body, which rises sometimes to the height of thirty feet, or more. The fruit grows in clusters near the base of the stalks of the leaves. The cocoanut tree is seldom raised in Liberia, except as an ornament. A few of these stately and beautiful trees may be seen in some of the settlements. From having seen it growing in an obscure place, I presume the cocoanut tree is indigenous in Liberia.

The *Tamarind* is a large, spreading tree, having very small, deep-green leaves.—The fruit grows in elongated pods, similar to the butter-bean. Although the tamarind is indigenous, and thrives as well perhaps in Liberia, as in any other part of the world; yet the people do not give any attention to the gathering of the fruit, except for their own use; and, indeed, very few seem to care any thing about it. I think, however, it may be made a profitable article of exportation.

The *Pomegranite* is a dense, spiny shrub, ten or twelve feet high. It produces beautiful brilliant large red flowers; and the fruit is about the size of a large apple, and covered with a thick coriaceous rind. It is filled with a multitude of small seeds; and the pulp is slightly acid and astringent. This fruit is seldom cultivated in Liberia; although I presume it will thrive as well as in most other parts of the world.

The *African cherry* (so called in Liberia) is a very peculiar fruit. It is about the size of the ordinary morrello-cherry of the United States; but, in taste, it more resembles the cranberry. The tree is usually about fifteen feet high. The great peculiarity in the growth of this fruit, consists in the manner in which the short stems are attached to the tree—not to the twigs of the branches, but to the body and larger

limbs of the tree; the stems of the fruit being about one-third of an inch long.—This fruit makes very fine tarts—equal to the cranberry.

The *African peach*, of which there are three varieties, is a large, round, acid fruit—one variety being about twice the size of the largest peaches in the United States. These trees, some of which are very large, grow abundantly in the forests of Liberia. The fruit is used only for making preserves; which, when properly made, are surpassed only by the guava.

The *Sour-sop* is a large, pulpy, acidulous fruit, which grows on a tree about the size of an ordinary apple-tree. The fruit is nearly pear-shaped, and is about as large as an ordinary cantelope. It is covered with a thick, knotty rind. When perfectly ripe, it is a very pleasant fruit; especially when a little sugar is sprinkled over the pulp. It is also very good, when fried in slices; in which state it somewhat resembles in taste fried sour apples.

The *Sweet-sop* is a fruit somewhat similar to the sour-sop; but not so acidulous, nor so pleasant to the taste. It is seldom used.

The *Cocoa*, from which chocolate is produced, though not yet extensively cultivated, thrives well in Liberia.

The *Rose-apple* is a small round fruit, which takes its name from the delightful fragrance which it has. It is not very palatable, however; and it is seldom eaten.

The *Granadilla* is a large fruit which grows on a vine. It is about as large as a moderate sized cantelope. No part of the fruit is eaten, except the seeds and the mucilagenous substance by which they are surrounded. These are loosely confined in the centre of the fruit. The taste of this mucilage resembles the American strawberry more than any other fruit with which I am acquainted.

The *Sorrel* is a large shrub, having deep-red blossoms; which are often used for making tarts. It grows freely in Liberia, and it is a very handsome ornament to a yard or garden.

The *Chiota* is the fruit of a vine. It is about as large as an ordinary pear. When properly prepared, by stewing, it affords a wholesome, palatable, and nutritious article of food; and it may be easily raised in Liberia.

The celebrated bread fruit, of the island of Tahiti, which was introduced into the British West-India Islands, by order of the government, will grow well in Liberia. But, as there are so many other articles of a somewhat similar kind, which are preferable to it, it is seldom used.

I have seen several other indigenous fruits in Liberia; some of which are very palatable; some very fragrant, but not very acceptable to the palate; and others not possessing any good qualities to recommend them. And there are many other kinds of fruits, peculiar to tropical climates, which, no doubt, would thrive well in Liberia; but which have not yet been introduced. I have alluded to those only which I have seen growing there, and of which I have eaten.

SKETCH—No. 5

Productions—*Continued.*—In addition to the vegetable productions of Liberia, to which I have alluded, there are some others which are worthy of particular notice; especially as they are the principal exportable articles, some of which may be rendered very profitable articles of commerce. These are, Coffee, Ginger, Pepper, Sugar, Ground-nuts, Indigo, Cotton, and Arrow-root.

In reference to *Coffee*, I am quite satisfied that the soil and climate of Liberia are as well adapted to the cultivation of this article, as the soil and climate of any other part of the world. I believe that as good coffee can be raised in Liberia as in Mocha or Java; and I have no doubt that, by proper attention, it may be raised as plentifully as in any other part of the world. These

opinions are not hastily formed, but are founded on personal observations in some of the West India Islands, as well as in Liberia, and on frequent conversations with persons who have visited various other parts of the world in which coffee is cultivated. I have frequently seen isolated trees growing in different parts of Liberia, which have yielded from ten to twenty pounds of clean dry coffee at one picking; and, however incredible it may appear, it is a fact, that one tree in Monrovia yielded four and a half bushels of coffee, in the hull, at one time; which, on being shelled and dried, weighed *thirty-one pounds*. This is the largest quantity of which I ever heard, as having been gathered from one tree; and it is the largest coffee tree I ever saw, being upwards of twenty feet high, and of proportionate dimensions.

I have given particular attention to observations and investigations, respecting the cultivation of coffee in Liberia; and, I think I may safely set down the average quantity which may be raised, by proper cultivation, at four pounds to each tree—that is, each tree of six years old and upwards. The coffee tree will begin to bear in three years from the time at which the seeds are planted. At the end of the fourth year, the average quantity may be set down at one pound to each tree; at the end of the fifth year, two and a half pounds; and, at the end of the sixth year, four pounds. About three hundred trees can be planted in one acre of ground, allowing the trees to be twelve feet apart. Therefore, in four years from the time the seeds are planted in the nursery, 300 pounds of coffee may be gathered, which, at ten cents a pound, (a very moderate rate for Liberia coffee, which has frequently been sold for twenty cents a pound in this country,) would be worth $30. At the end of the fifth year, 750 pounds may be gathered—worth $75; and at the end of the sixth year, 1,200 pounds—worth $120. So that, in six years from the time of the planting of the seeds, agreeably to this calculation, 2,250 pounds of coffee may be produced on one acre of ground—worth $225. And, accordingly, ten acres, properly cultivated, will yield during the first six years, an income of $2,250; and at least $1,200 during each succeeding year.

This calculation I regard as pretty nearly correct; but even admitting that I have set down the quantities and the value at one fourth more than they should be, it will still appear, that the cultivation of coffee may be rendered a source of wealth in Liberia, even supposing that nothing else could be raised for exportation, which is by no means the case. I am quite satisfied that at least $100 a year may be realized, by proper management, from the produce of one acre of ground cultivated in coffee, after the sixth year from the time of planting of the grains in the nursery. And, as it does not require much labor, one person may easily cultivate three acres, with a little hired assistance in clearing the land, and may devote one half of his time, or more, to the cultivation of other articles, for the use of himself and family, and for sale; and he need not work more than five or six hours a day. So that, by industry, prudence, and economy, any man may realize at least $300 a year for his labor, over and above the necessary expenditures of himself and family; the other articles which he may raise being quite sufficient for the comfortable support of his household. I am aware that the truthfulness of this statement has seldom been exhibited in the agricultural operations of the citizens of Liberia; but this fact does not necessarily confute the truth of the statement, nor does

it sufficiently exhibit the impracticability of its being fully and easily carried out. And I might add, that it does not require the exercise of profound wisdom, even in a cursory observer, to discover the real cause why the feasibility of the result of the foregoing calculation is not more frequently exhibited.

Coffee is indigenous in Liberia. It may frequently be seen wild in the woods. It is, however, much improved by cultivation. The most approved method of raising it, is to plant the grains in a nursery, and to transplant when the tree has attained the height of a foot and a half. Some trees arrive at their full growth in five or six years; while others continue to grow more than double that length of time. The grains grow in pairs, covered with a hull, from which they can be easily separated when dry. The coffee blossom is a beautiful and highly fragrant little white flower, and the berry, when fully ripe, is of a pale red color. The average height of full grown trees is about eight feet. They continue to bear from ten to twenty years. I have seen some fine flourishing trees, which were upwards of twenty years old. As the coffee tree is easily cultivated, and as the fruit is easily cured, the cultivation of this profitable and useful article should occupy a portion of the time of every family in Liberia.

Next to coffee, perhaps *Ginger* may be made the most profitable article of culture, for exportation. The superior quality of this article, and the peculiar adaptation of almost every kind of soil in Liberia, to its abundant growth, justifies the opinion that it may be rendered a very profitable article of commerce. It will certainly grow as well in Liberia as in any other part of the world; and, in quality, it is scarcely inferior to the best that is produced in any other country. I have no certain data from which I can determine the average quantity of ginger which may be raised on a given quantity of land; but, from what I have seen, I am quite satisfied that it may be raised in great abundance, with very little labor. The average increase is at least twenty-fold, when properly cultivated. From six to eight months is the time usually required for its growth and maturation.

Bird pepper, which is known in the United States as "African Cayenne Pepper," is an indigenous article, which may be found almost every where throughout Liberia. I have frequently seen great quantities of it growing wild in the woods. And if a little attention were given to the cultivation of it, thousands of pounds might be annually exported. It grows on bushes about four feet high. The pods are generally about half an inch long, and one third of an inch in circumference. One species, however, is four or five times this size. The smaller kind is generally prefered. In quality, it is perhaps not equalled by that raised in any other country. The cultivation of it requires scarcely any attention; and the only preparation of it for the market, consists in picking the pods and spreading them out to dry. The shrub grows very rapidly, and the fruit arrives at maturity in six or eight months from the time of planting. It yields more abundantly about the beginning of the year, but as the fruit continues to be reproduced throughout the year, it may be collected at any time. The natives use it very freely. It is not uncommon to see them with a bunch of pepper in one hand and a roasted cassada in the other, taking, with each bite of the latter, one of the pods of the former, one of which pods would serve to pepper a full meal for a person not so accustomed to its use. Perhaps the reader of this may wonder why pepper is not more freely gathered and exported, as it grows so abundantly in the wild state, and as it may be so very

easily cultivated. To this I can only respond, echo answers, why?

Sugar-cane will, perhaps, thrive as well in Liberia, as in any other country. I have seen stalks more than fifteen feet high, and two or three inches in diameter. The average size of the stalks is considerably larger than those which are raised in the island of Barbadoes, and the juice is equally sweet, and proportionably more abundant. This I have tested, by personal observations. Sugar, however, probably will not soon become a profitable article of exportation, in consequence of the inability of the Liberians to compete with the West India planters. Liberia, however, may be, and it ought to be, independent of all the rest of the world, for this luxury. Every farmer ought to raise, not only enough of this article for the use of his own family, but some to dispose of to his mercantile, mechanical, and professional neighbors. And, even if he cannot conveniently manufacture the sugar, in any considerable quantity, he can certainly express enough of the juice in a few hours, with his own hands, in a mill of his own construction, to make several gallons of *syrup*, (not molasses but a much better article,) which answers very well for every practical or necessary purpose.

Ground-nuts, or pea-nuts, may be raised in great abundance, in Liberia. And, as these nuts generally find a ready market in the United States, and in Europe; they certainly will richly repay the Liberian farmer for the little trouble and labor which their cultivation requires. I do not know what quantity may be raised on a given portion of land, but I do know that they yield very abundantly.

Although the cultivation of *Indigo* has not met with much attention in Liberia—comparatively few persons having given any attention at all to it—yet, as the indigo plant grows so luxuriantly, and may be raised so easily, the manufacture of indigo is certainly worthy of particular notice. The plant grows so abundantly in Liberia, that it constitutes one of the most troublesome weeds in the gardens, and even in the streets of the settlements. And, with a little skill and industry, in preparing the indigo, it may be rendered one of the most profitable crops that can be produced in tropical climates. The plant arrives at maturity in three or four months from the time of planting the seed, and as it springs up again, in a few weeks after having been cut, one crop will yield five or six cuttings in the course of the year. Several varieties of the indigo plant may be found growing wild in Liberia, all of which yield very fine indigo, some of which is perhaps equal to that produced in any other part of the world. The preparation of indigo requires a little more patience and industry, than the Liberians generally are in the habit of bestowing on any one article of agriculture; which is the principal cause why it has not been more extensively manufactured.

Cotton has not yet been cultivated to a sufficient extent, to enable me to determine from observation, whether it may be made a very profitable article of agriculture. Several old cotton planters, who had grown grey in raising cotton in Georgia, Mississippi, and other Southern States, before they went to Liberia, have repeatedly told me, that the cotton-tree or shrub will grow as well, and yield as abundantly in Liberia, as in any part of the United States. As I have never seen the cotton-tree growing in the United States, I cannot institute a comparison, from my own observations. But I have seen some fine trees growing in Liberia, and yielding cotton equal in quality to the best I ever saw from the valley of the Mississippi. The natives in the interior

manufacture cotton goods pretty extensively from one species of the indigenous growth. There are several species or varieties of cotton in Liberia. The best grows on trees or shrubs ten or twelve feet high—similar to those raised in the United States, but perhaps larger in the average size. And, as the trees are not injured by frosts, of course they continue to bear for several years. One species grows on trees of immense dimensions—some of them being more than twenty feet in circumference. The cotton, however, which is produced by those large trees, is very different from that raised on the small trees. It has a yellowish cast; and it is more like raw silk in appearance and texture; but, as it has very little staple, it is seldom gathered for any purpose.

Arrow-root probably thrives as well in Liberia, as in any other part of the world. This is a tender plant, which usually grows to the height of two or three feet. The stems, of which several rise from the same root, are round, branched, jointed, and leafy. The leaves resemble the common sword-grass. They are alternate; and are from three to six inches in length. The root, which is the only part used, is beautifully cylindrical, straight, and tapering, (hence the name of the plant,) fleshy, scaly, and furnished with numerous long, white fibres; and is usually from three to eight inches in length. This plant is one of the most luxurious growths in Liberia. It is easily propagated, and it arrives at maturity in about five months. In preparing it for use, the roots are washed, and then beat into a pulp, which is thrown into a tub of water, and agitated, so as to separate the fibres from the amylaceous part; the latter of which remains suspended in the water, while the former is removed. The milky fluid, thus formed, is strained, and allowed to stand several hours, until the fecula, or starch, shall have settled at the bottom of the vessel. It is then washed with a fresh portion of water, strained again, and allowed to subside again; this process sometimes being performed three or four times; after which, it is spread out, and dried in the sun. About eight pounds of the pure powder or flour may be procured from a bushel of the roots.

As arrow-root may be produced so abundantly in Liberia; and as it is one of the most important exportable articles; as well as one of the most valuable articles of food; it deserves particular notice. The cultivation of the plant requires so little labor or attention, and the process of manufacturing the fecula from the roots is so very simple and so easily performed that I am quite certain this article may be rendered a source of wealth by exportation. From having frequently seen it growing, and having seen the quantity which a very small piece of ground produced, I think the average quantity which may be raised on almost every kind of soil in Liberia, may be safely and truly set down at one-hundred bushels to the acre; that is, eight hundred pounds of pure manufactured arrow-root, or fecula. An old gentleman at Monrovia, who has raised a considerable quantity of it, stated to me, that, from the quantity which he has made from a certain portion of land, he was quite satisfied that one acre, properly cultivated, will yield two thousand pounds. And a farmer at Caldwell assured me that he made one hundred and thirty pounds from the produce of one-sixteenth of an acre of ground. But, as it will be perceived, I have placed the average quantity at less than one-half of the proportionate quantity which has actually been raised; and this, I think, is not beyond a fair estimate. Assuming

therefore, that one-half an acre will produce four hundred pounds, (a quantity which almost any family may easily raise and manufacture,) and allowing the average net price to be only fifteen cents a pound; it will appear that $60 may be realized from this small quantity of land; with comparatively little labor.

During the last year or two arrow-root has been used pretty extensively in Liberia, as a substitute for wheat-flour; and, as I have frequently eaten it, in various forms of bread, I hesitate not to say, that I believe it to be not only a good substitute for flour, but much more suitable and wholesome for persons residing in tropical climates. It makes very fine biscuits, either alone or when mixed with a small quantity of sweet potatoes. It also makes very good pie-crust; and I have seen light or leavened bread, made of arrow-root, which so much resembled wheat-flour bread, in both appearance and taste, as to deceive professed judges. Besides these, I have eaten the nicest kind of pound and other sweet cakes, made of this article, instead of flour, with the ordinary adjuvants. And I beg leave to say, that I regard myself as a tolerably good judge of good eating.

The foregoing named articles constitute the principal exportable articles of agriculture, which may be raised in Liberia. And I have endeavored to give faithful and truthful statements, in reference to each of them. And, while I regret that greater attention has not yet been given to the cultivation of these articles; I cherish the hope that the period will arrive, at which all of them will be cultivated extensively; if not by the present inhabitants, by others who may emigrate thither, having more energy, industry, and perseverance. I candidly believe, that a man may acquire more wealth in Liberia, by judicious management in the cultivation of the soil, than he could acquire in any part of the United States, with double the quantity of land, double the amount of labor, and in double the length of time; even allowing for all the disadvantages under which he may have to labor in Liberia, and all the facilities which he might have in the United States. I am quite certain that by pursuing a regular, systematic and persevering course of agricultural industry and frugality, the citizens of Liberia may, with no other means than those which every individual can readily procure, produce not only enough of those articles which are peculiar to tropical climates, for their own use, but a large surplus, for exportation. And, any man in Liberia, who enjoys a tolerable degree of health, and who does not live comfortably and independently, may, without any violation of the principles of truth or justice, charge the deficiency to his own account.

SKETCH—No. 6.

Productions—*Continued.*—One of the most important and valuable indigenous articles of the vegetable kingdom in intertropical Africa, is the *Palm;* which is one of the most remarkable and useful trees in the world. There are two or three species of the palm in Liberia; one of which, by its towering height and graceful appearance, attracts particular attention. The tree which yields the nuts from which oil is extracted, seldom grows to the height of more than twenty-five feet. It resembles the cocoanut tree, having, like that, long leaves or branches, which are attached to the upper part of the body of the tree, and which hang in graceful curves. The fruit grows in clusters or branches, near the base of the stalks of the leaves. The nut is oval, about an inch long; and, when ripe is of a deep red color. The oil is extracted from the pulp

of the nut, which yields very abundantly. It is manufactured by the natives; and several hundred thousand gallons are annually exported from Liberia. Palm trees may be seen in every part of Liberia, adorning the hills and valleys; and furnishing not only great quantities of oil for exportation, as well as for domestic uses, but yielding a variety of other useful substances;—a peculiar beverage called "palm wine," which is procured by tapping the tree, and which in taste very much resembles wine-whey; also a substance which grows at the top of the tree, called "palm-cabbage"; and which, when boiled, has an agreeable taste;—and from the fibres of the leaves, the natives get materials for making baskets, hats, &c. Palm oil is extensively used by the Liberians as a substitute for sperm oil and candles; and also in culinary operations, as a substitute for lard and butter. And, for all needful purposes, to which those articles are applied, it answers very well. The average price of palm oil in Liberia is about thirty-three cents a gallon.

Another valuable tree, which is indigenous and peculiar to intertropical Africa, is the *Cam wood;* which grows abundantly in the forests, about a hundred miles from the coast. This is one of the most valuable dye-woods in the world; and hundreds of tons are annually exported from Liberia.

The *Palma-cristi*, the seeds of which yield *castor oil*, is also indigenous in Liberia; and I have no doubt that the regular cultivation of this valuable shrub would richly repay the laborer for the little trouble which it would require.

The tree which yields the medicinal balsam, called *Copaiva*, may also be seen occasionally growing wild in the forests of Liberia; and I doubt not that the juice might be collected in sufficient quantities, to become a valuable article of exportation.

Several species of the *Acacia* (Gum Arabic tree) grow in Liberia; and some of the gum is of superior quality.

I have seen some specimens of *Olibanum*, (Frankincense,) which, as the natives informed me, were collected from large trees which grow abundantly in the forest.

I have frequently seen the *Caoutchouc* or Gum-elastic tree growing in Liberia; some of which are forty-feet, or more, in height.

The forests of Liberia also furnish many different kinds of valuable timber, well suited for ship or boat building, cabinet work, and all the various operations in carpentry; the principal of which are Wistmore, Brimstone, Rose-wood, Mulberry, Bastard Mahogany, Saffron, Mangrove, African Oak, Hickory, Poplar, Persimmon and Sassa-wood. Some of these make very beautiful cabinet work.

A considerable variety of medicinal plants, besides those to which I have alluded, may be found in Liberia; among which is the *Croton Tiglium*, a small tree or shrub, with spreading branches, yielding a capsular fruit, from the seeds of which the Croton oil is extracted.

Animals.—The principal *wild animals* which infest the forests or rivers of Liberia, are the Elephant, Leopard, Hippopotamus, Crocodile, Porcupine, Wild Hog, Boa Constictor, several species of the Deer, and several species of the Ape.

Elephants are quite numerous about a hundred miles back in the interior; and the natives make a regular business of hunting and killing them, for the *ivory* of which their tusks are composed. These animals were formerly frequently seen in the vicinity of some of the settlements; but they are now seldom seen within fifty miles of the sea-coast.

Leopards are occasionally seen prowling

about the outskirts of some of the settlements; and they sometimes carry away small domesticated animals at night. But they are much less numerous and troublesome, than formerly. They never attack a person, except after having been wounded.

Hippopotami are occasionally seen on the banks of the river, some of them of immense size—weighing a thousand pounds or more. They are sometimes killed by the natives. They are harmless animals; and they always endeavor to escape, when interrupted, by plunging into the water.

Crocodiles (erroneously called Alligators) are frequently seen basking in the sunshine on the banks of the rivers, or on the little rocky islands. They always make their escape into the water, when approached by a person on shore, or in a boat or canoe.

Boa Constrictors are sometimes killed in the forests in Liberia. The largest I ever saw was fifteen feet long, and fifteen inches in circumference. Much larger ones have been killed. I never heard of their attacking an individual. Serpents, however, are much less numerous in Liberia than is generally supposed; and poisonous snakes are perhaps less common than in many parts of the United States.

Deer are very numerous; and they afford excellent venison.

Monkeys are found in great numbers in the forests. I have seen a dozen, or more, at one time, jumping from tree to tree, with great dexterity. Several species of the ape tribe are occasionally caught by the natives; among which is the *Chimpanzee*, so remarkable for its near approximation in appearance to the human race. Some of these "wild men of the woods" have been seen as large as an ordinary sized man. The largest that I ever saw was about the size of a child two or three years old. The old ones are never caught, and are seldom killed. They are very powerful, as well as very active.

Besides these, the *Guana*, the *Ichneumon*, the *Sloth*, the beautiful and ever-changing *Chamelion*, many varities of *Lizards*, and several species of *Ants* may frequently be seen.

One variety or species of ants is very remarkable, in consequence of the immense conical mounds of earth which they rear, and in which they make their nests. These mounds are sometimes ten or twelve feet high, and eight or ten feet in diameter at the base. These ants are about the size of the large black ant in the United States. The *queen*, however, is much larger—some of them two inches in length and nearly two inches in circumference. In the interior of the mounds, about half-way from the bottom, is a large vaulted chamber, the floor of which is very hard and smooth. In the centre of the floor is the nest, in the inmost recess of which, lives the queen in luxurious ease, accompanied by the king, whose size does not vary much from the ordinary ant, but who is easily recognized by a striking difference in physical conformation. Whenever the queen dies, or is captured, all the ants desert the hill; which is left to "crumble into dust again." Many of these deserted mounds may be seen in almost every part of Liberia.

Another species of ants (familiarly known by the name of *Drivers*) is still more remarkable. They are about the size of the black ant of America—that is, about one fourth to one half of an inch in length. They may frequently be seen marching along, in the most systematic order, and regularity of movement. They move in a solid compact column of great length; and they appear to be under the direction of able leaders and rigid disciplinarians. No common obstacle turns them out of their

course; and whosoever is so unfortunate as to come in their line of march, will have to pay for his temerity; and will be reminded to be more careful in future. Hundreds seize fiercely on the intruding foot; and the unwary object of their vengeance is compelled to retreat from the scene of attack. These tiny warriors are very troublesome; but they are exceedingly useful in expelling noxious vermin from every place into which they may enter in the course of their perambulations. Whenever a battalion of drivers enters a dwelling house, the inmates are obliged, for the time, to yield undisputed possession, at least of that part of the house which the little warriors may be searching. They are not, however, always unwelcome visitors; for they never fail to expel rats, mice, and every species of vermin; making a clean sweep as they go. Whenever they come to a small water-course, the larger and stronger ones dexterously form themselves into an arch, by clinging to each other; thus making a bridge, over which the smaller ones pass dry shod. Even in their ordinary march over level ground, they seem to cling to each other in a solid phalnax; the stronger ones occupying the flanks, and arching themselves over the weaker ones, who occupy the centre, and who are thus protected by the others.

All kinds of animals, both large and small, are afraid of drivers; nor have they any regard to size, in the objects of their warfare. They are very useful in chasing away or killing snakes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, &c., which, were it not for the drivers, would be exceedingly troublesome, and even dangerous. Whenever they visit a house, they search it all over, and expel every living, moving thing, that they find; after which, they retire peaceably, and yield possession to the former occupants. They make their nests beneath the surface of the ground; and I presume they sally forth from their quarters only in search of food; at which times, the line of march is sometimes a hundred yards, or more, in length.

The principal *domesticated animals* in Liberia, are Bullocks or Beeves, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Swine, Geese, Turkeys, Ducks, and Chickens.

Beeves are frequently brought into the settlements for sale by the natives, and they are sometimes raised by the citizens. They may be raised easily in any desirable quantity.

Cows are numerous, but they do not give much milk. Some of the cows which are brought from the interior, one or two hundred miles from the coast, are as large as ordinary cows in the United States; but they do not give half so much milk. If properly attended to, however, I think they would afford milk much more plentifully.

Sheep and *goats* can be very easily raised in Liberia—as easily, perhaps, as in any other part of the world; and they both afford good wholesome animal food. The sheep are covered with hair instead of wool. The goats furnish very good milk.

Swine do not thrive so well in Liberia as in some parts of the United States; but they can be raised in sufficient abundance for the wants of the people.

Geese and *Ducks* may be raised without any more difficulty than in the United States; and within a few years past *Turkeys* have become much more plentiful than they formerly were.

Perhaps in no other part of the world can *Chickens* be raised more easily and more plentifully, than in Liberia. With very little trouble, every family may always have a sufficient supply of chickens.

Horses are plentiful in the interior, within three hundred miles of the coast, but they do not thrive well in the settlements; perhaps in consequence principally of the want of proper management. They are occasionally brought down by the natives, and some of them are very beautiful. They are small—seldom more than twelve hands high. I am quite satisfied that they never can be used to much advantage, as draft animals, in the present settlements of Liberia. But for all necessary purposes, the native oxen can be used as a substitute for horses. I have seen some of the small bullocks broken to the yoke, and working steadily and effectually. The Liberians, however, have not yet given much attention to the breaking and working of oxen—by no means as much as they ought to to give. I trust that the time may not be distant, when the plough and the cart will be much more extensively used, than at present.

SKETCH—No. 7.

Diseases.—The physical system of every individual who removes from a temperate to a tropical climate must undergo some change—must experience some process of acclimation; which may, or may not be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to the constitutional peculiarites of the individual, the nature of the surrounding country, the previous habits of life, the situation at the time with respect to regimen, comforts, &c.; and by no means the least, the state of the mind with respect to calmness and patience, or irritability and disquietude; together with other imaginable circumstances. So that the developments of fever are exceedingly various, requiring various methods of treatment—each method to be adapted to the individual case, as circumstances may require. Hence, the impossibility of furnishing an exact or complete treatise on the subject—of setting down any characteristic marks of the *Acclimating Fever*, or of adopting any partieular mode of treatment.

Instead of pursuing a systematic course of treatment in all the cases which came under my observation, I was obliged to lay aside all plans, and to modify my treatment in such a manner as necessarily to discountenance, to a considerable extent, all the labored theories of medical writers, relative to the diseases of tropical climates. The leading object which I always had in view in the treatment of this and all other diseases, and which I regard as of the greatest importance, was, to preserve the natural strength of the patient, as much as possible—to avoid the too free use of any means by which the system might be greatly or unnecessarily debilitated. Consequently, I seldom used very active purgatives, and scarcely ever resorted to the lancet; and consequently, I used very little wine, brandy, or any other kind of stimulant, to bring the patient up after he had been brought down by debilitating treatment. And, not unfrequently, my patients were able to walk about within a few days, after having experienced what at first was regarded as an unusually violent attack. The rapid convalescence of some of them was indeed astonishing to myself.

Some persons, in passing through the physical change, or process of acclimation, have so little fever that they do not require medical treatment at all. And I have no doubt that many persons might pass safely through the acclimating process without taking a grain of medicine, if they could or would exercise the necessary precautions in the preservation of health; such as proper attention to their habits, diet and clothing, to the extent of exposure to the heat of the day, as well as to the damp and chilling

night-air, and especially to the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude.

In some cases, the physical system becomes sufficiently adapted to the climate to resist the surrounding deleterious influences, in two or three months. In other cases, a year or more elapses before this desirable point is reached. And in some cases, the physical system and the climate seem to be at variance for several years.

In the course of my observations in the treatment of the acclimating fever, I frequently noticed that persons who had previously suffered from local inflammatory affections were extremely liable to have a recurrence of some or all of the symptoms of the old disorder, in consequence of the previously inflamed organ or tissue being the "weak point" in the system. And in some cases, persons who might have enjoyed tolerable health in the United States die very soon after their arrival in Liberia, in consequence of the physical system not being sufficiently vigorous to undergo the necessary change, in order to become adapted to the climate. Hence the impropriety of persons emigrating to Liberia whose constitutions have become much impaired by previous disease, by intemperance, or otherwise. And hence the necessity of Missionary Societies being careful in regard to the physical as well as to the moral qualifications of those persons who offer themselves as missionaries to Africa.

The majority of persons from the United States who take up their residence in Liberia have some development of fever, in some form or other, within the first two months after their arrival. The most common form, perhaps, is that which medical writers generally call "Bilious Remitting Fever," which is usually simple in its character, and which generally yields readily, in a few days, to simple, mild, appropriate treatment. The first attack, however, is generally followed, within a few days or weeks, by a second similar, or nearly similar, attack, or, which is more common, by one or other of the varieties of the intermitting form of fever; and to this latter kind of fever the individual is more or less subject until his system shall have become sufficiently adapted to the climate and to the local influences of the country to resist their peculiar effects. Not unfrequently the first attack, as well as the subsequent ones, assumes the intermitting form; in most cases, however, attended with considerable biliary derangement. The fever seldom assumes a strictly continued form, is seldom inflammatory, and it seldom terminates in permanent congestion of any internal organ. The congestive and inflammatory forms are perhaps never exhibited, except in cases in which there is some striking constitutional peculiarity. Bilious vomiting frequently occurs, in both the remitting and intermitting forms; and sometimes gastric irritability prevails to a considerable extent, and renders the proper management of the case rather difficult. In all cases the tongue is considerably furred, and in many cases headach, more or less violent, continues during the continuance of the fever. Temporary delirium is sometimes present, during high febrile excitement; but it usually subsides with the remission or intermission of the fever.

In reference to the most successful mode of treatment, it is impossible to furnish any statement which will be sufficiently intelligible and comprehensive to justify the application of remedial medicinal means, without the judicious exercise of an enlightened judgment. I may, however, point out a few land-marks, and a few rocks and shoals, by which the untutored medical mariner may be able to steer his course with more safety than if he were entirely destitute of such information. And first, I would remark that there are two points of essential importance, which cannot be too

strongly impressed on the consideration of all persons who expect to reside in Liberia: The first is, the great advantage of mental as well as physical quietude, and patient resignation; which necessarily imply the avoidance, as much as possible, of both mental and physical irritability, of despondency or gloomy forebodings, and of distrust in Divine Providence. Whoever goes to Africa, ought to go with the expectation of living, and if he should get sick he ought to try to get well again—to avoid all excitement, and to endeavor to be cheerful and contented. The greatest difficulty with which I generally had to contend, in the treatment of the acclimating fever, was to prevent mental depression or despondency in my patients. And I have invariably found, in cases in which patients obstinately and pertinaciously yielded to despondency, and abandoned all hope of getting well, that, sooner or later, their expectations were realized, and death closed the scene. The other point to which I would direct particular attention is, the danger of using medicinal agents too freely—of relying too much on the curative virtues of medicines, and not giving due attention to auxiliary means; which indeed are often of much more importance than all the pills and powders of the doctor or the druggist. I am quite satisfied that the lives of many persons have been sacrificed in Liberia, by the too free or the injudicious use of medicines, especially calomel and drastic cathartics.

In reference to the use of calomel, I may state, that although I generally found the necessity for its use in the majority of cases of the acclimating fever which came under my treatment, yet I used it much more cautiously and sparingly than it is generally used by medical practitioners in the United States. I never gave more than eight grains at a time, and seldom gave more than fifteen grains during one attack of sickness. Whenever I found the necessity for its administration, in any case, I sometimes gave it in about two grain doses, at intervals of about two hours, usually in combination with some diaphoretic or sweating medicine, especially James' Powder. After three or four of these doses had been taken, I usually directed a moderate dose of castor oil to be taken, within ten or twelve hours after the first dose. In the beginning of an attack of fever, especially in those cases in which the tongue was much coated, and the patient complained of nausea, without free vomiting, I frequently gave a dose of calomel and ipecacuanha, in the proportion of six or eight grains of the former to about twenty of the latter. This dose usually produced sufficient action on the bowels, as well as vomiting. If it failed to move the bowels, I always directed some mild laxative afterwards—generally castor oil or rhubarb. In some cases I had no occasion to give any other medicine, during the attack, than the dose of calomel and ipecac; except generally, in the intermittent form, quinine to break up the periodicity of the attack. I never gave calomel with the intention of producing salivation:—this result I always endeavored to guard against; and, of the hundreds of cases which I treated, very few ever complained of the slightest soreness of the mouth. In the few cases, in which salivation resulted from the administration of calomel, in consequence of a strong constitutional tendency in the patients, I always observed that convalescence was more tedious—the patient requiring a longer time to regain his health and strength.

My favorite diaphoretics were, James' powder and sweet spirit of nitre; both of which I used frequently and freely. I generally found the latter of these two medicines very beneficial, in producing perspiration, when given during the febrile excitement, in the dose of about a teaspoon-

Medicines used in treating the acclimating fever.

ful, at intervals of an hour or two. I sometimes found it necessary to be more cautious in the administration of the former, especially in cases in which much tendency to gastric irritability existed. I seldom used nitrate of potash, (a favorite diaphoretic with some physicians in this country,) in consequence of the tendency, in many cases, to irritability of the stomach.

In reference to the use of opiates, I may state, that, although I frequently found them highly beneficial, under circumstances which peculiarly indicated the necessity of their being administered; yet, I always endeavored to avoid the use of them as much as possible, in consequence especially of their general astringent and constipating effects. Whenever the case seemed to demand the use of any opiate, and the bowels were not constipated, especially if they were looser than desirable, I generally gave free doses—seldom less than fifty drops of laudanum, or one-fourth of a grain of Morphine. In some cases, in which the general system was in a highly irritable condition—quick and feeble pulse, dry skin, and sometimes violent headach, and sleeplessness, with or without delirium, I sometimes gave about one-third of a grain of morphine, in combination with five or six grains of James' powder, at night; and generally the patient was decidedly better on the following morning; after having enjoyed refreshing sleep during the night. A teaspoonful of paregoric, under similar circumstances, sometimes also produces very beneficial effects. But the judicious administration of opiate medicines, requires the exercise of more skill and judgment, than most persons possess, who have not given particular attention to the study of the animal economy, and the effects of medicinal agents.

I would strongly discourage the use of Epsom salts, as a cathartic: the only way in which it ought to be given, (if at all,) is in broken doses—not more than a teaspoonful at a time: in some cases of eruptive diseases, it may be beneficially used in this way; but it should never be given in active purgative doses. This remark is applicable to all other hydrogogue and drastic cathartic medicines. A favorite combination with me, was three grains of calomel, one-sixth of a grain of tartar emetic, and six grains of compound extract of colocynth, made into two pills: I sometimes added one grain of gamboge; but I generally found the pills sufficiently active without the gamboge, if the medicines were good. This dose I used frequently to give, as an anti-bilious cathartic, and as a preparative for the administration of quinine, during an attack of intermittent fever. I have several times taken this combination myself, and always with decided benefit. As a mild, certain, and safe laxative, in cases in which the principal object was, to produce action of the bowels, I never found any thing to answer so well as castor oil. Rhubarb, either alone, or in combination with calcined magnesia, will sometimes answer very well.

I frequently found great advantage from the application of blistering plasters; especially to the pit of the stomach, in cases attended with much irritability of that organ. I generally found that the vomiting ceased as soon as the plaster began to produce its peculiar effects. I sometimes also applied a blister plaster to the back of the neck, in violent headach, with decided advantage. In cases attended with marked inflammatory action in the stomach—great tenderness to pressure, irritability, and other prominent symptoms, I sometimes resorted to local depletion, by cupping; and I sometimes applied cups to the temples,

to relieve the head. I, however, more frequently resorted to the free application of *leeches* in such cases. These little animals are very plentiful in Liberia, and they can be easily procured, at any time. They are about one-third the size of the ordinary foreign leeches, which are used in the United States, and they draw much less blood. I have had nearly a hundred of them applied to myself at one time.

In the intermittent form of fever, *Quinine* is the *remedium magnum*. I seldom failed to break up the attack, in a few days, by the judicious use of this medicine; which, perhaps, approaches more nearly to a specific, than any other medicinal article. Although I had frequent attacks of intermittent fever during my residence in Liberia; yet I never had more than three paroxysm, during any one attack; and I was generally able to prevent the third, by the use of this valuable remedy. My usual mode of taking or administering it, was in doses of about two grains, at intervals of two hours, commencing about eight hours before the time of the expected chill or ague; whenever circumstances would admit its administration in this way. Sometimes, I gave it at intervals of one hour, commencing four or five hours before the time of the expected paroxysm. I generally found eight or ten grains to be sufficient. In cases in which the chill or ague came on early in the forenoon—say 7 or 8 o'clock—I generally gave a single dose of about five grains, within an hour of the time at which the paroxysm was expected. In most cases, I believe one such dose would prevent an ague, if it could be taken within an hour of the expected attack. But, in consequence of more or less irregularity respecting the time at which a paroxysm might be expected, I generally found it necessary to commence the use of the quinine several hours previous to the time at which the preceding paroxysm made its appearance. It is best to continue the use of quinine two or three days after the chill or ague has been stopped, in two grain doses taken several times during the day.

I have but little confidence in the habitual use of wine, brandy, porter, ale, or any thing else of the kind, either as preventives of fever, or as tonics during convalescence, after an attack. The climate itself is too exciting and stimulating to the systems of new-comers generally; and, consequently, I always found it better to avoid the use of stimulating beverages; except in cases of great physical prostration by disease; in which some stimulating draught was imperatively demanded. During the first six months of my residence in Liberia, I always found the use of wine injurious, at any time, in my own case. And I am decidedly of opinion, that cold water is the best beverage, in Liberia as well as in the United States. The moderate use of wine or porter, or even brandy, may sometimes be advantageous, in those cases in which the system has become greatly enfeebled, by frequent attacks of fever, and by the protracted enervating influences of the climate; but, in the majority of cases, I think the use of such beverages ought to be entirely dispensed with.

I frequently found the use of various domestic remedies highly beneficial in the treatment of fevers in Liberia, particularly herb-teas, and the pepper cataplasm. The latter is almost universally used, instead of mustard; in consequence of pepper being more convenient, as well as more active in its effects. The pepper pods whether green or red, are cut into small pieces, and mixed with corn or rice meal, or wheat-flour, and water, and made into a poultice or plaster, in the same manner as mustard plasters are usually made. The burning effects of this poultice will be experienced in a few minutes. I have frequently found it to be very beneficial in relieving nausea or vomiting,

and also colic pains, when applied over the stomach or abdomen. It is also a powerful revulsive agent, when applied to the ankles, wrists, bottom of the feet, or calves of the legs; and it is peculiarly beneficial in some cases, in which the use of such an agent is indicated. The infusion of an herb called "fever tea," is generally very beneficial, as a diaphoretic, when taken warm, and as an agreeable beverage when taken cold, instead of water. Various other vegetable substances, which abound in Liberia, may be advantageously used, in making innocent and useful medicinal infusions.

SKETCH—No. 8.

Diseases—*Continued.*—In addition to the ordinary remittent and intermittent fevers, to which I have particularly alluded, I occasionally met with cases bearing some resemblance to other kinds of fever, which are usually described in medical books; but they were generally not sufficiently marked to justify the distinctive appellations of nosological arrangement. I never saw a well-marked case of yellow fever in Liberia; although this disease is frequently experienced at Sierra Leone, especially among European residents. Acute inflammatory diseases are not common in Liberia. I seldom met with distinctly marked cases of pleurisy, or of any other violent or active inflammatory disease. It is very fortunate that such affections are not common; for they are generally almost necessarily fatal in their termination.

Dysentery and diarrhea are by no means so common, as might be supposed. I seldom met with very obstinate cases of either of these diseases. Slight attacks of diarrhœa are occasionally brought on by the intemperate use of some kinds of fruits; and occasionally, in new-comers, by the too free use of some kinds of animal food, particularly fresh pork, beef, or fish. I met with a few cases of chronic dysentery; and I experienced two or three attacks myself. Rheumatism, both acute and chronic, occasionally occurs, never very violent, however, in either form. Dropsical affections are rather frequent; especially local anasarca, or dropsy of the cellular membrane beneath the skin—a consequence of general debility, produced by frequent attacks of fever, inattention to diet and clothing, and undue exposure. It is not uncommon for the feet and legs of persons to swell more or less, during the acclimating process; especially white persons, and bright mulattoes. This swelling generally gradually subsides, as the system becomes better adapted to the climate. Ascites, or dropsy of the abdomen, sometimes occurs, as a consequence of chronic affections of the liver or spleen, especially enlargement of one or both of these organs, after a long residence in the country. Such cases, however, are not so common as might be supposed. I never met with more than a dozen cases, during my residence in Liberia. No course of treatment which I ever pursued, in such cases, seemed to produce any decidedly beneficial effects.

Cutaneous affections are quite common; some of which are peculiar to the country or climate. Among the common eruptive diseases, measles and erysiphelas are most frequently observed. The former of these diseases prevailed very extensively throughout Liberia, in the early part of 1845; but it was generally milder than it usually is in the United States. The latter, erysiphelas, generally appears in a mild form, with very little or no febrile action in the system. In the early part of 1848, small-pox prevailed pretty extensively in one of the settlements; but, in nearly every case, it was in the modified form, called varioloid. This form of small-pox has several times prevailed, epidemically, in one or other of the settlements; but it seldom proved fatal. I

never saw but one case of genuine variola, in Liberia; although, in some cases, the small-pox contagion results in the exhibition of this form of the disease, during the epidemical prevalence of varioloid.

A peculiar endemical pustulous affection, called "craw-craw," or "kru-kru," sometimes attacks persons who are not very careful in regard to cleanliness. It is a very common disease among the natives, and it is generally regarded as being contageous. It is sometimes very painful and troublesome. Another disease of the skin, which is common among the natives, and which is occasionally observed among the Liberians, is the yaws; which consists of elevated excrescences, usually appearing in continuous clusters, and discharging a thin corrosive ichor. Sometimes the yaws appear on the soles of the feet, and prevent the patient from walking. Both these diseases are tedious and perplexing to both the patient and the doctor.

Lepra, or leprosy, is occasionally seen in Liberia; especially among the aborigines. This distressing disease usually appears in brownish blotches scattered over the body; from which a corrosive serous fluid is discharged. The toes and fingers frequently become ulcerated; and sometimes the unfortunate invalid looses all the fingers on one hand or both, or all the toes on the feet; and the soles of the feet are sometimes marked with deep fissures, or scooped out into ugly sores. The blotches on different parts of the body sometimes degenerate into foul and fetid ulcers of an irregular jagged appearance. This miserable disease sometimes continues to harass the individual for years; and it frequently results in death. I have, however, frequently seen native persons who had recovered, with the loss of a portion of their hands or feet, or of both, after having suffered excruciatingly for months or years. I never saw but one well-marked case among the Liberians, and that was in a very old man.

The most common and troublesome cutaneous affections, (if they may be so classed,) which occur in Liberia, are *indolent ulcers*; which sometimes appear spontaneously; but which generally result from injuries, by which the skin is broken. The texture of the cutaneous and the muscular fibre seems to be more lax in tropical than in temperate climates; and slight scratches, or abrasions of the skin, are much more liable to degenerate into ulcers,—the degree of liability depending on the constitutional temperament of individuals, their habits, mode of living, &c. White persons and mulattoes are more subject to ulcerous affections as well as to most other diseases, than black persons; in consequence, I presume, of their physical systems being less adapted to the peculiarities of the climate;—a fact which must be admitted by all. These ulcers, though not generally very painful, are exceedingly annoying; especially when they occur on the feet; and they do not generally heal readily; sometimes continuing for several months. If persons would be sufficiently careful to avoid injuries of the skin, they would not be very liable to these troublesome affections.

Chronic nervous diseases are not very common in Liberia. I occasionally met with hysteria in females; and I saw one or two cases of epilepsy, and one case of tetanus, or locked-jaw. Convulsive affections are very rarely met with, in either infants or adults. Paralytic affections are occasionally, though seldom, seen. I never saw a distinctly marked case of whooping-cough in Liberia; nor did I ever hear of its having prevailed epidemically.

Flatulent colic frequently demands the the attention of the physician. It is generally the result of the imprudent use of some indigestible article of food; and it

occurs more frequently in persons, during the first few months of their residence, than in older settlers. Sometimes the stomach and bowels become greatly distended with gas; and the patient suffers very violent pain in the abdomen. I had several attacks of this painful affection, during the first year of my residence in Liberia; the most violent of which was caused by the eating of a small piece of cheese. I was generally able to relieve the patient, afflicted with this disease, by the administration of a tea-spoonful of laudanum, followed by a full dose of castor oil; the operation of which was sometimes assisted by an active injection; together with the application of a large pepper poultice over the abdomen. In some cases, especially when attended with a tendency to diarrhea, I gave nothing but the laudanum; or, what sometimes had a better effect, a pill composed of one-sixth or one-fourth of a grain of morphine and two grains of camphor. Persons cannot be too careful in avoiding the use of such articles of food, as are not easily digestible.

A very common affection, especially among children, is that of *intestinal worms*. The most common kind of worms which infest the alimentary canal, is the ascares lumbricoides, or common round worm. All the other varieties, however, are sometimes observed. I have seen several cases, in which the individuals voided detached portions of the tenia, or tape-worm. In prescribing for patients having worms, I depended more on the free use of spirits of turpentine, combined with, or followed by, castor oil, than any other vermifuge, in all the varieties. Sometimes I gave a few grains of calomel, followed in three or four hours by a free dose of oil and turpentine.

In Liberia, as in other malarious countries or districts, cases of enlargement of the spleen—vulgarly called "fever-cake"—are frequently observed—the result of repeated attacks of intermittent fever. This is much more common in white than in colored residents: very few white persons, indeed, are able to live five years in Liberia, without having more or less enlargement of the spleen. It is more frequently met with in mulattoes than in black persons: indeed, I do not remember a single case which came under my observation, in a person of unadulterated African extraction; although I have no doubt that such persons are sometimes thus affected. The principal difficulty which usually arises from this affection, is, that it predisposes to dropsical affections. In many cases, however, dropsical effusions do not follow enlargement of the spleen; except occasional swelling of the lower extremities. A protracted sea-voyage, or a change of climate, is the only means with which I am acquainted, which will effect a reduction of this burdensome appendage.

Slight catarrhal affections, (influenza,) are occasionally experienced in Liberia; especially during the harmattan season; but these generally pass off in a few days, without any serious injury. I never knew a case to result in active inflammation of any part of the respiratory apparatus.

Some other diseases, which are common to most countries, may be occasionally observed in Liberia; but the variety is much less than in the United States; and, except in some old chronic affections, in broken-down constitutions, convalescence is generally much more rapid; in consequence of the less violence of the attack. Among the many attacks of fever which I experienced, I never was obliged to remain in my room more than a week, at any one time; and I very seldom was confined to my bed longer than twenty-four hours at a time. The danger in new-comers generally consists more in the frequency, than in the violence, of the attacks of sickness. And the majority of colored immigrants, who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of their health in Liberia, as an enlightened judgment would

"Sleepy Disease."

dictate, usually enjoy as good health, after the first year of their residence, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States. In some cases, indeed, the state of the health of immigrants is decidedly improved by the change of residence from America to Africa. The large majority of cases of sickness, which came under my observation, among those persons who had resided a year or more in Liberia, was in indolent, and consequently indigent, persons, whose prudence was commensurate with their improvidence. Indeed, in view of the heedlessness, carelessness, and indolence of many persons, who were scarcely ever sick, I was astonished at their continued exemption from disease.

I will conclude this brief medical history of Liberia, with a short notice of a peculiar endemic affection; which may be termed Lethargus, but which is commonly called the "Sleepy Disease." I have seen eight or ten cases of this somniferous malady; five or six of which were among persons who had emigrated from the United States. It is, however, much more frequently exhibited among the aborigines than among the Liberians. The only characteristic mark of this affection, is an irresistible tendency to sleep—the patient frequently falling asleep, even while eating. He can generally be easily aroused; but he almost immediately relapses into a state of profound slumber. The patient scarcely ever experiences the slightest pain; and no febrile symptoms are usually exhibited, until near the fatal close of the incurable malady. The appetite is usually voracious, and the bowels obstinately constipated. The food taken does not seem to nourish the system; in consequence of the disordered state of the organs of digestion and nutrition; the difficulty existing principally, perhaps, in the mesenteric glands. Indeed, the whole glandular system, including the lymphatic and the lacteal glands, seems to be in a torpid state, in this affection. No peculiar marks of disease are usually exhibited, on examinations after death. In all cases of which I have heard, the brain especially appeared to be in a healthy condition—at least, that organ exhibited no perceptible evidence of disease; and no other part of the body exhibited any peculiar organical affection; except some of the lymphatic glands, which presented an enlarged and inflamed appearance. Those about the neck generally appear considerably swelled; and the natives sometimes extirpate those enlarged glands, under the impression that they are the source of the affection; with what success in removing the disease may be readily imagined by any intelligent person, in whom the bump of credulity is not too largely developed.

Among the various causes of this strange affection, which have been assigned, perhaps no particular one can be fully relied on. Indolent habits, unwholesome and indigestible vegetable diet, together with some peculiar influence of the climate, associated with the prolonged action of miasmata or malaria, operating on a system peculiarly predisposed to lethargy, may be regarded as the exiciting cause, by which functional derangement of the nervous system is produced, resulting in a lost balance of the circulation, and a general functional impairment of the whole glandular apparatus of the body. The disease (if disease it may be called,) always approaches gradually; sometimes several months elapsing before it is fully developed. And, although I have had pretty fair opportunities of testing the virtues of various medicinal agents, in different stages of the disease; yet, I never was able to effect more than a temporary cessation of it, in the beginning, or a temporary mitigation of it, after its full development.

The most graphic notice of this lazy disease, with which I have met, is that given in the "Journal of an American Cruiser;"

and, as I saw the patient, in company with the author, I will subjoin an extract from that interesting little book. "We entered the hut without ceremony, and looked about us for old Mamma's beautiful granddaughter. But, on beholding the object of our search, a kind of remorse or dread came over us; such as often affects those who intrude upon the awfulness of slumber. The girl lay asleep in the adjoining apartment, on a mat that was spread over the hard ground; and with no pillow beneath her cheek. She slept so quietly, and drew such imperceptible breath, that I scarcely thought her alive. With some difficulty, she was aroused, and she awoke with a frightened cry—a strange and broken murmur, as if she were looking dimly out of her sleep, and knew not whether our figures were real, or only the phantasies of a dream. Her eyes were wild and glassy, and she seemed to be in pain. While awake, there was a nervous twitching about her mouth and in her fingers; but, being again extended on the mat, and left to herself, these symptoms of disquietude passed away; and she almost immediately sank again into the deep and heavy sleep, in which we found her. This poor girl had been suffering—no, not suffering, for, except when forcibly aroused, there appears to be no uneasiness, but she had been lingering two months in a disease peculiar to Africa—commonly called the 'sleepy disease.' Her aspect was inconceivably affecting. It was strange to behold her so quietly involved in sleep; from which it might be supposed she would awake so full of youthful life—and yet to know that this was no refreshing slumber; but a spell in which she was fast fading away from the eyes of those that loved her. Whatever might chance, be it grief or joy, the effect would be the same. Whoever should shake her by the arm—whether the accents of a friend fell feebly on her ear, or those of strangers, like ourselves, the only response would be that troubled cry; as of a spirit that hovered on the confines of both worlds, and could have sympathy with neither. The peal of the last trumpet only will summon her out of that mysterious sleep."

CONCLUSION.

Had I not been apprehensive that I might unnecessarily swell the size of this little work, by details which may be easily obtained from other sources, I might have dwelt, at considerable length, on the consideration of the nature of the civil government, and of the political institutions of Liberia.

I might also have made particular allusion to the results of missionary operations in Liberia, and its vicinity. But as there are various sources whence information may be derived on this subject; and as my situation did not afford me opportunities for making those frequent and protracted observations which I regard as necessary, in order to the presentation of strictly impartial and truthful statements, respecting the operations and results of the missionary enterprise; and also as such allusions and details do not come within the scope of the prescribed design of this work, it being intended particularly for the information of those persons who may be in search of truth, with the view of making Liberia the place of their future residence; I do not deem it necessary or proper for me to dwell on the detail of particulars, relative to the operations of missionary societies; especially as I do not regard myself as altogether competent, as before observed, to present full and faithful statements on this subject; and as I feel disposed to write only what I do know, and testify what I have seen.

In reference to the civil government of Liberia, I may here simply state, that it is based on the principles of republicanism; and, in every essential particular, it may be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States; the

only particular point of difference being in the name of the national assembly, which is styled Legislature instead of Congress; and in the time of service of the principal officers of the Government. The President is elected by the popular vote, for two years, and he is eligible to re-election.—The Senators, of whom there are two from each county—six in all—are elected for four years, and the Representatives, of whom there are eight in all, are elected for two years. The only cabinet officers who have yet been commissioned are, the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury, and the Attorney General. All the officers of justice are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the Republic is vested in a supreme court, a court of quarter sessions, in each county, and magistrate's courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen; consequently, white residents cannot hold any office in the Government.

Previous to the establishment of the Republic the current expenses of the Government were defrayed by the duties on importations; the average annual amount of which was about $8,000. But as additional expenses have been incurred by the change in the political relations, the amount derived from that source alone is not sufficient for the necessary expenditures in the support of the Government. Hence, the passage of a law at the first session of the Legislature of the Republic, in January 1848, by which the Government monopolises the trade in certain articles. It is calculated that the revenue arising from the profits on the sale of these articles, together with the custom duties, will be sufficient to meet the expenses of the Government. I am apprehensive that this governmental monopoly will not operate so well as some of its sanguine supporters imagine; and that circumstances will render it expedient for a system of direct taxation to be adopted, and carried into operation; or for a considerable increase of the tariff.

The Government of Liberia is now altogether in the hands, and under the entire management of the citizens of Liberia, no white person, on either side of the Atlantic, being, in any way, connected with its operations. And if the disputed question has not yet been fully settled, whether colored persons are capable of self-government or not, a few years will decide the point. The people of Liberia are now fairly "self-poised," and feeling confident, as I do, of the clemency and forbearance of all foreign nations towards that infant Republic, so long as the Government shall be maintained on the principles of national rectitude, (without which no government is worthy of encouragement,) I am quite satisfied that if the Republic of Liberia shall ingloriously fall, and her institutions be demolished, or if those institutions shall be voluntarily transferred to the control and management of any foreign power, the result will indubitably exhibit the melancholy fact, that the maintenance of an independent government by the colored race is at least, a subject of dubious practicability. I confidently hope, however, that the "lone star" of the Republic of Liberia, which is now culminating over a portion of the western coast of benighted Africa, will continue to shine, not like the brilliant meteor, or the erratic comet, but like the effulgent orb of day, which sheds his enlivening beams with increasing splendor as he ascends above the fleecy clouds which overhang the eastern sky.

In addition to the brief reflections which have been thrown out, in the different parts of this work, I would here make a few suggestions which may be worthy the particular attention of those persons who may emigrate to Liberia. The reader will, no doubt, be fully convinced, if he believes the statements herein exhibited, of the practicability of a comfortable competency being realized in Liberia, as the reward of indus-

try and frugality. And the intelligent man of color who is accustomed to observation and reflection cannot but be convinced that he may enjoy privileges there—the privileges of a freeman in the full import of the term, of which he is virtually deprived in every part of the United States, by the conventional rules of society among the dominant inheritors of a fairer complexion. But while I do not hesitate, in view of the facts set forth in this work, to recommend Liberia as an inviting field for enterprise, and a desirable place of residence; I may here state that, during my residence there, my eyes were not too frequently dazzled by captivating sights of agricultural industry, and of mechanical enterprise, to blind me to the conviction that much remains to be done, before the little African Republic can be regarded as an earthly paradise.

In reference to the cultivation of the soil, especially, which is the true road to independence in any country, I may remark, that comparatively few of the present citizens of Liberia are regularly and systematically engaged in this branch of practical industry. Unfortunately for the prosperity of Liberia, many of the earlier settlers fancied that they had found a more easy and more speedy highway to wealth, in the wholesale, retail, and demoralizing system of barter with their ignorant aboriginal neighbors; and many of their successors, lured on by this apparently accommodating means of ease and comfort, started their little crafts in the wakes of those of their predecessors; and not a few of them, in their eagerness to become rich, have failed to be warned by the disasters which attended many of those who preceded them. But happily for Liberia, the traffic in cam-wood and palm oil is becoming so unprofitable, in consequence of excess of competition, not only among the Liberians themselves, but among foreign traders, that it must soon occupy a station, as a source of wealth, inferior to that of the cultivation of the soil: the siren song of commercial experiment must give place to the cheerful hum of agricultural industry. I trust that the citizens of Liberia are generally becoming aroused to a consciousness of this important truth, and indeed during the last few years more attention has been given to agriculture than previously. Yet much remains to be accomplished, to demonstrate to distant nations the fact that Liberia is one of the most productive countries in the world; a fact, which I believe may, and I hope will be clearly demonstrated, by the quantity and quality of agricultural products which may be exported, and by the comfort and independence of a respectable yeomanry.

A more *regular*, *systematic*, and *persevering* course of farming operations must, however, be introduced. Greater attention ought also to be given to agricultural experiments, to develop the resources of the soil; and to ascertain the most appropriate periods of the year, for the planting of different vegetable substances. Much more attention should also be given to the raising of different kinds of stock; and to the introduction of various mechanical inventions, in carrying on agricultural operations.

One very important thing which has received very limited attention in Liberia, is that of fencing, or the enclosing of lots and fields; by the neglect of which, many persons have frequently lost the principal part of the fruits of their labor, in the tilling of the soil. Undoubtedly, the best fences which can be made in Liberia are those that are commonly called "growing fences," made by planting certain shrubs closely together, and trimming them occasionally. Several different kinds of shrubs may be easily and abundantly procured, for making these fences. And, with proper attention, a piece of land may, in two or three years, be thus securely and substan-

tially enclosed with a fence which will last many years.

Hitherto, the people of Liberia generally have been too easily intimidated or discouraged by comparatively small obstacles; some of which have been more imaginary than real. Difficulties, however, do really exist; but these difficulties are generally far less than those which exist in carrying on farming operations in any part of the United States. And I am quite satisfied that every thing which is really necessary for human subsistence and comfort, together with many luxuries, can be raised in Liberia, with much less labor than would be required to procure the necessaries of life in the United States.

Let the cultivation of the soil, then, receive that attention which it should receive, as the principal means of wealth—let a regular, systematic, and persevering course of agricultural operations be carried on; and the citizens of Liberia may live in ease and comfort and independence.

In tracing the various events connected with the rise and progress of the Republic of Liberia, no unprejudiced individual can for a moment doubt that the smiles of Heaven have rested upon it; and that the sheltering wings of a kind Providence have been spread over it for good—not only to the immigrants from this country, but to the benighted and degraded aborigines of Africa—a land which has so long been enveloped in the darkness of heathenism.—And, in view of the social and political position and relations of colored persons in the United States, contrasted with the position and relations of the free and independent citizens of that young Republic, it must be admitted by all candid persons, that the condition of those people in Liberia who are disposed to use the necessary appliances for making themselves truly independent, is vastly superior to that of free people of color in any part of this country.

Though many difficulties have been encountered in the progressive exaltation of the infant Colony to the present interesting and flourishing Republic, and though many obstacles will necessarily be presented to its onward progress; yet, it is clearly evident that the experiment has been fairly tried, the experiment of establishing on the coast of Africa a community and government of colored immigrants from this country,—and has been crowned with complete success;—a success even beyond the most sanguine expectations of the benevolent founders of the Colonization Society; who amidst difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, determined to try what could be done towards the establishment on the coast of Africa of an asylum and a home for the people of color of the United States; who, in the language of a public journalist, "are here restricted in the exercise of the very elementary principles of existence best calculated to expand and exalt the heart and mind," and who, in every part of this country, must continue to labor under political and social disadvantages; from which they can be fully rescued in no other way than by voluntarily emigrating to a country in which the restrictions that are here thrown around them cannot operate—a country in which they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

In the providence of God, by the efforts of those who have been "laborers together with him," such an asylum has been established:—difficulties which at first appeared almost insuperable have been overcome; and Liberia now presents an inviting field for commercial enterprise and agricultural industry, and a desirable home for all persons of color who wish to realize the privileges of freedom and the blessings of independence.

But while I would heartily recommend Liberia as a desirable place of residence for colored persons who are disposed to appreciate the advantages and to improve

the privileges there afforded, I would not advise any person to emigrate thither, who will not go cheerfully, and with a determination to try to overcome every obstacle that may be presented. I am decidedly of opinion, that, with a cheerful, contented mind, and industrious habits, colored persons may live more easily, more comfortably, and more independently than they can in the United States. In Liberia, however, as in all other new countries, industry and perseverance are necessary; and while to the man of enterprise and frugality it affords a desirable home, and promises a rich reward to his labors, it offers no encouragement to those who expect to live in luxurious ease and pampered indolence.

In conclusion, I would repeat, that I firmly believe that the hand of an overruling Providence has been extended over the progressive course of that little Republic. And, whatever may be said in opposition to the wise and benevolent scheme of Colonization; and however apparently plausible may be the objections of persons who are unfriendly to the cause; it is clearly evident to any individual whose mind is unprejudiced, especially to those who have had opportunities for personal observation and investigation as to the results of that enterprise, that it is one of the instruments in the hands of the Almighty Ruler of the universe for carrying out his wise designs with reference to Africa. And in view of what has already been accomplished, and of the incalculable amount of good which may yet be accomplished, through the instrumentality of the Colonization Society, and of the Republic of Liberia; surely no true friend of the colored race can consistently oppose the operations of the former, or withhold the expression or exhibition of a sincere desire for the continued prosperity of the latter.

Through the instrumentality of the Government of Liberia; much has been done towards the suppression of the nefarious traffic in slaves. Within the jurisdiction of that miniature Republic, whence, a few years ago, hundreds and thousands of miserable beings were transported, like inanimate objects of merchandize, to the western world, the slave-trade has been entirely abolished; and many of the contiguous native tribes have laid down their weapons of warfare, and have sought the protection of that Government. And I verily believe that God intends that the mental illumination of the degraded aborigines of Africa; is to be effected chiefly by her own returning civilized and christian children—by the influence and example of colored immigrants and teachers from this side of the Atlantic; carrying with them and introducing among the ignorant natives, habits of civilized life, and the blessings of the gospel of peace and salvation; and by the missionary labors of enlightened and converted native inhabitants. Thus shall the belligerant hordes of Africa be induced to convert their instruments of warfare into agricultural implements; thus shall the slave-trade be effectually and forever suppressed; and thus shall Ethiopia be taught to stretch out her hands unto God.

THE

ADVANTAGES

OF

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION,

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE NU PI KAPPA SOCIETY,

Of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.

BY REV. JAMES B. BRITTON,

Rector of St. Paul's Church, Chillicothe, Aug. 4, 1846.

"At home a boy can learn only what is taught him, but in a school he can learn what is taught to others."—QUINCTILLIAN.

SPRINGFIELD:
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1846.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NU PI KAPPA HALL,
KENYON COLLEGE, *August* 4, 1846.

REV. JAMES B. BRITTON,

Sir:

Immediately after hearing your very able and interesting address this evening, the Nu Pi Kappa Society convened and appointed the undersigned a Committee with instructions to obtain, if possible, a copy of the same for publication.

It is the wish of the Society, Sir, that the friends of our Alma Mater abroad, and the literary public generally, may, by a perusal of your address, have a share of the pleasure which we have experienced. If, therefore, you find it convenient and agreeable to comply with our request, you will not only exceedingly gratify us, but will also, we doubt not, afford much pleasure and advantage to the friends of learning in general.

Very Respectfully Yours,
JOSEPH F. SMITH,
WALTER M. SMALLWOOD,
SYLVESTER H. ROSECRANS,
Committee.

DELAWARE, *August* 9, 1846.

Messrs. J. F. SMITH,
W. M. SMALLWOOD,
S. H. ROSECRANS,

Gentlemen:

At your request I give you a copy of the address delivered before your Society, at Gambier. I have had no time to arrange it for publication, but as you deem it calculated to further the interests of education, I give it to you as it was delivered.

With assurances of Regard,
JAMES B. BRITTON.

ADDRESS.

Give me where to stand and I can move the world, said Archimedes, full of faith in the application of the power of the lever; and give me my subject, may one placed in the situation of him who now addresses you exclaim, and I will deliver an oration. It is one of the many floating maxims which will not bear a philosophical examination, that "a little learning is a dangerous thing,"—that we must "drink deep or taste not the Pierian Spring." There is another, not so poetical, and which, perhaps, is only a poor foundling, compared with the one boasting so noble a sire, which, nevertheless, is far more true. Divested of all the graces of diction, and in the situation of native beauty, when unadorned adorned the most;—it runs thus—but we leave it to be inferred. If your speaker were to regard as truth the euphonious distich of the poet, he would end his oration just where it began, for he appears before you as the orator of a literary society, connected with an institution of some reputation as a temple of the Muses, and a successor of the cloister, with none of the pretensions of the thorough scholar, claiming only to have a *little* learning. But although not even a Bachelor of Arts, he cannot boast of being either self-taught or self-made, but gladly remembers the nursing and stimulating influence of the School, the College, and the Theological Seminary.

Your call, my young friends, to address you on this occasion, stirred up within me the recollections of college life, for though your speaker bid farewell to classic shades, and Greek and Roman poets and orators as *studies* at least, a Sophomore only, the days of recitations and rhetorical exercises, of beloved chums and boyish frolics, cannot be forgotten. Sometimes, indeed, this memento of the past appears in so gloomy a light, that we feel disposed to throw the weight of our influence, from the sad lessons of *experience*, in the scale of *indifference* to all public institutions of learning, and to advise parents to be satisfied with home education; but other considerations come in to *modify* our views, and we take our stand as the advocate of Colleges, and turn our experience to account, in doing what we can to make them what they ought to be and what they may be. Our subject, therefore, on this occasion, shall be,—"*The advantages of Public Institutions of Learning;*" and we shall consider what they were originally designed to be, and the means of making them all they ought to be.

The great objection urged against public institutions of learning arises from a *moral* consideration, the indiscriminate intercourse which must exist between the comparatively pure and the contaminated and depraved, and it is a serious and most important objection; for who that has spent even a

small portion of his life under the roof of a College, can look back and not wish he could unlearn much that has been indelibly engraved upon the tablet of his memory. Yes, few indeed can come forth from the fiery ordeal of college life unscathed, and feel that they are in any degree in that blessed state of our first parents, without the knowledge of good and evil. Such are our headlong propensities that we must taste of the fruits of the forbidden tree *ourselves*, and cannot be satisfied with the experience of those who have gone before us, although they tell us, with common consent, that the way of the transgressor is hard. Like him who originally essayed to try the hard way of transgression, each youth is determined to have his *experience*, as addressing the Sun shining in his brightness, he thus in sighs began.—

> "O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,
> Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
> Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
> Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,
> O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
> That bring to my remembrance from what state
> I fell; how glorious once above thy sphere;
> Till pride and worse ambition threw me down.
> I understood not that a grateful mind
> By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
> Indebted and discharged; what burden then?"

And a happy thing it is that *we* do not have to feel with him,

> "But say I could repent, and could obtain
> By act of grace my former state; how soon
> Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
> What feign'd ambition swore? ease would recant
> Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
> This knows my Punisher; therefore as far
> From granting he, as I from begging peace."

Man is not, however, in the position of Satan.

But the same objection which is urged against a boy's going to College must be urged against his coming into the world; and if we regard creation as a blessing because it introduces us into this breathing, acting scene, and sets us afloat on the ocean of life, although at the same time many a gay and gallant bark must be wrecked ere it can reach its destined haven, then if we can show that college life is of great advantage to us on many accounts, we must hail it as a desirable state, although many an unsophisticated youth is deeply and permanently injured by its attendant evils. This principle seems to pervade the whole moral universe,—"the greatest amount of good for the greatest number of intelligent beings,"—and evil is but the necessary friction of the great wheel of destiny. Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, says the Scripture, although it teaches us to pray that Divine Providence may not place us in a state of temptation; and it is most true that no great character can be formed but in the furnace of fierce trial. It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, and the village Hampden

who the pretty tyrant of his *field* withstood, is the immortal Hampden, whose name is ever associated with a bold stand for the rights of man. Yes, happy is that youth, who, forced to stand up for himself, far away from the gentle mother's ever protecting arm, determines to resist the big coward who would crush him into obsequiousness and force him to do *wrong;* for this is but the first step in that noble career of life when a man can say Yes or No at the right time, and determine to do this, and not to do that.

Hammering, and pressing, and cutting, are required in order to turn the virgin gold into the glittering coin;—and no one can pursue the right onward course through life, keeping a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man, unless he has been tried in the fire, and beaten into shape, and pressed into symmetry, by temptations resisted and overcome. The *memory* of the evil, indeed, he cannot erase from his mind, but it is to be as *gods* when we know good and evil, and if we cannot eat of the tree of life and live forever in an *earthly* Paradise, we yet have within our grasp the means which will enable us to shout, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" and live forever *after* death.

Yes, a youth is exposed to the experience of a great amount of evil which might be spared him if kept under the parental roof, away from the constant pressure of those evil communications which corrupt good manners, but we contend for the *value* of that kind of conflict which he must wage against these evil communications. It is a part of education for the *future* conflicts of life, many of which he cannot avoid, and for which otherwise he may be poorly prepared, and we trust to show hereafter, that they may not be so awful in their consequences as they have been, if the right means are used to make Colleges what they ought to be. But in an *intellectual* point of view, how can he attain the same ends as are attained by College life in any other way, as the *general* rule at least. For the ends of a good education good teachers are needed, and there are very few individuals who unite in themselves the various qualifications for conferring knowledge of various kinds. A teacher to be all that is desirable should be apt to teach, and he should be a Classical, and Mathematical, and Scientific Scholar. But how are we ever to procure in one man teachers of all sciences? When we find *such* a teacher we may well wonder "how one small head could carry all he knew." But in a College there is a division of labor, and no teacher pretends to teach every branch of learning, and each one is left free to improve in that in which he excels, and to become excelsior. Teachers may be thus well paid, and the student derives the benefit of *varied* learning which he could not do from a *single* individual. Hence, too, the value of endowments in order that the faculty of a College may be independent of the number of students, and left free to pursue their studies and give the results to the world.

Again: What a stimulus it is to the mind of a youth to be brought into communion and fellowship with other and different minds among fellow-stu-

dents! How is the dull demon of sloth, and dreamy imaginations, driven out, and his place supplied by the spirit of energy and the determination to know and to do something to some purpose when we see others going ahead around us? "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war;"—and who can bear the degradation of black marks and not feel the stimulus of going up higher? The spirit of emulation is indeed an ingredient necessary for success in any thing, and although it may be seen sometimes in close alliance with envy, and at others, hand in hand with pride, yet when we have high authority for "provoking to love and good works," why should we not provoke and be provoked to *know*, as well as to love and to do. Many a youth, to fortune and to fame unknown, might not have been so, had he been brought into the conflict with other minds placed under similar circumstances, and stimulated by the influence of the daily recitation. Says the Poet,—

> "But knowledge, to their eyes, her ample page,
> Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;
> Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of the soul."

But wealth may "chill the genial current of the soul" as well as penury, and something more than the *pecuniary* means are requisite for the obtaining of a disciplined mind. A College class affords an arena in which it is glorious to be a victor. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend;" and the stimulus received by a contact with other minds, in like circumstances, is one which is good for the intellect, and many a man can date the beginning of a triumphant career in the peaceful campaigns of literature and usefulness, to the determination not to be *hindmost* in his class.

The Literary Societies of Colleges, too, have a good effect in stimulating to effort in the field of learning, although they may lead *some* to speak before they think. We remember with what solemn awe we used to eye the carefully closed and fastened doors of the Society room ere we became a member of one of them; and how we felt ourselves taking a step upwards when we were solemnly proposed, and with sage dignity admitted into the Sanctum Sanctorum. A *new motive* to be something was felt, and the dignity of our Society was to be maintained, and seldom should we find that confidence and resolution so necessary for a public speaker, unless in Colleges boys learned to imitate Senators.

College life, too, is favorable to physical development, if properly regulated, and we attach great importance to that part of education so essential for our happiness and usefulness in life. "*Sana mens in sano corpore*," should ever be the point we aim at. But how hard to drive the *solitary* student from his books! and how feeble the remonstrances of the anxious mother! But when recitation is over, and the shout rings on the campus, who can resist the impulse? Here is not work for work sake, or exercise because we *must* take it, but all is life and animation; friendship, social feeling, inclination,

all combine to prompt us to the cheerful sport. Oh, well do we remember the strolls, the sports, the racing, the swimming of by-gone days, when a disordered stomach was a thing unknown, and no foundation was laid for weak lungs and aching heads. Yes, it is a very *vivid* matter of recollection that the study bell at such times grated rather discordantly on the unwilling ear. These were indeed halcyon days, although many a study hour seemed then like a yoke we were unable to bear ; and thanks, earnest thanks, would we now render to faithful tutors, and dear friends, who listened to no vain excuses, and had no ear to foolish complaints. We say, then, our experience sustains the declaration that with *all* its evils college life is good for Spirit, Mind, and Body ; and what is education but the training of the *whole* man, the development, not of mere naked *intellect*, but of man as his Creator made him, a being fitted for two worlds, a moral, accountable, immortal being, a being placed under physical, intellectual and moral laws which he is to study and conform to, because transgression of any kind is forewarned by punishment?

Such being our idea of education, and viewing the knowledge of all the laws which govern us, and obedience to them as essential to the *happiness* of man, we proceed to show what was the *original design* of Colleges.

To discover this we must look at the characters and declared intentions of the *founders* of these institutions. The University of Oxford, in England, dates its origin from the age of Alfred the Great, and claims for its founder that Christian King. We read of him that he ascended the throne of England A. D., 872, when the Danes had extended their conquests very widely. One of the conditions required of the conquered invaders of his country, if they wished to remain, was the embracing of Christianity. He cultivated both arts and arms, was a lawgiver, and laid the foundation of the English navy, and it is well said of him, "His history, considering the times in which he lived, presents one of the most perfect examples on record, of the able and patriotic monarch united with the virtuous man." But whilst he improved his own mind by scientific studies, and labored to elevate his people in human knowledge and political greatness, he translated the Psalms into Anglo Saxon, and founded his school at Oxford, as a monument of the inseparable connection between Science and Religion,—the improvement of the mind and the devotion of the heart,—the greatness and the goodness of a nation.

Look at the *German* Universities too, and turn to the origin and design of our own *Cambridge*.

Our Puritan Fathers, many of whom had been students in the Cambridge of their native land, desired to rear for themselves and their posterity, an institution of learning and religion in "*nova Anglicana*," and more than 200 years ago that monument of the enlightened character of the Pilgrim Fathers, *good* men with all their faults, was set up, designed at the same time to strengthen and improve man in the powers of his mind, whilst it taught him to know and to make known to others, what he ought to believe and do for his *soul's*

health. Every institution of learning in our country which has not had this only *complete* system of education in view, has failed, or has been obliged to engraft it on its constitution. And I need not say that the founder of *this* institution was mindful of the experience of the past, and did not fail to manifest a far reaching foresight. Long may these walls endure, a memento of the love of learning and pious zeal of PHILANDER CHASE. Who would not give honor to whom honor is due? Who would forget his labors abroad in behalf of this institution of learning in the then wilderness of Ohio, now made to bud and blossom as the rose! There is no doubt as to what was in the mind of that man of untiring zeal for the glory of God and the good of his race, when he laid the foundation of Kenyon. Well he knew that religion and literature were inseparable companions; that study and devotion could not be divorced; that whosoever would put asunder what God had joined together, would only pull down his house upon his *own* head as well as on the heads of all connected with him. It was *education* he had in view; education, not as some understand that word, separate from the Bible, but education as necessarily connected with the Bible as the limbs of a man are connected with his heart. The motto "*Pro Deo, pro Ecclesia, pro hominem salute*," we may indeed say as necessarily implies education in the fullest sense, as the idea of a moral and accountable man, living under the dispensation of the Gospel, implies a man thoroughly furnished, according to ability and opportunity, with all the knowledge and wisdom of the world which now is, as well as of that which is to come. Even in ancient days, and among Heathen Philosophers, "*gnothe seauton*" was regarded as the sum and substance of true wisdom, to which the various branches of human learning were adjuncts and aids. Well has it been said, "The study of the Classics is less to be regarded as an exercise of the intellect, than as a *discipline of humanity*. The peculiar advantage of this mode of education consists not so much in strengthening the understanding, as in softening and refining the taste. It gives men liberal views; it accustoms the mind to take an interest in things foreign to itself; to love virtue for its own sake; to prefer fame to *life* and glory to *riches;* and to fix our thoughts on the *remote* and *permanent*, instead of narrow and fleeting objects. It teaches us to believe that there is something really great and excellent in the world, surviving all the shocks of accident and fluctuations of opinion, and raises us above that low and servile fear, which bows only to present power and upstart authority. Rome and Athens filled a place in the history of mankind which can never be occupied again. They were two cities set on a hill which could not be hid. All eyes have seen them, and their light shines as a mighty sea mark into the abyss of time.

> "Still green with bays each ancient altar stands,
> Above the reach of sacrilegious hands;
> Secure from flames, from envy's fiercest rage,
> Destructive war, and all involving age.

Hail, Bards triumphant, born in happy days,
Immortal heirs of universal praise!
Whose honors with increase of ages grow,
As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow."

"By conversing with the *mighty dead* we imbibe *sentiment* with knowledge." But a student needs a *better* sentiment than any that can be derived from Seneca and Socrates, if he would not be corrupted by Horace and Ovid, and our Colleges would become sinks of iniquity and schools of crime, unless the laws of God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ were their corner stones and pointed their cloud capt spires. The design of Colleges, then, was EDUCATION, the training of man as the truth of GOD directs; and as in all ages learning and religion have ever been united in *Colleges*, it was designed by their founders that human learning should elucidate and support Divine Revelation, whilst Revelation should preserve the vain and corrupt heart of man from the delusions of philosophy falsely so called, and the snares of all those fleshly lusts which war against the soul.

Again. As learning is *human*, knowledge cannot be brought to us but in some specific form,—cannot be thrown *broadcast* into the mind, but demands books, teachers, recitation rooms, study hours, attention and zeal. So its handmaid and necessary attendant, Religion, must have *its* specific form and proper rites, and ministers and hearers, and as a matter of course the founder of this institution, whilst allowing the broadest latitude for different opinions, gave and intended to give to this seat of learning and religion, the form and peculiar characteristics of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, to which he belonged, and whose interests were near and dear to him, and we should be traitors to truth and righteousness, as well as to reason and common sense, if we pursued any other course in reference to the *moral* training of youth, than the one we pursue in their *mental* improvement; that is, to provide for them the standard text books and the most approved editions.

But we must hasten to our final consideration,—"How shall Colleges be made what they ought to be, not merely institutions of *secular* learning, but promoters of what is of vastly greater importance to our sons, their *moral* training!" It is most lamentably true that many of our young men, come home from College, not only without a love of study and a habit of mental application, but sots and libertines, curses instead of ornaments to society, bringing their parents' gray hairs in sorrow to the grave, and soon ending their own career of infamy; or else turn their smattering smartness to the obtaining of positions from which they may display the talents of the demagogue.

Home education must correct *these* evils, and no youth should be sent abroad, but from a home to a home. Burke defined man to be "a religious animal;" and in the Nursery, the Sunday School, and the Sanctuary, he should be so trained that the religious may get the ascendancy over the animal part of his nature, and a mother's prayers, a father's advice, and a pastor's exhortations, be arrayed against the allurements of vice and the solicitations of passion.

The genuine conversion of the heart to God is not indeed a matter of mere training; but training—home education—is that which *prepares* us for the reception of the Holy Spirit, and affords the instrumentality which He uses in his work. Youth should be kept under the parental eye until the moral character is to some extent developed, and "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments" indelibly engraved on the memory and comprehended by the mind. Then he may go, as David went to meet Goliah, young and inexperienced, but with a stone and a sling, mighty through God to the conquering of the foe. But if he goes without the influences of home education, trained only in the streets, already a smoker, and swearer, and drinker, he goes only to add to his own stock of depravity, and to corrupt the moral atmosphere which *others* have to breathe.

It is not enough, however, that he *comes* to College with the favorable star of his destiny in the ascendant, the physical part of his nature in abeyance to the moral, and the intellectual in a fit state for the reception and storing away of ideas. He must find at least *something* like a home in the College, or fearful is his position with temptation without and corruption within; the ascended scale may be a weight which will bring it down, and he be left in mid air to be blown about by every wind of evil influence, until the animal absorb the moral, and the intellect be wasted or perverted. Colleges, therefore, should be supplied with *step-mothers*, not such as *some* may be, but rather, as I believe they generally are, good substitutes for those who have nourished and brought us up, and whose places can never be fully supplied. Our professors should be Fathers, their wives Mothers, their children Brothers and Sisters, and then the spirit of evil might be kept in more abeyance. I know that students may abuse the privileges of social intercourse with the families of their teachers, but abuse here is *incidental*, whilst it is almost a matter of necessity that abuses arise out of an exclusive social intercourse among themselves. We must then combine home education with College training much more than we do, if we would arm our children with the right weapons wherewith to resist evil, and keep those weapons bright and keen when they are thrown into the deadly conflict between the flesh and the spirit. "What is wanting," said Napoleon, "that the youth of France be well educated?" "Mothers," replied mad Campan. This reply struck the Emperor. "Here," said he, "is a system of education in one word. Be it your care to train up mothers who shall know how to educate their children." Says Bishop Doane at the laying of the corner stone of Burlington College: "It will be organized and conducted as a family. It is to be a brotherhood; female influence will be a constant and influential element in its administration. Much advantage is counted on from this arrangement. It is the most effective appeal to the best feelings of the heart. Why is it that rudeness and rebellion are so constantly associated with the notion of a College. Why do people shrink from neighborhood with such an institution? Why is it a questionable advantage to the place where its location is determined? Is it not because our Colleges

fail to realize the *domestic idea*! Are they not looked on as the very opposite of *home*? The home feeling is to be our magnetism."

My young friends, my object in this address has been to promote your best interests. As a trustee of this institution of course *its* interests are near and dear, and I would do all in my power to make it what it ought to be, so that you may be all *you* ought to be. Our text has been the maxim of Quinctillian,—"At home a boy can learn only what is taught *him*, but in a school he can learn what is taught to others"—and therefore we have stood forth the advocate of Colleges, but not as they too often have been and are, but as they ought to be, *homes* as well as schools. You may be proud of your Alma Mater, that she is what she is, and you should take a pride in making her all she may become. 'Tis true, alas! that many of her children have lifted up the heel against her, and spoken evil of her, and exaggerated her faults, and deeply has she suffered from this unnatural conduct of sons whom she could not educate, because they would not obey her kind laws and submit to her maternal restraints.

Unaccustomed to the yoke at home, too many have found the College yoke too grievous to bear. Never be *ye* guilty of such matricidal ingratitude, for never would she expel her children from her bosom, if they would not reject her embraces. But she has had sons who have done her honor in the walks of science and fame. One is now before my mind's eye; one who in times past was a Sunday School scholar of my own; one whose brilliant intellect and varied attainments were rapidly advancing him to a high position as a lawyer; but, alas! alas! at the early age of twenty-five he fell a victim, not to vice and degrading infamy—his mother's prayers and his Sunday School teacher's, we trust, were blessed in keeping him from *these*—but to the demon of false honor, clothed in the dignified garb of Southern Chivalry, and KANE, the young and intellectual, and high minded, fills the grave of the fallen duellist. But there is another grave tenanted by one of Kenyon's sons,

> "Where Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands."

It is not filled by one of as rare intellectual attainments, perhaps, as Kane possessed, but who would not rather die as MINOR died, the Missionary of the Cross, the high *spiritual* character of man the ruling passion in life and in death, than go down to the dark shades of Erebus known only as the possessor of a cultivated intellect, or a mere generous and noble spirit, as *man* counts nobleness and generosity! My young friends, it is the union of the sound mind in the sound body, under the control of the pure *heart*, that gives man his high and commanding position as the lord of Creation, only a little lower than the angels.

It shall be our aim to make this institution an Alma Mater in the highest and most perfect sense. Let it be yours to bring honor to her name, by exhibiting to the world that you are men, that you are scholars, that you are

Christians; and never abuse to base ends your limbs or your senses—either the powers of the mind or the affections of the heart. The glorious sights and sounds of nature around you; the beautiful specimens of architecture which meet the eye; the valuable library to which you have access; the accomplished teachers, whose training you enjoy; the Church, whose embodiment of Divine truth is before you continually,—these things must elevate the mind, cultivate the taste, and mend the heart, and we trust that when your eyes shall close forever on all earthly scenes of beauty and glory, they may open upon the still more glorious sights and sounds of Heaven;—and the New Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all, be your eternal Alma Mater. AMEN.

GRADUATING ORATION

AND

VALEDICTORY ADDRESSES,

OF

ANDREW D. BENEDICT.

INTELLECTUAL ATTAINMENTS INSUFFICIENT WITHOUT MORAL CULTURE.

[PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE NU PI KAPPA SOCIETY.]

ORATION.

A spirit of free inquiry is the marked peculiarity of the present age. The time when physical strength and military prowess were considered the only avenues to distinction and renown, has passed away. Now talent begins to assume its proper station in society, and to exert the influence to which it is justly entitled by nature and dignity. Conscious of its rights, it no longer is confined to the cloister, and compelled to bear the shackles of an arbitrary philosophy, but having escaped from the thraldom of superstition, it delights to wear the badge of freedom, and dedicates its noblest efforts to the redemption of mankind from the severities of an intellectual bondage. In a certain sense thought may be said to hold the sovereignty of the world. Whether uttered by the public speaker and the teacher, or breathed from the silent page, it is electrifying the whole extent of animated intelligence; the very earth feels its power; not only is its surface explored, but its solid strata pierced, and where ignorance would discover nothing but rude, unshapen masses, thought, deep, penetrating thought, has discerned a record of the early convulsions of our world, brought to light the secrets of ages which passed before the creation of man, and announced the various denudations and submersions which have contributed to the formation of our terrestrial globe.

But are thought and intelligence given to man merely for the indulgence of an eager curiosity, or to be employed solely for the aggrandizement of his temporal interests? Should he allow genius to grovel on the earth, and receive its only inspiration from created objects? Ah, no. It cannot be that he is intended to waste a life in cold abstraction, or to be content with a bare observance of the wonders that daily meet his eye; but rather, to soar upward, in search of that enlivening, genial principle, which may give life to the complete frame-work of the logician, exalt the intuitions of genius, and invest science with a new and attractive radiance. To the shame of our age, be it said, the religious principle of natural science is not sufficiently understood and acknowledged. Too much is Religion considered, at the present day, as beneath the notice of highly cultivated minds. Too much is it supposed that there is no connection between the intellectual and moral faculties of our nature; that while the culture of the one is to be entrusted to the regimen of the Academy and the College, that of the other, belongs exclusively to the province of the theologian. Thus, Science has been divorced from its celestial companion; thus it has been shorn of much of its interest and beauty, and made to minister—not to the glory of its Divine Original;

not to the exaltation and happiness of a fallen race—but to the rude effrontery of the irreligious, the ingenious theories of the sophist, and the bitter revilings of the sceptic. We therefore contend that it is only by a judicious regard to the cultivation of the heart, as well as the understanding, that the happiness of the individual, and of mankind, may be successfully promoted; and that the scholar—however profound in thought, and however skilled in all the departments of intellectual science—if he have not high moral principle for his polar star, is wanting in that which can alone give dignity, value, and loveliness to the human character.

To establish this, let us refer to the nature of the human constitution. We direct our attention to the complicated structure of our physical system, and at once are struck with the splendor of these corporeal temples, whose beauty, fitness, and evident marks of design, far transcend that which was adorned with the gold of Ophir; we penetrate their inmost recesses, and strive to compass the workings of that spiritual essence which imparts to them their quickening and animating vitality, and ask, for what purpose this nice and harmonious arrangement of all the faculties? We are conscious of the possession of an eager curiosity, which prompts us to make continual efforts to enrich our minds with the valued stores of information that daily invite our acquisition. We are sensible that it is knowledge, which developes the mental powers, makes us ready to form and sustain correct opinions, and opens the way for us to exert a controlling influence over other minds. But is this all? Shall a power be generated in the human soul, which, unguided and uncontrolled, may burst forth in all its fury, and spend its might on every thing that opposes the inclination? and what is worse, shall the passions, with all their excess of malice and corruption, be allowed to sway it at their will? There comes a voice from the silent sanctuary of the soul, whose authoritative tone renders pale the cheek of the licentious, stays the hand of the assassin, and requires the most wicked scheme of lawless passion to yield to its control. 'Tis the voice of Deity within us, of a conscience whose monitory counsels can never be disregarded without doing utter violence to every principle of our nature.

Thus, a careful study of the propensities of the human constitution is sufficient to convince any candid mind, that there are certain moral laws impressed upon our being, to whose requisitions all the powers should be obedient, and that even the most complete development of the physical system, or the most noble discipline of the mental faculties, will not answer the design of man's existence, if conscience be not reverenced and obeyed,

> "As God's most intimate presence in the soul;
> As His most pefect image in the world."

Philosophy, too, lends its aid in establishing the intimate and necessary connection between moral and intellectual culture. 'Tis true that much of the boasted philosophy of the present age scoffs at the idea of a union between religion and science, and endeavors to shape the whole extent of scien-

tific truth to suit its own atheistical principles. But, to do this, it must disregard the first and most important axiom of true philosophy, as well as the plain dictates of reason, which require that every event must be ascribed to some adequate cause. Yet some modern philosophers are content to refer all the phenomena of the material world to the influence of proximate and secondary causes, without tracing each result, step by step, through a mutual chain of dependencies, until at last they centre in the great First Cause and Origin of all existence. What, I ask, is science, but the investigation of the power, wisdom, and goodness of an all pervading Intelligence? And can the manifestation of these attributes of Deity be fully unfolded to the mind, when it refuses to acknowledge and adore this Supreme Intelligence? As well might you suppose that a plant will grow when torn from its native soil, and its roots deprived of all nourishment, as that knowledge will have its legitimate effect upon the mind that only considers its application with reference to the concerns of life, but refuses all regard to those tendencies that mark its heavenly origin. As well might you ascribe skill and intelligence to the parts of a complicated machine, as to say, that the laws which govern the world are self-existing, self-creating, and entirely independent of a Divine Lawgiver. But, strange as it may appear, so unphilosophically many highly gifted minds have reasoned, minds that in other respects have been distinguished for deep penetration and superior natural talent, but have been wanting in that benevolence and expansion of views which is the marked characteristic of the truly Christian Philosopher.

Need we go farther to show that the intellectual powers should be guided by moral and religious principle? Turn to the experience of the past, and ask the genius of History to aid us in the investigation of this highly important truth. Who are they that have been the glory of their age, the honored instruments of good to a fallen race? Who have made their talents subservient to the interests of true philanthropy,—upon whose graves has fallen the tear of gratitude from many an eye, and around whose memory has encircled the bright halo of undying fame? I would only refer you to the tablet of the past, and ask you to read from this the names of those whom posterity acknowledges to be worthy of their grateful remembrance, and then test their lives and actions by the standard which we have proposed, and we will not hesitate to say that all who have been sons of science, have likewise been sons of virtue,—the unshrinking adherents to moral principle and religious integrity. 'Tis true, there have been many whose talents have raised them high in the scale of mental worth; many whose writings mark the coursings of a mind so improved by discipline, and so rich with valued stores of information, that we cannot withhold from them our tribute of admiration, and would fain invoke their guardian spirits to place upon our heads a coronet of similar effulgence and beauty. But, while we almost unconsciously bow the knee at the shrine of their superior intellect, we cannot avoid the unwelcome truth, that their offerings have too often been laid upon the altar of

selfish ambition; their glory been dimmed by sensual indulgence, and their noble powers, instead of being consecrated to the service of virtue and religion, have only enabled them to communicate a moral contagion to the very life of all social existence,—yea, to spread a pestilence which loses none of its virulence as long as the infected mantles of its authors are preserved and allowed a place in the halls of literature.

Picture to your minds the effects which followed the establishment of infidel philosophy in France, when a complete separation was made between religion and science, and all acknowledgment of a controlling Divinity denounced by public authority as unworthy the dignity of man. See reason claiming the homage of a degraded populace; the purity of the social relations contaminated; all regard to the principles of justice, honor, and moral obligation, treated as the creation of an idle fancy; and in fine, the whole structure of human society disorganized and ready to fall, interposing but few obstacles to the full indulgence of unbridled passion and impious lust. Glance at the private character of those who occupy the most prominent place in this arena of social discord. Gifted with well cultivated minds, but infected with a leprosy more loathesome than that which humbled the pride of the Syrian lord, we shrink from their very contemplation, and turning from the scene, cry out in the language of fervent and earnest supplication, O, save us, save our country from the demoralizing principles of an infidel philosophy!

Place the lighted torch as a play thing in the hands of the child; commit the magazine to the charge of an idiot; see the midnight fires streaming from the lonely cottage, without raising one warning voice to awaken its sleeping inmates; but do not proclaim the doctrine that knowledge, unguided by moral principle, can with safety be entrusted to mankind! 'Tis a weapon bright, beautiful, and powerful; but a fatal and a perilous one;—fatal to the best interests of community: perilous to every soul that is not fortified upon the rock of Christian virtue. Let our Seminaries of learning shut out from view the religious tendencies of science, allow our youth to go out from the hall of the professor, trusting that their well trained minds, matured understandings and nice powers of discrimination, are sufficient to ensure them a character for honor and usefulness, and you may as well apply the lighted match to gunpowder under our every institution; for when we look forward into futurity and imagine the inevitable consequences that would follow the general adoption of this hazardous scheme, we are constrained to admit that neither the might of our armies, nor the wise measures of our legislative councils, can be of any avail against the swelling tide of moral desolation which will then begin its fearful spreadings over our land.

O that men were wise! that they would perceive the necessary connection between religion and science! Would that they could feel that religion is the life, the quickening element in every intellectual research; the link which unites the visible and the invisible; the refuge of the mind when wearied

with fruitless endeavors to push its investigations beyond the boundary lines of human reason, it acknowledges a limit to its proud aspirations, and feels that its noble privilege is to be silent and meekly receive instruction from that Supreme mind, which

> "Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

If the Roman orator could declare that "he alone can attain to the perfection of his profession, who shall have acquired a knowledge of all the sciences," with how much more reason may we assert that he alone can obtain the proper benefit to be derived from their complete understanding, who considers them but so many handmaids for the acquisition of the most important of all sciences, even that jewel which imparts the crowning lustre to every attainment. For they are but the priestesses of religion, chosen to stand within the temple of Truth and minister at her altars ; and never do they act so unjustly to their calling, as when with unhallowed lips they profane the sanctity of their office, by ministering to selfish and corrupted lust. We would see them represented, not merely as is shown by the paintings in the gallery of the Vatican, enthroned in stately magnificence, surrounded by the emblems and representatives of their power, and appearing to claim the homage of the enraptured spectator,—but rather would require the painter to breathe new life upon the canvass, to awaken within his soul a vivid conception of that which is alone needed to give the finishing stroke to his performance. We would see religion enthroned in the midst of her joyous vassals, clad in her own pure celestial robes, and bearing upon her countenance the impress of ineffable loveliness and beauty. At her feet should be found the treasures of her humble worshippers ; we would see clouds of incense wafted from their golden censers ; yea, we would even catch the overflowings of their swelling hearts, when they exclaim, —Thou, O Queen, art deserving our highest admiration and praise. Animated by thy spirit, we will ever esteem it our peculiar pleasure to contribute to the advancement of thy peaceful sway ; and when crowds of votaries inspired by the enthusiastic love of truth, shall fill our humble courts, ready to yield to us the exclusive homage of their lives, we, the ministers of thy superior rule, will show them more majestic courts in which they may tread—more beauteous robes wherewith they may be clothed—a more exalted sovereign whose favor they may propitiate ; and will entreat them to dedicate the first fruits of an expanding intellect to thee, who alone art able to illume the paths of knowledge by the bright cheering rays of celestial truth, and finally to ensure to the virtuous mind the full enjoyment of a happy immortality.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESSES.

Gentlemen of the Faculty,—The relations which have heretofore existed between us are now about to be dissolved. Never, until the present time, have we fully realized the strength of the ties which bind us in heart and feeling, to these scenes, about which have centered so many of our joys. And now, while performing the last duty which you, in the capacity of instructors, can require at our hands, we may, I trust, without the least appearance of flattery or affectation, express the feelings of gratitude, to which our oft cherished remembrance of the past would gladly give utterance. We call to mind the time when first we placed ourselves under your guardian care, the patience and unwearied effort you have ever manifested while endeavoring to make us thoroughly acquainted with the various branches of useful knowledge, and the salutary regulations you have adopted, by which our stay has been rendered agreeable, and the great objects of our Collegiate course successfully promoted. Through your means our intellectual faculties have been developed, our reasoning powers disciplined, and we prepared, in some measure, for entering upon the public duties of life ; but, above all, our minds have been impressed with the absolute necessity of those moral and religious principles, which can alone make our education a benefit to ourselves, and a blessing to mankind. For the satisfactory discharge of the duties incumbent upon you, and not only this, but for the many offices of kindness, and the sincere regard you have ever manifested for our welfare, you are deserving our sincere and heartfelt thanks ; yea, we feel ourselves laid under a debt of obligation, which the most valued treasures can never discharge, whose burden our sensibilities could not sustain, were we not consoled by the hope that our conduct has been, in some degree, deserving your approbation and esteem. Yes, gentlemen, we must, we cannot do otherwise, than regard you with feelings of the warmest gratitude for all your labors ; and when away from the scenes of our Collegiate life,—when engaged in the busy pursuits of maturer years, it will always be our peculiar delight to call to mind the pure pleasures which we have here enjoyed, while listening to your instructions; and if ever any regret is caused by our recollections, it will be because we have not better improved these precious privileges, and prized more highly your friendly admonitions.

We leave our Alma Mater satisfied that under your guidance it will become a nursery of those principles, which, if followed, will make its youth an honor to themselves and a blessing to their country ; we leave you, thankful for the opportunities which we have here enjoyed—grateful for your friendship, and cherishing the most sincere wishes for your success and happiness, and wherever we go, rest assured that we shall retain a heart alive to your kindness, and ever remember you as our benefactors,—as well-tried friends,—as

those who have contributed in no small degree, to our success in life. Gentlemen, we bid you a kind and an affectionate FAREWELL!

FELLOW-STUDENTS: To you, who are so well acquainted with the requirements and oftentimes onerous duties of Collegiate life, who know with what eager anticipation we have looked forward to this time, it may seem strange that any regrets should attend our present feelings, but rather that the bright prospects opening before us, should dispel all gloom from our minds, and make us enraptured with the hope of a full indulgence of their promised delights. But, can the mariner, who for the first time has committed himself to the boundless deep, when he sees the blue hills of his native land fast receding from his view, be so entirely absorbed with the fancied pictures of his future adventures, that his brow will not be clouded with sadness when bidding, perhaps, a final farewell to the land of his fathers? Can the beloved son leave the home of his childhood, and return the fond embrace of those dear beings, who are bound to him by ties closer than life, thinking of naught but the success with which an indulgent fortune promises to crown his professional career? Then, wonder not that we who are just about to launch our bark upon the ocean of life, and to bid adieu to you who have been the companions and friends of our literary childhood—wonder not, I say, that we hesitate to leave these scenes, fraught with so many interesting and pleasing associations—to forsake those whose friendship we prize, and seek other acquaintances, who, it may be, will deceive us by heartless professions, disappoint our hopes, and cause us often to resort for relief to the memory of this bright period of our existence.

When we look upon you, and see some who have been our most intimate friends, the sharers of our confidence, and endeared to us by many proofs of attachment; others, whose acquaintance has commanded our esteem, and made us desirous of still farther companionship; and all, for whom the relationship of students has awakened sentiments of more than ordinary interest and regard, well may we indulge the feelings which the thought of separation forces upon our minds. We remember the privileges which we have here enjoyed, and now while realizing more sensibly than ever, their unspeakable importance, we cannot allow an occasion so fitting as the present to pass without urging you to use every possible effort for the attainment of excellence in literary pursuits. Your own future credit and respectability, the anxious expectations of your friends, and the wants of our country, call upon you to make a thorough preparation for the various duties of social and public life. Be willing to incur a little self-denial—if such it may be called—to forego a little gratification of present interest or pleasure, for the sake of future good. Science has need of many more to distribute her ample treasues, but especially, Religion requires those who, clad in the panoply of learning, and inspired with the spirit of heartfelt piety, will manfully combat the errors of false philosophy; break the bonds of ignorance, and open the dark

places of superstition to the purifying influence of Christian truth. Let, then, the principles of pure morality be your guide in every action; they can most elevate the mind, enlarge the views, cast a peaceful charm about the feelings, and make the profession of your choice subservient to your true interests, and the real benefit of community.

The relationship that has existed between us is soon to be dissolved, but not, we trust, the feelings which this relationship inspires. These will ever remain; these we must be allowed to cherish in our remembrance, as long as memory endures. They may often sweeten the bitter cup of life; render less afflictive the heavy pressure of disappointed hopes; and cheer our spirits when disheartened and oppressed by the manifold trials of maturer years. May we not, then, while looking upon so many familiar countenances, indulge the hope that we go away attended by your friendly regards; that we leave here hearts that will rejoice with us in prosperity, or sympathize in adversity, and remember us, not as the companions of a day; not as the necessary resorts to enliven a monotonous and wearisome voyage; but as the friends whose memory it will be your delight to cherish, whose friendship you have no cause to suspect. And here allow me to ask if there be any among you to whom we have given reason to doubt the feelings of friendship which we now express. If so, we here tender a full apology, and ask pardon for our offence. We would go away satisfied that not one of your number harbors the slightest ill will towards us; we would extend the hand of friendship confident that its grasp will be returned with all the warmth of feeling, which our previous relationship and acquaintance will allow you to express.

And now, FAREWELL! We look forward to the time when having finished your required course of study, our Alma Mater will be proud to number you among her list of graduates; when settled in life, and occupying stations of honor and distinction, you will have reason to bless her hand, which here so long fostered and sustained you, and ever show by a firm adherence to duty that your conduct, governed by the noble principles of true morality, is exerting a salutary influence upon society, and answering, in some degree, the great end of your present existence. With the best wishes of our hearts, and our sincere desires for your future welfare, we bid you FAREWELL!

BELOVED CLASSMATES: Can it be that we too must separate? We, who for four years have indulged in almost daily intercourse,—been companions in literary pursuits, and friends in social converse;—must we break the ties which bind us not only to the scenes of our Collegiate life, but to each other! The very thought is repulsive. Does the soldier, at the close of a long and wearisome campaign, having in view the cheering prospects of meeting his beloved family and friends, and of ending his days in the quiet repose of his rustic cot,—does he eagerly rush from the lines at the first announcement of his discharge, without bestowing one thought upon the companions of his toil,—those who have been the cheerers of his spirits, and exposed alike to

the same common dangers? Is not his heart rather filled with sadness, when, with tearful eyes, he turns to take the last look, and receive the last embrace of those who have fought by his side, and become endeared to him by a sense of common interest and peril! We too look forward with longing anticipation to the meeting of those whom we so dearly love, but not as before, again to return after a few short weeks and go on together in those pursuits which have afforded us so much pleasure; but now we go, never again to meet as a class; never as a class to renew the joys of past experience; never, we may conclude, all of us as individuals, to meet together here upon the earth. These thoughts seem to oppress the spirits; they truly weigh with heaviness upon the heart,—so much that if we could now be assured of the most flattering success in our future course, yea, even see the jewelled crown of honor and affluence awaiting our acceptance, we could not throw off the feeling of sadness which attends the thought of separation.

We have been companions during a very important period of our lives; one, in which our characters, both mental and moral, have experienced great changes. During this time, daily intercourse has given us opportunities of studying each other's habits and dispositions, of knowing each other's faults as well as virtues; and so far from it being the case that our esteem for each other has lessened, it has rather increased, and I may add, ripened into friendship, so that we can each truly say, that there is a bond of fraternal union between us, which, founded in mutual regard, has been strengthened by demonstrations of attachment and sincere desire for each other's welfare. How natural therefore, that we should indulge regret, yea, feel a gloominess coming over the spirits when realizing the fact that our relationship as classmates will soon no longer exist! But so it is. Fain would our present feelings delay the act which severs this interesting relationship, joyfully would they have an extension of this the happiest period of our lives; but the word must soon be spoken, which separates us from these loved scenes and from each other, and sends us forth to try the vicissitudes of a changing world. Other associations may soon engage our interests; other attachments may enlist our affections; but never will we forget the pure friendships which we here have formed, in which have been centered the aspirations of the mind, with the warmest feelings of the heart. Like the hallowed remembrance of first love, they will linger about our reflections, and often beguile our sorrows while passing through this lonely vale of tears. Should we chance to meet upon the tossing waves of life, no welcome can be more cordial, no grasp more ready, no meeting awaken more interesting associations, or call forth more of the treasured remembrances of past experience. O may our future lives prove that we are worthy of each other's remembrance, and show by an attention to all that is lovely and virtuous in human action, that we regard ourselves, that we regard each other, but especially that we regard Him, who requires the first offerings of our affections, whose friendship alone can hallow all earthly attachments.

But, beloved classmates, we must now say, Farewell! 'Tis a sad, a bitter word. Emotions too affecting for utterance take possession of the soul—they allow the heart to find its only relief within the sanctuary of its own fullness. It can hardly trust to words, its pure affections, its ardent wishes, its fondest hopes. It can only breathe the fervent prayer to the Being who controls our destinies, that His hand may guide us, His friendship be our safeguard, and His blessing attend our future pathway in life. FAREWELL!

AN

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

OF THE

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE,

BY

SAMUEL ST. JOHN, M. D.,

PROF. OF CHEMISTRY AND MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE.

CLEVELAND:

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1846.

Cleveland, Nov. 10th, 1845.

Prof. St. John, Sir: — At a meeting of the Class of "Cleveland Medical College," held on the 8th inst., Rudd C. Hopkins was called to the Chair, and James M. Newman chosen Secretary. The undersigned were then appointed a Committee to wait on you, and solicit in behalf of the Students, a copy of your Introductory Lecture for publication.

The Committee take pleasure in the discharge of a duty which is in accordance with their own feelings, as well as those of the Class, and would second the request that you will not withhold from the public the Lecture which was listened to with so much pleasure and profit.

While the Committee tender you the best wishes of the Class, for your health and prosperity, you will please accept our individual assurances of respect and esteem.

EBENEZER DAY, Jr., Ch'n of Com.,
JAS. M. NEWMAN,
J. H. ESTEP,
J. BEACH,
J. W. KEENY,
J. A. KNOWLTON.

Sam'l St. John, M. D., Cleveland.

To Messrs. Day, Newman, Estep, Beach, Keeny, and Knowlton.

Gentlemen: — If the Medical Class deem a perusal of the Lecture (a copy of which you request in your polite note of the 10th inst.) calculated to produce a sense of obligation for the benefits conferred by Science, or enthusiasm in their preparation for the duties of a responsible profession, it shall be at your service.

Yours truly, SAM'L ST. JOHN.

Cleveland, Nov. 18, 1845.

ADDRESS OF PROF. ST. JOHN.

It is impossible to contemplate the progress of Society without perceiving, in some degree, how much the human race is indebted, for its advancement, to the cultivation of Natural Science. If we compare Man's first rude and puny essays, with the elaborate and almost incredible energies which he now wields; if we contrast the helplessness and degradation of the savage with the comfort, security and refinement of civilized life, we perceive what Science has done for man, and can form some conjecture of what it may yet be destined to accomplish. The difference between men in an uncultivated state, and in a state of advanced science, is so great, that we hardly recognise in both the characteristics of the same order of beings. In the one case the visible world is full of prodigies, and the invisible is peopled with imaginary beings of capricious will and vengeful power. Objects and events which a child in civilized society views with complacency, fill the mind of the savage with amazement and dread; he stands amidst daily recurring mysterious events alarmed and confounded; the lightning rives the sturdy oak, or strikes his companions dead by a power which he dares not investigate; the blazing volcano and the rumbling earthquake are objects of superstitious terror; the sun and moon rise and set to him, by capricious appointment; an eclipse comes to him unexpected, and while it sheds

> "Disastrous twilight
> O'er half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs,"

the laboring sun or moon betides impending evil. Disease invades his frame and prostrates his energies, by an inscrutable influence, to be removed by a power equally inscrutable. His processes and devices for supplying his daily wants are clumsy and puerile; no mechanical powers, or transformations of chemistry relieve his toils; and if in his timid voyages he is driven from sight of land, his wished-for port lies in a direction which he cannot determine. His religion, how senseless and degrading! The loathsome reptile, the deadly Upas, or hideous images, are his Gods.

But when science has illumined the mind of man, the material world

in which he lives is full of meaning. It is written all over within and without with characters of benevolence, wisdom and beauty. In the former objects of his dread he discerns adaptation to promote his welfare and secure his happiness. He boldly scrutinizes the causes of the changes which transpire about him. The scathing lightning he tames with a point, and regulating its energies, tasks its chemical powers, or sends it, with telegraphic speed, the messenger of his will. The raging volcano brings to him rare products which he makes subservient to his physical wants, while he views its stupendous phenomena, as manifestations of those laws of *instability* by which the *stability* of the universe is secured. The sun, moon and planets have for him their appointed times. The once so much dreaded eclipse he now views with intense interest, predicts its recurrence, and by his observations determines the grand truths of astronomy, or calculates tables for the navigator. No longer confining his timid voyages to friendly bays, he pushes boldly out upon the broad ocean, and with his eye fixed upon a little piece of steel which points unerringly to the pole, through thickest darkness he holds his steadfast course; penetrating unknown seas, braving the tempest, he directs his way with confident precision, and with chart in hand, tho' leagues remote, descries his home-port. He searches through all nature, scanning the heavens and earth, investigating animal, vegetable, and mineral bodies, to satisfy his physical wants or adorn his mind. The elements he presses into his service, plying their untiring energies in the accomplishment of his designs. If disease attack his frame, by the aid of science he follows into its lurking places, dislodges it, and fortifies his system against subsequent invasion.

No longer bowing in senseless reverence before loathsome objects, or with forbidden and untold rites worshipping the creatures of his own imagination, in that elder Scripture writ by God's own hand, as well as in the Book of Grace, he discerns the only object of true spiritual worship.

In order to a just appreciation of the superior comfort and power with which science invests man, we should compare the civilized and savage states, under the same circumstances of time and place. For this purpose we will not select the case of the Hottentot so brutalized as scarcely to exhibit a trace of humanity, to contrast with his neighbor colonist of Cape Town; nor that of the enervated, sensual Asiatic, with his European invader; but that of the imbecile though mag-

nanimous and sagacious North American Indian, with the Anglo-Saxon who came to the shores of the new world, possessed of all the resources which science had bestowed. Two hundred years ago the first European settlers found this vast territory in the undisputed possession of powerful tribes of Indians. The smoke of their wigwams and council-fires rose from every valley between the Ocean and the Rocky Mountains from Hudson's Bay to Florida. They kindled their watch-fires, where now our proudest cities rise. They then owned the majestic rivers, far-stretching lakes and fertile valleys, and unchecked, roamed the forests in quest of game. But where are they now? Whole tribes have perished, and the arrow head and tomahawk with the bones of sachems and warriors turned up by the plow of their successful invaders, are the only mementos of their existence. Neither the wasting pestilence, nor famine, nor war alone has effected their destruction. A more subtle power has been at work. Every where at the approach of the foot of the white man, they fade away. The Atlantic breezes fan not now a single region which they may call their own. A nobler race of wild men never existed in any age or country: but they were uncivilized. They possessed not the simplest elements of science. A wilderness was essential to their habits and pursuits. They subsisted by war or hunting. They applied no scientific principles to the culture of the soil, the pursuits of commerce, or manufactures, or the cure of diseases. They had no mariner's compass, water-wheel, or steam engine. Chemistry shed no light upon the mysterious processes of their "medicine man." Their melancholy fate awakens our sympathy: and Charity suggests, the powerful race should have adopted the waning into its bosom, and freely imparted the stores of knowledge, the source of its power. But how few were the sympathies between the white race and the red: the latter by their very nature seem almost incapable of such an assimilation. Their ferocious passions, their wandering life, disdain the restraints of society, and while they tremble at the power of their invader, they affect not his science or art. A few feeble remnants of the race still linger on the borders of civilization, illustrations of that hard necessity which seems slowly but surely accomplishing their extinction. Religion mourning over a destiny almost without hope, sends her ministers of mercy, not only to impart her peculiar consolations, but also to win to the reviving and invigorating arts of civilized life. But how sorely are their faith and

patience tasked. For ages science was accumulating and imparting its power to the Saxon race; and enlightened christian faith even will not expect a single age will suffice to invest the Indian with the same. No—though within reach of the hum of the spinning jenny and power loom, with full knowledge of the benefits of the steam engine, the printing press, and the improved implements of husbandry, rarely does one aspiring thought swell their torpid spirits—they build no steamboat, lay no railway, urge no iron horse. Their curiosity never rises to the contemplation of those sublime laws which combine a universe, and spell it to harmony. Despising the arts and science of civilized life, they recede before the swelling tide of enlightened enterprise towards the setting sun, till the echo of their last feeble footsteps dies amid the murmurs of the Pacific.

The history of science has never yet been fully written out. The recorded history of our race is but the development of angry, proud, and lustful passions—a long tortuous line drawn with blood. The clangor of martial prowess and the glitter of military renown have withdrawn the attention of historians from the progress of those pure and elevating tendencies, which have advanced man from a state of savage barbarity to civilization and refinement; and which, though of gentle and unobtrusive mien, have a permanent and controlling influence in his destiny. It would be pleasant and instructive to survey the progress of science from its feeble dawnings to its present splendor—rehearse its achievements and from the vantage ground thus gained, form some conjecture of its future triumphs. But such a survey of even one branch of science would far transcend the limits of the present occasion. The history of some branches may hereafter be attempted, as opportunity may permit. It shall be my object at this time, to adduce some conclusions and inferences respecting the advancement of the great interests of mankind by science, which may serve to impress upon the mind of the student a proper sense of his privileges and responsibilities. The growth of science has been gradual—sometimes slow; its principles, discoveries and inventions have oftentimes been obliged to engage in sharp conflicts, and struggle hard before they acquired the ascendancy, and exerted their appropriate influence upon the welfare and destiny of mankind. We fail to realize this, because at our birth we are introduced to all the beneficial results of the successful establishment of those principles. In order duly

to appreciate the changes which science induces upon the face of society, we should place ourselves in the condition of Rip Van Winkle, or of the fabled "Seven Sleepers" of whom Gibbon speaks in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, who slept while ages rolled on, and then awoke to find the use of their limbs and senses, an enigma amid the strange circumstances in which nature and art stood ready to minister to their wants. "When the Emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some rustic edifice; the light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the seven sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought, of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognise the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress, and obsolete language, confounded the baker to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the Empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual enquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and as it is said, the Emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the "Seven Sleepers;" who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The easy and universal belief in this marvellous fable, so expressive of the sense of mankind," says Gibbon, "may be ascribed to the genuine merit of the fable itself. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age, without observing the gradual but incessant

changes in human affairs, and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between the two memorable periods could be instantly annihilated; if it were possible after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the new world to the eyes of a spectator who retained a lively and recent impression of the old, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance." *

A survey of the progress of science presents a pleasing view of the successful labors of the human mind. It brings us into direct and active sympathy with men of genius of every age. We behold the toil and disappointment of one—the slow and tedious steps by which another has reached eminence. We witness the result of patient investigation and cautious induction. We trace the progress of discovery and invention, from the first rude experiment or accidental conjecture to the final glorious result. We perceive the intelligent observation of the slightest incident leading to the establishment of the most sublime truth. We see human ingenuity overcoming apparently insurmountable obstacles, and enterprise gathering courage from its very defeats. The establishment of almost every great truth has been secured by the enthusiasm of some gifted man upon whom its discovery has conferred immortality. For the highest success in the pursuit of any object there must be a *love* of the object itself. The philosopher, the student who is true to his vocation, loves the truth which he would develope and embody. The astronomer from his lonely turret on the plains of Chaldea watching the silent revolution of the heavenly bodies; Plato musing in the groves of the Academy; Pliny dying amidst the terrific splendors of Vesuvius; Linnæus penetrating the Arctic Circle, that he might study its Flora, *in situ;* Cuvier, a "lordlier Adam than he of Eden," restoring form and giving names to races of animals extinct ages before he lived—and from these scanty relics deducing the world's history at that remote epoch; Galileo in the dungeon and on the rack in vindication of his astronomical views; Newton, Franklin, and Liebig, demonstrating nature's sublimest laws, and revealing the secrets of her most subtle transformations; and Audubon, that hale old man, who even-paced with our boldest hunters, startles the clefts of the Rocky Mountains with his rifle, that he may catch

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter XXXIII.

and transfer to canvas, the lustrous tints of beauty in each rare bird, ere they fade in death ; — all, all bespeak enthusiasm, a burning love of truth for the truth's own sake. It is in the contemplation of such minds, and their products, that abandoning all grovelling thoughts and vulgar desires, we feel a new sense of the dignity of intellectual pursuits, and of the power of human genius.

In the history of science we sometimes discern a single truth discovered and developed by some powerful mind, which long stands isolated — like a lone star in the overcast heavens. After the lapse of years, sometimes of centuries, other kindred truths appear, or some splendid genius, with magic wand scatters the clouds and reveals the former lone star a member of a brilliant constellation. The expansive power of steam was announced to the world by the Marquis of Worcester, in 1655 ; and a mode of propelling vessels by steam was patented in London in 1737 ; but three quarters of a century elapsed before our own Fulton presented to the world the "steamboat," which, regarding its effects upon commerce and navigation, the increased facilities of travelling and trade, the rapid circulation of products and intelligence, is justly ranked among the noblest benefactions to the human race. The Alchemists too, though absurd in their pretensions, and base in their deceptions, elicited many valuable truths, which were obscured in the long night of subsequent ages, to be again revived by Priestley and Davy, and associated with other truths, pour their mingled light on the pathway of man.

It is one of the most interesting facts in the progress of science, that whether the advance of any particular discovery to a general reception be prompt or tardy — or even if its march be arrested, it is never ultimately lost. It is one of the laws of intellectual influence, that whatsoever be the fortune of inventors and discoverers, the invention and discovery are immortal. Persecution may consume their frames, but the truths they taught are immortal. Partial and erroneous views may even retard their own minds in the pursuit of truth ; but the errors of one age are the beacons of the next, and the failure of one great mind but serves to put his successor on the right track. When a great truth, of value to mankind, is once discovered, it incorporates itself with the very elements of society. When first struck out by some distinguished and fortunate genius, it may address itself only to a few minds of kindred taste or power. It exists then in the abstract

forms of science, and serves perhaps only as a test of the validity of theories. But it is one of the happiest laws of intellectual progress, that the profound reasonings, sublime discoveries, and generous sentiments of great intellects, rapidly work their way into the common channel of public opinion, visit the bedside of the sick and dying, encircle the altar and fireside, ascend the bench and tread the halls of legislation, raising the universal standard of attainment, correcting popular errors, and promoting the general welfare by an increase of intelligence, skill, comfort, and virtue. Historians affirm that the celebrated Grecian sculptor Phidias, in executing the statue of Minerva at Athens, so wrought his own image upon her shield, that it could never be effaced without destroying the statue. Thus the great truths of science are so completely woven into the texture of society, that their destruction would involve its disorganization. How entire is the revolution in political and social affairs, which has resulted from the use of the magnetic needle, the telescope, moveable metallic types, and the safety lamp! When will the effects of the invention of gunpowder; or the consequences that have resulted from the application of the vapor of water to the manufacturing arts, navigation, and transportation by land; or the results which have flowed from the adoption of that great master-principle of the philosophy of Bacon — the induction of Truth from the observation of Fact, — when will these, or any of them cease to be discernible, in the very intimate structure of society?

It has been said with great classical beauty and truth, that "every vista in the ample domain of science should lead to a temple dedicated to the benefit of man." The slightest glance at the history of science reveals its tendency to apply all its principles to some direct practical purpose. There was a period when speculation constituted the principal delight of scholars and philosophers; and endless were the controversies and subtleties about which they distracted themselves. Through all the ages of philosophy to the time of Bacon, the true object of science was unknown: and the profound sentiment with which he commences his *Novum Organum*, was as new as it was beautiful to the philosophic world. *Man, the minister and interpreter of Nature, can do and understand only so much about the order of nature as he has observed; neither does he know more, nor can he.* "The ultimate object of the sciences," says Bacon, "has by no one heretofore

been well defined: It is to labor for the comfort of mankind; to work effectively for the purpose of lightening the annoyances of life; to enrich the human race with new discoveries and possessions." Since the adoption of this maxim, the dreaming and speculative have passed away. On the discovery of a new principle now, the question at once arises, in what way can it be made serviceable to the happiness of man? Society is now full of the applications of scientific principles, from the mighty steam ship that buffets the ocean tempests, to the humblest piece of mechanism. Our ears are filled perhaps to satiety, with the triumphs of steam, electricity, chemistry, and mechanics. Nor has medicine been overlooked in this beneficial change. In this branch of science, inductive philosophy has won some of her fairest trophies. In anatomy, physiology, pharmacy, therapeutics, instructed skill, patient observation, and accurate deduction, have been substituted for vague conjecture and bold pretension. Instead of mystical compounds, nostrums, and panaceas, science has introduced its powerful elements, and given energy and certainty to practice. Physicians no longer dream over the favorite theories of the art, succeeding each other in endless progression. They strive to adopt a truer course; to read nature in her operations, and minister to clearly discerned symptoms. Chemistry, formerly an occult science full of mysteries, and unmeaning processes, abounding in theories scarcely furnishing a single rational principle, has become, in the highest sense a science. The laws of chemical action have been examined and ascertained with great accuracy, and can now be demonstrated with as much clearness and facility as any of the laws of mechanical philosophy. It has become eminently a practical science, and its beneficial effects are felt in every department of life. The apothecary's shop no longer abounds with nauseous compounds, the disgrace of the art. Chemistry has largely administered to the convenience, as well as the efficacy of medicines, by ascertaining their qualities, and component parts, by removing hurtful substances, simplifying processes, and purifying the crude material. It has saved the lives of thousands by its safety lamps, preventing explosions from the invisible, mephitic firedamps of the mines. It is a spirit of all work, lighting our streets, fixing and discharging colors, disclosing the nature and properties of light and heat, of air and water, of the products of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, of earths and alkalies, acids, salts, and metals.

There is a large and comprehensive sense in which utility is inscribed on every swelling dome of science. The improvement effected in the condition of mankind by the advancement of science as applied to the useful purposes of life, is far from being limited to their direct consequences in the more abundant supply of our physical wants and the increase of our comforts. The successful results of experiments and reasonings tend necessarily to impress something of the progressive character of science on the more complicated conduct of our social and moral relations. To the study of nature we owe many of the triumphs of Reason. It is the power of science, in awakening the dormant energy of genius; in pointing out to it the true means of arriving at great ends; in preventing its waste in visionary schemes; in suggesting the first hint, directing the aim, and removing obstacles to the successful working of mind that constitute a portion of its true value, perhaps its noblest excellence.

Unless as students you have been singularly ill-taught, or worse misled by your own vanity, you know and feel that the learning you have thus far acquired is but an imperfect fragment of the science already attained by man, and still more imperfect when compared with the knowledge which lies within the grasp of the human intellect. How varied and magnificent does the wealth of the intellectual treasury here opened to you appear. But how does that magnificence grow before you when you reflect that the science of the present generation is the accumulated fruit of the patience, observations, and experiments of thousands of minds, all guided to one end — the improvement of the human race. From the period when the Chaldean shepherd solaced the long hours of his nightly watch by noting the silent and grand regularity of the heavenly bodies in their real or apparent motions, to that when La Grange could ascertain mathematically the law of the inequalities of the planetary motions, and show that these apparent irregularities are, in fact, regular and periodical; from that period when the Alchemist brooded over his mystic rites, in indefatigable but vain search after the brilliant phantoms of his dreams, to that in which Davy and Dalton have demonstrated not merely the quality but the definite proportions of the elements of the most complex substance — the long interval has been filled up, and the wonderful conclusions of science attained by the incessant mental toil of numerous, acute, patient, and daring intellects, through days of thought and nights of

watching. I have adduced this fact that great men during a long train of ages have accumulated and transmitted to you this princely inheritance, through a line far more illustrious than any ancestry ever blazoned by heraldry, not to inflate your vanity with pompous and empty words, but to incite you to noble deeds, to the labors of benevolence, the bloodless victories of reason and virtue. If you feel yourselves to be debtors to the past in an incalculable amount, shall not that reflection stimulate you to the desire of paying some part of that debt, by service to the present and future? Others have lived and toiled for us; it is for us to live and labor for others. You start on your way with all the benefits of the labors, travels, and profound study of all past times. Every happy discovery and useful invention have contributed to the refinement and intelligence of the age in which you live; you find the implements of science, experimental and demonstrative, ready fitted to your hands. For you, Hunter and Bell have scrutinized the human frame, in its minutest construction; Priestley, Davy, and Berzelius, have interrogated nature in the laboratory to learn her laws of aggregation; for you Harvey has demonstrated the circulation of the blood; for you Jenner has vindicated the validity of vaccination; for you, in short, if you will but have it so, all men of science have lived and labored. Be not disheartened as if nothing remained to be done. In every field of scientific research, there remains enough to fill the highest measure of ambition, or gratify the most ardent love of investigation. Say not, you lack genius for such exploits. These achievements have been wrought by minds like your own. In those periods in which science has advanced with the greatest rapidity, the same discovery has frequently been made by several individuals at the same time. This teaches us that the laws then discovered pointed out the next step in discovery, and thus talent common to many was able to accomplish what the highest endowments in intellect had previously found to be impossible. Listen to the declaration — made with characteristic modesty — of one of the most gifted minds. Sir Isaac Newton, at the close of a long life, spent in most successful study, says — "I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of Truth lay all undiscovered before me." What an animating prospect does this view afford,

what noble ends does it propose! If every new acquisition operates as a moving spirit upon the still depths of our minds, to awaken new enterprise and activity, to warm our hearts to new affection and kindness to our race, and to enable us to add something to the capital stock of human enjoyment, we shall not have lived in vain. Much less of success in life is in reality dependent on accident, or what is called luck than is commonly supposed. Far more depends upon the objects which a man proposes to himself; what attainments he aspires to; what he choses to educate himself for; whether he looks to the end and aim of the whole of life, or only to the present hour; whether he listens to the voice of indolence or ignoble pleasure, or to the stirring voice within him, urging his ambition on to the highest objects. The truths which you are here invited to contemplate have not only adaptation to prepare you to exercise the duties of a responsible profession, but have also the power to lift the soul above base desires, and a sordid ambition.

The laws that govern the material world are fixed and invariable. When they have once been ascertained they may be safely taken as premises in all your processes of reasoning. Your calculations will possess a kind of mathematical certainty. These laws constitute the various branches of science. I hope to have the pleasure in our future meetings of enunciating, enforcing, and illustrating some of these laws.

THE TRUE SCHOLAR.

AN

ORATION

BEFORE

THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,

JUNE 19, 1845.

BY

GEORGE DUFFIELD,
Pastor of the First Protestant Society of Detroit.

PRINTED BY REQUEST OF, AND FOR, THE SOCIETIES.

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1845.

ORATION.

Young Gentlemen of the Literary Societies of the University of Michigan.

The peculiarity, of your position, and of the occasion, awakens especial interest. You cluster round a portion of your fellow students for the last time, before bidding them adieu, when about to pass from you into the varied and trying scenes of active life. They retire too from the Halls of Science in which you yet linger—the first fruits of our University so successfully established in this young State, but recently the home and hunting ground of the wild untutored savage. We congratulate, both you and the friends of our University, and the State also, on such pledges of future usefulness. May the blessing of God go with them; His providence direct and prosper them; and their usefulness, happiness and success, in their various vocations or professions, draw after them a continual flow of cultivated, and sanctified mind from this fountain of literature and science!

It is not surprising, that you, young gentlemen—the officers whose counsel, instruction and labors you enjoy—and the guardians of this Institution, on whom the State has laïd the responsibity of conducting and managing its interests,—all who are contributing to its formation and growth, should look, with marked attention on the incidents of this occasion. The skillful architect looks well to the foundation; nor regards, with less interest, the first layers of the superstructure, that the edifice may rise and be developed in proper proportion and symmetry. With equal solicitude, do we contemplate the scenes of the present occasion, conjecturing and anticipating the history and character of our future University from the first specimens of scholarship it sends forth. We trust it will prove a mine of priceless value—a vien of inexhaustible treasure, that shall enrich our State far beyond all the mineral wealth beginning to be found, and sought with so much avidity and excitement. The graduates on this occasion, and all of you, young gentlemen, must be regarded as the specimens, that indicate its character, and give encouragement and promise of reward for labor, we trust, never to be intermitted. Nothing

but the deep feelings of solicitude entertained, for your future success, and for the welfare of our University, could have induced the speaker, whom you have selected to address you, in the midst of diversified and accumulated engagements and labors, to have appeared before you. But the occasion seemed so appropriate to suggest SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRUE SCHOLAR, that your call has been promptly complied with, however imperfectly it will be executed.

The word Scholar is used in various shades, and even greater varieties of meaning—to denote, sometimes, as in the vulgar use, the simple learner under the direction of a teacher—sometimes a disciple as Hooker has done—at others, with Locke a man of letters, or with Bacon a man of books—and at others still, in the sense of Shakespeare and Milton a man of lettered or literary education. We give it a still wider range, so as to designate one *well versed* both in Literature and Science. Quintilian's definition of the orator is indeed that of the true scholar

Vir talis qualis vere sapiens appellari possit—

the man that has not only treasured up knowledge, but knows how to employ it—who is neither an empyric in literature, nor a dissembler in science, but who really and thoroughly comprehends the great elements of human learning and philosophy.

Much of the prejudice, which has existed in the world, against the pursuits and profession of the scholar, has grown out of the mimicry or abuse of learning. Bacon long since animadverted on three principal "varieties in studies, whereby, learning hath been most traduced." These he accounted distempers, denominating them fantastical learning, contentious learning, and delicate learning, or in other words of his own quaint style, "vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affectations." The true scholar will not care to be found an adept in either;—nor waste his time in seeking to excel in such things. However great may be the tendency of men to run into excesses of this sort, the sound mind displays its skill by its appreciation of truth, and by its easy separation from monstrous distinctions and morbid accretions, or meretricious disguises. It is in fact the design, and business, of true scholarship, thus, to discriminate, and to guard the world from imposture. However true may be the maxim, and to some extent essential on the part of the scholar,

Oportet discentem credere,

Yet is it just as true and important, to bear in mind the counterpart

Whatever obligation and deference, disciples and scholars owe to their masters or teachers, in matters of instruction and information sought, they can never bind them to submit their minds in a perpetual captivity to their dogmas and opinions, nor to any thing but the authority of truth and right.

The knowledge of nature has never been lodged by the Creator with a privileged class of men. No aristocracy of this sort is to be found in her schools. Her pages lie open, and are spread out before all. Her voice is as free, and prompt in its counsels to all, as the breathing of her zephyrs, the roar of her torrents, or the thunder of her tempests. Her light is as diffusive as the rays of her own luminaries, which she has hung around the earth. It is not her exclusiveness, or unwillingness to commune with men, that renders her unknown or unintelligible; but their own heedlessness, their indifference to her invitations, or their substitution of a vain philosophy, that reduces, and brings them under the dominion of impostors and usurpers, who presume to dictate to their credulity, as though they were her privileged interpreters.

Equally free are all the higher revelations made to man by his Creator. The Bible, which is the transcript of the divine mind—the portrait of the divine character—the exposition of the divine will—the charter of human rights and liberty—the guide of human hope—the comforter of the human heart—the counsellor of human ignorance and error—and the arbiter of human destiny, is no longer the property, by right, of any portion of the human race. No priestly nobility can lawfully claim its exclusive keeping, or its authoritative interpretation. It is free to all, like the manna that fell upon the camp of Israel, from which every man, woman and child might gather a supply—like the waters of the fountain, or like the vital air we breathe. It is indifference and superstition, that make men willing to neglect the counsels and oracles of God; and it is their degradation, and their damning crime, to submit to the consignment of their Bible to the shelf, the cloister, or the cell. For nothing contributes more directly, and powerfully, to the formation and developement of the true scholar, than the study of the word of God. If ignorance and contempt of nature shut men out from all the blessings and improvements of civilization, and render them barbarous and savage, so do ignorance and neglect of the word of God degrade the mind, and sink man

to the level of beasts of burden knowing nothing of the wide range and noble themes of that moral science and divine philosophy, which, unfolding the knowledge of causes, conquers all fears, in which—knowledge, as Virgil has confessed, consists true happiness.

> Felix, quipotuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

It is the province of the true scholar to realise this bliss.

In the dark days of human degeneracy and degradation, when the volumes, alike of nature and revelation, were but little known and less studied, and the world had sunk in the depths of credulity and superstition, human learning had almost vanished from the earth. But Luther rushing from his cell, impetuously broke the chain which had bound the Bible in convents, and raising high the exulting shout of an emancipated mind, called the world to knowledge and to freedom. The ancient tomes, that had long slept in the libraries, of the schools, and of the great, were brought from their shelves, ransacked and read; and learning and science revived and flourished. Cicero, Hermogenes, and Demosthenes resumed their place in the schools; and studious youth were allured to delicate and polished literature. Language rather than thought, a *copia verborum*, rather than truth of matter and value of sentiment, began to find preference. Instead of severe inquisition of truth, and deep penetration into philosophy, learned men substituted the arts of eloquence, the subtleties of diction, mere delicacies and affectations of style, until worth and sacredness of truth were utterly contemned; so that it might be said of many of the works of the learned, as did Hercules, when he saw in a temple the image of Adonis, Venus' minion,

> Nil sacri es.

The importance and value of language will not indeed be despised by the true scholar. Those noble models of excellent speech, of classic taste and skill, who have clothed and adorned the obscurity of philosophy itself, with an admirable style of diction, such as Xenophon, and Plutrarch, and Aristotle, and Pliny among the philosophers, Demosthenes, and Cicero among the orators, Herodotus Thucydides, Tacitus, and Livy among the historians, Socrates, as reported by Plato, and Seneca among the moralists, and Homer and Virgil among the poets, will not be forgotten or undervalued. But they will not be deified by the true scholar, as was done by some of the school men: nor give occasion, either for the vulgar prejudice

against classic learning, or for the just and demerited rebuke of that accomplished scholar Erasmus, who, when the sciolist relating the amount of time and labor he had spent in such study, exclaimed in Latin

Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone,

with inimitable wit and sarcasm made the scoffing echo reply in Greek Ὄνος Ασινε. He will have his models and study them too, but it will be as aids, in prosecuting his own researches, and in expressing his own conceptions. His object is not to appear learned, but actually to know the boundaries of human knowledge, and what within them he may call his own.

Not a few, indeed, stand in striking contrast here, whose knowlege is exceedingly limited, but whose hypocritical pretensions are illimitably extended. Such literary emperics may be met every where, who answer, just as truly in our day to Butler's description, as did those slanderers and abusers of learning in his, whom he has so severely satirized.

As scriveners take *more* pains to learn the slight
Of making knots, than all the hands they write;
So all his study is not to extend,
The bounds of knowledge but some vainer end;
'T appear and pass for learned, tho' his claim
Will hardly reach beyond the empty name;
For most of those that judge and labor hard,
Furnish their understandings by the yard,
As a French library by the whole is,
So much an ell for quartos and for folios;
To which they are but indexes themselves
And understand no further than the shelves;
But smatter with their titles and editions,
And place them in their classical partitions;
When all a student knows of what he reads,
Is not in's own, but under general heads
Of common places, not in his own power,
But like a Dutchman's money in the cantore!
Where all he can make of it at the least
Is hardly three per cent for interest;
And whether he will ever get it out
Into his own possession is a doubt.

In casting our eyes back along the vista of the past, far in the distance, loom some of name and fame renowned, who stand still as models to the coming generations. Among the poets, orators, and philosophers, of antiquity, we discern like varieties with those of our own day ;—many that appear respectable, but few that excel. A Homer and Virgil, a Shakespeare and Milton, a Dante and Goethe assume pre-eminence as poets in their country and their age. Whatever may be said of their genius and their inspiration, and what they did for them, their writings prove that they were scholars too, and schol-

ars of no mean note or circumscribed sphere. Demosthenes attained to eminence by assiduous study; and under the care of Isœus and Plato, by the age of seventeen, had given proofs of his eloquence and pledges of future eminence. Isocrates' his model, was a diligent student, devoted throughout his long life to the pursuits of literature and science, and rendered himself distinguished, as well by the number and the fame of his pupils, as by the sweet and graceful simplicity, and by the euphony and dignity, of his language and style. Socrates made philosophy his study, and thus laid, not only the foundation of his fame, but of that virtue for which he has been loved and admired in all ages. Plato's greatness is to be attributed to the care, with which he was educated, and the higher degree to which his mind was enlightened and cultivated by study. Among all the great scholars of Greece, we find none that rose spontaneously. The lectures of Damon and Zeno and Anaxagoras contributed to develope the glory of Pericles, whose eloquence was compared by the Athenians to the thunder and lightning, and to whom they gave the surname of Olympian, as to another father of the Gods. Through the whole list of Greek philosophers and moralists, from Aristotle,

"Who nature's secrets to the world did teach,"

down to the last, that swayed the sceptre of superior learning, and drew the crowds of Western youth to oriental schools, the genuine scholar was to be found among those alone, who patiently and zealously devoted themselves to the toil of careful and diligent study.

It never will or can be otherwise. Here and there men may arise, who, endowed with strong minds, great natural vigor, and quickness of perception, may accomplish much, and attract applause. But the defects of education, the want of a well balanced judgment, and the general habits of inaccuracy, looseness and liability to err, which characterize such persons, will sooner or later display themselves. There is no calculating, to what extent, science, morality, and religion, have suffered from some, who have been called self taught and self educated men. Our own country, affords some sad illustrations on this subject. We mean not that all self educated men—that is, as it is commonly understood, all who have not enjoyed the benefit of a collegiate education—are of this description. On the contrary some of the best scholars are to be found among them; but they have been thoroughly educated, though to great disadvantage in the process, and without the help of other facilities, than their

own laborious and diligent study. A collegiate course does not of itself secure a thorough education. Many pass through academic halls and carry with them their Baccalaureate, and even Master's degree, and yet are far from being true scholars. Neither have their minds been disciplined, nor stored with information, to the extent they might have been, with the facilities they enjoyed, nor even to the extent of others who never possessed them. The design of academic instruction is not to turn out the perfect scholar, but to furnish the young man with sufficient material and elements to render himself such. Impatience of continuous labor, the hope or desire, by some new and short hand method, to secure a fortune, are the sure precursors of inefficiency and want. It is by the sweat of his brow, the Creator has ordained that man shall live. The toil of the mind, is just as indispensable for intellectual improvement.

Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit.

Miserable superficiality, and arrant hypocrisy, in literature and science, may for a time be paraded by sciolists with effect, like men that think to profit by counterfeit coin, and adulterated or imperfect wares and fabrics. But nothing can compensate for the want of a good foundation laid, and careful industry in building on it. Youth, of ardent minds, and ambitious after fame or fortune, may despise the labor and the toil of systematic and diligent study, hoping, by their genius, or by a happy juncture of circumstances, to secure success. But cunning, calumny, intrigue, fraud, and miserable chicanery, flattery and debasing arts, are apt to be substituted, for study and skill alone to be secured by it; and strange infatuation! singular proof of human corruption! half the pains and efforts made systematically in the latter way, would often accomplish infinitely more both in the pursuit of fortune and of fame. Regular commerce, well directed industry, secure a permanent prosperity, which speculative gain never realises. All the men of great estate in these United States, save a few who have inherited large patrimonies, have attained their wealth in this way. The highest, lasting honors and rewards, in the love and veneration of the world, to which the mere political intriguing adventurer can never succeed, are to be obtained in no other. Marshall and Wirt, Edwards and Dwight, Franklin and Rittehouse, Rush, Wistar and others of equal name, procured their great-

ness by a long, arduous, systematic, and useful course of professional or learned labor.

> It was not by vile loitering in ease,
> That Greece obtained the brighter palm of art,
> That soft, yet ardent Athens learned to please,
> To keen the wit, and to sublime the heart,
> In all supreme! complete in every part!
> It was not thence majestic Rome arose,
> And o'er the nations shook her conquering dart;
> For sluggard's brow the laurel never grows:
> Renown is not the child of indolent repose.

The parts of human learning are widely extended. Its ramifications are almost innumerable. It is indeed the work of life to trace them. Yet does not this discourage the true scholar. A few years well spent in systematic study, collegiate and professional, will enable the youthful adventurer in pursuit of knowledge, so to assort and classify the great objects of science, and so to become acquainted with the outlines and elements of its several leading divisions, as to qualify himself for continual and easy advancement in future life. The course of academic studies in general, and particularly in this University, is so well and fully sketched, that diligence and accuracy, on the part of the student, in accomplishing them, cannot fail to introduce him, when quitting his *alma mater* as one fully qualified to enter the higher walks and loftier pursuits of professional and other learning. Lord Bacon has attempted to arrange the parts of human learning, according to the different leading and characteristic powers of the human mind, allotting History in general to Memory, Poetry to Imagination, and Philosophy to Reason. Under History he embraces all that we call natural science, the facts which nature has chronicled, in all the varied forms of her developments—ranging through earth, and air, and skies—as well as all that we call History, strictly and technically so denominated, which records the civil, political and ecclesiastical events of all, and different nations, as well as the biography of individuals. All works of fiction, whether prosaic or poetical, are referrible to the imagination. It had been well for science and religion, if the imagination had been confined to mere Narrative, Dramatic, Elegiac and Allegorical works, and not accredited as a guide, in the interpretation both of nature and the word of God. His classification of the ranges of science, appropriate to reason, is very extensive, comprehending, in general, both human Philosophy and inspired Theology.

In your collegiate course, there has been a judicious selection and

arrangement of the different branches of elementary study, a thorough acquaintance with which is important, and indeed essential, both as the basis and qualification for future acquisitions. The Latin and Greek classics occupy a conspicuous and large space in your schedule. We think deservedly; for although much prejudice may exist against such learning, and great efforts have been made to underate it, and indeed to exclude it from general use; yet the true scholar can never be developed without it. In Lord Bacon's general distribution of human learning, he has but incidentally, and very imperfectly, noticed that of Language, confining his attention rather to the arts of elocution and eloquence, than to the nature and varieties of speech. It is but of late years, that this branch of human knowledge has begun to receive the attention it merits; but the light which the study of language has recently thrown upon the Ethnography of the world, and its invaluable and indispensable aid in Ethnological researches into the history and origin of our race, while rendering it every year more and more important, have almost exalted it to a place among the most useful of sciences.

The basis of all such science is laid in the academic study of the Latin and the Greek, which, for centuries, has been found so appropriate, and well adapted for the mental discipline of the young mind. Whether the student versed in these, shall ascend the stream of antiquity, and seek to make acquisitions in Oriental literature, or descend in the study of the modern languages of Europe, the Latin and Greek classics will furnish the best drill, and contribute better, than any substitute whatever, at the period of life appropriated to the acquisition of language, to awaken all the mental powers into vigorous action, to promote their growth and increase their capacity, to induce habits of precision and discrimination in style, to form the taste, to give independence of thought, to impart strength, and to fit pre-eminently for severer studies, and purposes of stricter and closer analysis. No translations can ever compensate for ignorance of the original. He is but an imperfect scholar, a mere jackdaw in literature, adorned with borrowed feathers, loosely and badly applied, who has never made himself acquainted with these fountains from which so large a part of our own language has been derived, and those treasures of thought, embodied in the Latin and Greek classics. Far distant be the day, when a love for classic learning shall cease to be cherished in our literary institutions. But, while we rejoice that this

subject has been duly appreciated, by the literary guardians of this University, we deeply deplore with you young gentlemen, both on your own account, and on account of the true interests of our institution, and of classic learning, the loss we have all sustained, by the sudden and afflicting death of your late estimable and erudite Professor in this department, the Rev. Joseph Whiting. We feel too deeply under this bereavement, to indulge in panegyric; but as we drop the tear of sadness, are constrained to say, that we fear we shall search long, if not in vain, for one, who, with such high literary qualifications, such urbanity of manners, such unaffected and genuine benevolence, such simple and fervent piety, united such devotion to the interests of youth, and of the University, and such a general assemblage of excellent properties, befitting his station, and rendering his indefatigable labors invaluable.

> Spirit! we weep, yet weep not thy release
> From toil and suffering. Thine it was to know
> The interchange, whose high communion, sweet,
> Partakes of Heaven. Can worlds such peace bestow?
> The garment of thy heaviness is now
> Changed to the robe, immortal hands have wrought.
> Joy like a cherub, sits upon thy brow,—
> The pearl is thine, of price unknown, unbought,
> And he that wept below now sits at Jesus' feet.

The schedule of your studies, young gentlemen, provides for an extended course in the exact sciences, an acquaintance with which is indispensable in the process of mental discipline designed, to train the youthful mind to habits of accurate investigation, and of close, rigid demonstration, as well as to qualify for researches in many of the sciences, and success and skill in the cultivation of many of the arts. "For," says an high authority, "if the wit be dull, they sharpen it, if too wandering, they fix it, if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye, and a body ready to put itself into all positions; so in the mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient, is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended." The numerous important and invaluable applications of the Algebraic analysis, and *Calculus* to particular uses in the modern progress of science and the arts, have rendered this branch of collegiate study essential to true scholarship.

The developements of the resources of our country, in various products of the field and the forest, and in the materiel of wealth found along our Rivers and Lakes and Mountain ridges, have of late years

given increased importance to Natural History, to the whole range of natural science, as a branch of Collegiate study. Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology and Comparative Anatomy, commend themselves more and more to the attention and study, as well of the accomplished scholar as of practical men and artists. We hope to see Physiology added to the academic course, that no youth may pass through these halls ignorant of his own physical organization, and of the laws so intimately connected with his animal health and well being. There are abundant attractions in nature, to beguile from worthless works of fiction, and we hope to see sufficient interest and charm thrown around the whole circle of Natural History in the college course, to counteract and cure the vitiated taste for a loose and superficial literature, too apt to debauch the youthful mind, destroy its relish for severer studies, and to be applauded and patronized by those whose education has been defective.

The intellectual and moral sciences will ever retain their commanding position. To render the study of them effective, strict attention should be paid to Dialectics, and the rules of sober, sound inductive philosophy. A spurious Rhetoric, and a false Logic, must be carefully avoided. We need something vastly superior to Aristotle. The novum organum of Bacon merits the careful study of every scholar. But every aid will fail to secure sound logical deductions in Morals, if the Sacred Scriptures are not studied. I rejoice to see that to the evidences of Christianity are assigned a conspicuous place among your studies, which they ought to have in every College. But having demonstrated the Bible to be the word of God—a plenary infallible inspiration of the Almighty—who that loves truth, and has a desire for knowledge—to say nothing of that concern which is natural to us for our future and eternal well being—will neglect to apply his mind to the careful and diligent examination of its contents? The immense incalculable advantage to the scholar, to be derived from this source, makes us again advert to it. No book is more friendly to science, nor does the study of any other contribute so powerfully to inspire a fondness for and to stimulate to intellectual studies. The great master minds, that have contributed to impress somewhat of their own greatness on others, have been formed and moulded in the belief and study of the Sacred Scriptures. Bacon and Newton, Milton and Locke, acknowledged their obligations to the Bible. It is a book re-

plete with facts. It meets us where reason and philosophy fail us, and unfolds the character of the Divine Being, the scheme of His all pervading and ever progressive providence, the condition of the human race, their personal and social relations, the fountains of influence and means of redemption employed for man's recovery to purity and bliss, the prospect of earth's rescue from the dominion of the curse and corruption, and the translation to it of the kingdom of Heaven in all its glory and triumph—themes ennobling and lofty, the neglect of which bespeaks a grovelling and ignoble mind. From no other source can knowledge, on these lofty themes be derived. The idea of studying morality and religion elsewhere, has been proved both mischievous and false. The Bible is invaluable, not only as a book of morals and religion, but for its powers to enlighten and invigorate the human mind, to civilize the nations of the earth, and to teach and develope the elements of all rational freedom. Infidelity has often sought to avail itself of the developements of science, and to render them subsidiary to it, and hostile to christianity and the Bible. But no discoveries in nature, no progress in true science, have ever falsified the word of God, interpreted legitimately in its plain and obvious import. Astronomy and Geology once accounted instructers antagonistical to the revelations of christianity, have both of late been found its faithful supporters. There is nothing in the investigations of science that contradict revelation. The God who indicted the Bible, is the God that created the Heavens and the earth, and all things therein. If infidelity once gloried in the boasted antiquity of the Hindoo astronomical tables and hurled its missiles thence against the Scriptures, Laplace, after a careful mathematical investigation, not only pronounced them to be of recent date, but proved their epochs fictitious and unworthy of credit. The very recent improvements in and extension of the powers of the telescope, have rebuked the proud fancying and careerings of the imagination to which astronomical studies of late had begun to lead. Brydone's Infidel objections founded on his calculated antiquity of different stratifications of lava, have been proved by more correct geological researches, to have been mere trash. Cuvier and others have repelled the infidel objections against the Mosaic deluge. Nothing as yet has been established by geological discovery or sound deduction, that conflicts with any cosmogonic statements of Moses. Champollion has demonstrated, from the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the historical verity of Moses. Laplace

although an atheist, has demonstrated that the fortuitous existence of the earth is as mathematically false as it is theologically absurd; and has moreover computed the epoch of the coincidence of the greater axis of the earth's orbit, with the line of the equinoxes—at which time, the true and the mean equinox were the same—to have been 4004 years before the christian era—the very era of this world's creation as derived by Chronologists from the Hebrew Scriptures. If there be any thing demonstrated in Geology, we may safely say with Deluc, Dolomieu and Cuvier, that the surface of our globe has been the victim of a great and sudden revolution, of which the date cannot go much further back than five or six thousand years. Bertrand has arrived at the same result, concluding, by actual calculation from the accumulations of detritus, brought down by glaciers, and deposited where they melt, that the last cataclysm could not have occurred anterior to the date assigned by Moses for the commencement of the present order of things. Theory after theory, that has vaunted itself against the truth of revelation, has been set aside by subsequent discoveries. The utmost advances in science have never led to results inconsistent with the facts of revelation. True science tends rather to confirm them. False systems of mental science and psychological theories, have been reared with great skill and care, whence great scriptural doctrines and facts have been assailed, but stricter metaphysical analysis has set aside such theories and confirmed the statements of the word of God. Well may it be styled "the refuge of thought, the binding link between the visible and invisible, the revealed and the discoverable, the resolution of all anomalies, the determination of all problems in outward nature, and in the inward soul; the fixing and steadying element of every science, the blank and object of every meditation." It appears to us even as the olive, the emblem of peace, is described by Sophocles—a plant not set by human hands, but of spontaneous and necessary growth in the great order of creative wisdom, fearful to its enemies, and so firmly grounded, that none in ancient or later times, hath been able to uproot it.

φυτευμ ἀχείρωτον, αυτόποιον
εγχεων φόβημα δαΐων
τὸ μέν τις ὅτε νεος οὔτε γήρα,
σημαινων ἁλιώσει κερι πέρσας.

But time admonishes me to conclude. Allow me, young gentlemen, to cheer and urge you forward, in your course, by a few

parting words of counsel and exhortation. Let not the vastness of the wide range of knowledge, fill you with dismay, and lead you to conclude, that it is in vain to aim at the eminence of the true scholar. Habitual industry accomplishes wonders. Many temptations will assail you; but yield not to their seduction. Your collegiate course is designed, to facilitate your pursuit of science hereafter. It is of chief importance, that you should look more to the habits of accuracy in study you now form, than to the amount of knowledge you may be able to accumulate. Nothing can prove more dangerous to you, nor more likely to be fatal to all your future progress in science as well as hopes of eminence, than to form now that habit of conceited imperfect smattering superficiality, which is all that some bear with them from the college halls. You will meet its developements among the men of bustle and excitement, who claim to have capacity for talking on all subjects and doing every thing; but who in fact talk inaccurately on all topics, and never do any thing perfectly—a small pedantry that ever accompanies and betrays the superficial or counterfeit scholar. Habits of accurate study formed in college, of doing well and thoroughly whatever you do, of determining to master every subject, and of actually accomplishing such determination as you pass through college forms, will accelerate your progress, and facilitate your future acquisitions, infinitely more, than by dipping into every thing, knowing a little on all topics, and knowing nothing fully. Discipline yourselves to the regular systematic persevering labor of diligent study, and be not disgusted with what may appear for a time the slow advances you may make. The men that in business become impatient and catch the gambler's feverish excitement—now wild with exulting hopes, then depressed with tormenting doubts and fears, now flushed with imaginary prospects of success, and then overpowered by disappointment, mortification and anguish—never permanently succeed in their pursuit of wealth. He that starts in life, risking every thing on hazards, and resorting to dishonest means and false pretences to make his fortune, is a doomed man. As he starts so will he continue to the end. His habits will unfit him for useful industry, for the unexciting details of ordinary life, and will render him incompetent for the common and necessary duties of society. It is so preeminently with the superficial scholar. The true safeguard is the formation now of diligent, laborious habits of study. This done, every step in advance will be taken more easily, and ere long, when

thrown into the great arena of life, you will find, that it was not in vain you toiled, and pressed your way, through the monotonous course, and often tedious drilling of collegiate studies. The scholar is not to be made more readily than the artist. Familiarity, skill, and accuracy in elementary studies, are indispensable, to qualify for future success in the pursuits of literature and science.

Equally so are habits of virtue and of morality, and the influence of religion. Your characters will never be formed: your plans will never be matured; true and permanent success will never attend your efforts, if your principles are not settled. Without this the most brilliant genius may speedily be extinguished in the mire of corruption. You need ballast with which to sail safely over the boisterous sea of life. Without it you will be drifted by adverse winds, irrecoverably from your course, or soon be tossed upon the billows of passion a miserable wreck. Hundreds have failed of greatness and success in life, and never advanced in science, because they had not cultivated virtue and morality, were devoid of the influence, and ignorant of the value, of true religion. Acting on the principle so common among the unprincipled and corrupt by whom

Prosperum et felix scelus, virtus vocatur,

the brightest minds and strongest talents, that might have adorned and blessed the world, have perished prematurely, and consigned their names to infamy.

Far distant be the day, when we shall have to weep over talent ruined, and life sacrificed, by any that pass from this Institution. We mean it not as flattery, but frankly express our delight, when we say to you, young gentlemen of the recent Senior class—we hail in you a pledge of better things. Carry with you and confirm the habits of application you have formed—pursue the same diligence, in your professional that you have in your academic studies, and especially secure by faith in the blessed Redeemer and obedience to His will, the favor and guidance of His providence, and usefulness, success and prosperity shall attend you here, and glory everlasting hereafter. Let your future lives be worthy of yourselves and of this University, and we shall need no other argument to enforce its claims, or motives to secure the confidence and cordial support of the people of this State, than to point to you, in the posts of honor and usefulness you may hereafter occupy, in the church or in the world. With cordial congratulations for the friends of this Institution on the pros-

pect of its augmented numbers and prosperity, and with earnest prayers for the present and eternal welfare of all its members, we commend you to your country and to God. Aim at and sustain the high dignity of the TRUE SCHOLAR. Profane not your talents—pervert not your privileges—disappoint not the expectations that cluster round you.

Observations on the Meteors of November 13th, 1833.

Continued from the American Journal, Vol. xxv. No. 2. p. 411.

Having in the former part of this article, recited the leading facts that have been ascertained respecting the meteors of Nov. 13th, 1833, we proceed, as was proposed, to review the principal facts respecting similar occurrences that have taken place at various other periods. In this sketch our limits compel us to use as much brevity as possible.

III. Of meteoric bodies seen at various periods.

With the hope of increasing our materials for arriving at correct conclusions on the subject before us, we have examined all the accounts within our reach of bodies that have at different times presented the appearance of fiery meteors.*

The accounts of single balls of fire, traversing the atmosphere with great velocity and projecting stony bodies to the earth, are very numerous and well attested. A synopsis of these facts may be found in various scientific works.† Although bodies of this class, or *Meteorites*, may occasionally present the same appearance as a "shooting star," yet the horizontal direction which they take, the explosions which accompany them, and the solid masses which fall from them to the earth, distinguish them from the class of bodies now under consideration. The chemical constitution of aërolites is well understood. They have generally yielded to chemical analysis a large proportion of silex and iron, with a smaller proportion of magnesia, nickel and sulphur, and occasionally, small portions of other substances, as lime, manganese, cobalt, chrome, &c. As we do not suppose the meteors of *Nov.* 13th to have been thus constituted, it will be more to our purpose to inquire what other kinds of meteors have occasionally made their appearance, and what other substances have fallen from the skies.

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* We regret not having been able to obtain access to several foreign publications which are supposed to contain more ample information on this subject; particularly, Gilbert's Annals, and the Works of Brandes and Chladni.

† See particularly, Ed. Encyclopedia, *in loc.*, Ed. Phil. Journal, III. 403.

1. *Showers of black dust* have occasionally fallen from the atmosphere. In the year 472, a great fall of black dust occurred at Constantinople, during which the heavens seemed to burn.*

A meteoric substance, resembling burnt paper, is said to have fallen in Courland, in 1686.†

2. *Showers of red dust*, likened to red snow, are repeatedly recorded as having fallen from the skies. In 1755, *November* 13, the sky was red and *red rain* fell in different countries; and in 1765, *November* 14, red rain fell in Picardy.‡

3. *Gelatinous* matter fell with a globe of fire, in the isle of Lethy in India, in 1718. A *viscous* matter fell in Lusatia, in 1796, along with a meteor. About the first of April 1826, the atmosphere being very clear and the sun shining brightly, a noise resembling rolling thunder, was heard at Saarbruck, and the environs. During the sound, a greyish object about three feet and a half in height, was seen in the air, rapidly approaching the earth, and then expanding itself like a sheet;‖ there was then silence for about a minute; after which another sound resembling thunder was heard, as if it had originated at the place where the meteor fell. No residuum, or deposit was found.¶

4. Among the Chinese records of fiery meteors, mention is made of some that were consumed in the air, leaving trains or clouds of a *serpentine form*.§

5. "In *November*, 1825, about one hour after sunset, a meteor was seen in the town of Newton, Trumbull Co. Ohio, rapidly crossing the sky in a direction somewhat east of south, in size surpassing the full moon, but somewhat irregular in its form. At a certain point in its course, a portion of the meteor was seen to separate, and descend to the earth in an oblique direction, while the main body passed on, and soon disappeared. At the same time, and at the place where the meteor was seen to fall, two ladies who were walking in the road in the same direction in which the meteor was moving, found themselves suddenly enveloped in a mass of light. A ball of fire or light, several feet in diameter, seeming to come from above and behind fell upon them and the ground, breaking, as it struck into a thousand smaller balls, rolling upon the earth and breaking again

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* Ed. Phil. Jour. III. 403. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

‖ See in the former part of this article, p. 391, an account of the appearance of a luminous object resembling in form, a *square table*, at Niagara Falls.

¶ *Chladni*, in London Quart. Jour. XXIV. 488. § Ib. VII. 383.

into still smaller balls, till it disappeared. Looking up, they saw the other portion of the meteor just as it disappeared in the distance before them. This phenomenon was attended with no noise or heat, and their clothing exhibited no traces of having been in contact with any foreign substance."*

6. The St. Petersburg Academical Gazette, contains the following account of an extraordinary phenomenon from a letter dated Moscow, May 2, 1832. "In March last, there fell in the fields of the village of Kourianof, thirteen versts from Wolokolamsk, a combustible substance of a yellowish color, at least two inches thick, and covering a superficies of between six and seven hundred square feet. The inhabitants, at first, thought it was snow, but on examination, it appeared to have the properties of cotton, having, on being torn, the same tenacity; but, on being put into a vessel full of water, it assumed the consistence of rosin. On being put to the fire, in its primitive state, it burnt and sent forth a flame like spirits of wine; but in its resinous state, it boiled on the fire, without becoming inflamed, probably because it was mixed with some portion of snow, from which it had been taken. After a more minute examination, the rosin had the color of amber, was elastic like indian rubber, and smelt like prepared oil, mixed with wax.†

7. "Soon after six o'clock in the morning of the 14*th November*, 1832, (says a letter from Bruneck, in the Tyrol) a broad stream of light suddenly descended from the center of the firmament nearly down to the ground, and was then drawn gradually up again to the middle of the sky, whence, for several seconds, it stretched itself out towards the north in a long train of light, which first appeared in a straight, and then changed into a wavy line; after this, it gathered into a light orb resembling a white cloud, and remained stationary in the center of the firmament for a full quarter of an hour, when it disappeared with the break of day. The appearance was accompanied with so vivid a degree of illumination that the smallest pebble in the road was readily distinguishable, and those who were abroad at the time, were completely panic struck. The sky, instead of being muddy with vapor, as is common at this season, and at this time in the morning, was clear and cloudless, and the air remarkably serene and tranquil. Between five and six o'clock, however, an unusual

* E. N. Sill, Esq., of Cuyahoga Falls, (communicated to the writer.)

† Annual Register, 1832.

number of *falling stars* were observed in various parts of the heavens."*

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing facts is, that the substance of which fiery meteors are constituted is of various kinds, from the dense ferruginous matter of aërolites to that which is flocculent and of the texture of cotton, or to matter so attenuated as to be almost impalpable. The high degree of combustibility, attending some of these substances is to be particularly noted.

Meteoric phenomena, more or less resembling the one under review, have occurred at several periods before. The one most like the present, is that described by Humboldt, to which reference has already been made, in the former part of this article (p. 368.) The entire account as given in Humboldt's Personal Narrative, (vol. 3. pp. 331-346,) is worthy of being consulted not only for the interesting facts it contains, but for the opinions of so eminent a meteorologist. We shall have occasion to recur to this author hereafter.

In the month of April, 1803, a similar appearance presented itself in the United States, which is thus described in the Richmond (Virginia) Gazette of April 23d. "From one until three in the morning, those starry meteors seemed to fall from every point in the heavens, in such numbers, as to resemble a shower of sky rockets. The inhabitants happened at the same hour, to be called from their houses by the alarm bell, which was rung on account of a fire that broke out in the Armory, but which was speedily extinguished. Every one, therefore had an opportunity of witnessing a scene of nature, entirely novel, in this part of the globe, and which, probably, will never appear again. Several of these shooting meteors were accompanied with a train of fire, that illuminated the sky, for a considerable distance. One, in particular, appeared to fall from the zenith, of the apparent size of a ball eighteen inches in diameter, that lighted the whole hemisphere, for several seconds. A hissing noise, was plainly heard in the air, and several reports resembling the discharge of a pistol. Had not the city bell been ringing, the reports would probably have seemed much louder. The sky was remarkably clear and serene, and several of the largest meteors were observed to descend almost to the ground, before they exploded. Indeed, many of those, which we saw, appeared to approach within a few yards of

* Annual Register, 1832.

the house tops, and then suddenly to vanish. Those which we particularly remarked, appeared to descend in an angle of sixty degrees with the horizon; but, as the smaller ones were so numerous, and crossed each other in different directions, it was only possible to ascertain with any degree of precision, only the paths of the largest and most brilliant."

The same exhibition was seen in the western part of Massachusetts, and probably in the intermediate country, although no records of the observations have reached us.

Remarkable exhibitions of shooting stars were seen in several parts of the earth at the corresponding time of the year 1832. On the night of *November 19th*, of that year, an extraordinary display of this kind occurred in England which is thus noticed in the English papers. At Portsmouth, "the heavens presented a very extraordinary appearance, shortly after midnight. Thousands of meteors were seen continually darting about in all directions, and the whole atmosphere was unusually illuminated. The driver of the night London coach, describes the effect as awful, and says it was with difficulty he could get his horses to face it. The same appearances seem to have been observed in various other places." The York Herald, speaking of the same night, says: "It was fine and moon light, when a series of fiery meteors were observed to flit across the heavens, with the rapidity and continuance of a regular discharge from a battery during a severe bombardment. They issued from the west, and in the first half hour of the phenomenon, twenty five of those balls of fire were counted, shooting along in terrific grandeur, and leaving a train of brilliant white to designate the course of their path. One of these balls had a very curious appearance, and seemed to drive a star before it."

In the Salem Register is an extract from the Journal of Capt. Hammond, giving an account of the shooting stars seen at *Mocha*, in the Red Sea, *November 13th*, 1832. "From one o'clock A. M. till after day light, there was a very unusual phenomenon in the heavens. It appeared like meteors bursting in every direction. The sky at the time was clear, the stars and moon bright, with streaks of light, and thin white clouds interspersed in the sky. On landing in the morning, I inquired of the Arabs if they had noticed the above; they said they had been observing it most of the night. I asked them if the like had ever appeared before: the oldest of them replied that it had not."

The following account of a "shower of fire" is taken from the New England Farmer (Boston) of May 1, 1833, in which work it is quoted from the *Medical Gazette*. "A singular phenomenon presented itself lately in some parts of France, particularly in the department of Orne, in the neighborhood of Argenton. Several times, and during two whole hours, the atmosphere, which was calm, became filled with an innumerable quantity of vivid sparks, forming a sort of shower of fire. The appearance was most striking between four and five o'clock in the morning. The same phenomenon was witnessed about Caen, where however, it excited less apprehension than at Argenton. It is said that in some places, the sparks was seen to alight upon the ground, but no traces of them have any where been found; and it is probable that the phenomenon really took place in the upper regions, the appearance of having descended being most likely an optical illusion."

A few detached facts may be added, which may prove of some importance in relation to the theory of shooting stars.

Mr. Brydone, the celebrated traveller, frequently observed shooting stars from the mountain of St. Bernard, one of the high Alps, and also several from the highest region of Mount Etna; and *they always appeared as high as when seen from the lowest grounds.**

Kirch, a German Astronomer, gives the following account of a fire ball seen at Leipsic in 1686. "On the 9th of July, O. S. at half an hour past one in the morning, a fire ball with a tail was observed in $8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of Aquarius, and 4° north, *which appeared immovable for half a quarter of an hour*, having a diameter nearly equal to half the moon's diameter.†

There are various records of meteors which left *luminous trains* that remained for some time after the bodies themselves had disappeared. One of the most remarkable of these was seen in England *November 13th*, 1803.‡ Even Virgil seems to have observed meteors of this kind, and alludes to them as prognostics of a high wind.

> Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis
> Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram
> *Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus.*
> Georg. L. 1.365.

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* Nicholson's Jour. xx. 84. Brydone's Tour in Sicily.

† Quoted by Halley, Phil. trans. ab. vi. 110.

‡ Nicholson's Jour. vi. 279 and vii. 66. Phil. trans. 1742 in Dr. Young's Catalogue, p. 499. *Foster*, Nich. Jour. xxx. 132.

Sir Humphry Davy says, that falling stars are regarded in Great Britain as the fore-runner of a *westerly wind*.*

Since the former part of this article was published, we have received accounts of the phenomenon as it was exhibited at Kingston (Jamaica) and in Mexico. At Kingston, the meteors are said to have radiated *from the zenith*,—an observation which would be of much value, could it be ascertained to have been made with entire accuracy; but we have before adverted to the errors which, from the difficulty of looking directly upwards, common observers are apt to commit in referring objects to the zenith.

From the description of the appearances as they were presented at Mexico, we infer that the exhibition had lost none of its magnificence and splendor when it traversed that country.

From *Professor Thomson*, formerly of the University of Nashville, Tenn., and from *Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq.* of Michilimackinac, I have received communications, which are valuable, not only on account of the well known competency of the witnesses, but as relating to observations made at points remote from each other. Professor Thomson, remarks as follows:—

"Having been engaged in running the standard lines for the general survey of the Chickasaw Nation in Mississippi, I was at the house of Major Allen, on the night of the 'falling stars.' Major Allen is the government agent, and resides nearly in the center of the Nation. About an hour before daylight, I was called up to see the falling meteors. It was the most sublime and brilliant sight, I had ever witnessed. The largest of the falling bodies, appeared about the size of Jupiter or Venus, when brightest. Some persons present, affirmed that they heard a hissing noise on the fall of some of the largest. The sky presented the appearance of a shower of stars, which many thought were real stars, and omens of dreadful events.

"I noticed the appearance of a *radiating point*, which I conceived to be the vanishing point of straight lines as seen in perspective. *This point appeared to be stationary.* The meteors fell towards the earth at an angle of about 75°, with the horizon, moving from the east towards the west. There was not sufficient wind to account for the above inclination in the fall of the meteors.

"A surveyor's company, who were encamped in the neighborhood, stated that the fall of stars commenced about 9 o'clock, P. M. and continued all night, but that only a few were seen to fall early in the night. The position of the apparent radiating point, you will readily find on a celestial globe, by noting the latitude of this place,

* Encyc. Amer. v. 43.

34° 30′ N. and the time, viz. 5 o'clock, A. M. together with the angle of fall above mentioned."*

Mr. Schoolcraft writes thus:—

"Michilimackinac, Jan. 6, 1834.

"*To Prof. Olmsted.*—Sir—The meteoric display described in your letter of the 13th November, was observed, at the same time, on this island, and the adjacent shores of lake Huron. The appearances coincided, generally, with those you mention. The sentinels at post in the garrison, which is situated on a cliff, saw the lake illuminated, as it were, with falling stars. Indians, at point St. Ignace, describe the stars as falling into the water. Persons, at the fishing grounds, forty miles south, speak in admiration of the brilliancy of the meteoric phenomenon. Two persons encamped at Point Detour, forty five miles N. E. who passed the night in the open air, describe the scene as presenting an assemblage of dancing or shooting stars, which continued to be visible until day light. No similar scene is recollected to have occurred by white, or red men.

"It may be added, that the weather has been uncommonly mild, subsequent to this occurrence. This fact, was first noticed the latter part of November, when the existence of severe cold is expected. All December was characterized by a comparatively high range of the thermometer, with prevalent winds from the southward and westward. So striking were the effects, that maple sugar was made by the Indians, during that month. But little snow fell, until the first inst. Floating ice appeared in the lake on the 3d.; but the lake and harbor are still without any fixed body of ice.

"I am Sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

"Henry R. Schoolcraft."

A statement made in a communication to the Boston Christian Register, of Jan. 25, 1834, deserves notice. It is as follows. "My first attention (says the writer) was to determine the centre or point from which the meteors started, which, from the place where I stood (Lat. 42° 45′ N.) appeared in the "Lion's Heart," near Regulus, but evidently within our atmosphere. There is one thing that I have not seen noticed by any that have written, and which could not have been noticed by me had I not kept my eye on the centre or point, from whence the meteors all shot forth, for a considerable time; and that was, an appearance of a star, less at first than the stars of the constellation by which it was surrounded; but it would increase un-

* On the supposition that Prof. Thomson saw the radiating point *directly in the east*, 15° from the zenith, it would appear to have been in the southern extremity of Leo Minor, R. A. 153° 15′ Dec. 30° 40′.

til it was much larger than the stars, then totally disappear from ten to fifteen minutes, and then appear again; but the meteors shot forth in greater numbers in the interval between the appearances above mentioned."

A strong motive for making a digest of the leading facts respecting the meteors of November 13th, and of similar appearances that have occurred at other times, has been, the hope of affording facilities and materials for those who are better qualified than myself to give an explanation of these sublime but mysterious phenomena. The solution which men of science may give to the difficulties with which this subject is environed, will be looked for with impatience. In the mean time, I proceed, with much diffidence, to offer such views respecting the causes of the phenomena under consideration, as appear to me, in the present state of our knowledge, the most satisfactory.

IV. Explanation.

The principal questions involved in the present inquiry, are the following. Was the *origin* of the meteors within the atmosphere or beyond it? What was the *height* of this place above the surface of the earth? By what *force* were they drawn or impelled towards the earth? In what *directions* did they move? With what *velocity?* What was the cause of their *light and heat?* Of what *size* were the larger varieties? At what height above the earth did they disappear? What was the nature of the *luminous trains*, which sometimes remained behind? What *sort of bodies* were the meteors themselves—of *what kind of matter* constituted—and in what manner did they exist *before they fell to the earth?* Finally, what *relations* did the source from which they emanated sustain to our earth?

1. *The Meteors of November 13th, had their origin beyond the limits of our atmosphere.*

All bodies near the earth, including the atmosphere itself, have a common motion with the earth around its axis from west to east; but the *radiant point*, which indicated the position of the source from which the meteors emanated, followed the course of the stars from east to west: therefore, it was independent of the earth's rotation, and consequently at a great distance from it, and beyond the limits of the atmosphere.

It has been supposed that this westerly progress of the radiant point might be owing to the effects of *a strong current of wind*, in the up-

per regions of the atmosphere;* for, although the wind at the surface was at that time in the opposite direction, namely, from west to east, yet counter currents of wind are known sometimes to exist at different elevations. But it would be very remarkable that the progress of the wind westward should *exactly keep pace* with the revolution of the earth in the opposite direction; and it is, moreover, inconceivable that the wind should blow with such a velocity,—a velocity which, in our latitude, is nearly seven hundred and fifty miles, an hour, while the most violent hurricanes rarely exceed one hundred miles an hour.

It has also been supposed that the meteors appeared to radiate from a fixed point in the heavens, only because their lines of direction were parallel to the *magnetic meridian*, and their inclination in the direction of that meridian such as to make appear to converge towards the *pole of the dipping needle*.†

At the time when the attention of most of those who observed the phenomenon, was first directed to it, the position of the radiant point was in the same part of the heavens as the magnetic pole. But at half past five, the azimuth of the radiant point was, at New Haven, about 50 degrees, and at six it was 25 degrees, while that of the magnetic meridian is less than 5 degrees. But at 7 o'clock the same radiant point was nearly on the meridian: hence it could have had no fixed relation to the meridian of the place, as the magnetic pole has.

That the source of the meteors did not partake of the earth's rotation, but that it existed in space in such a manner that places lying westward of each other came successively under it by the diurnal revolution, may be inferred from the fact, that the phenomenon, at any given stage, as at the *maximum*, for example, *occurred nearly at the same hour of the night*, at places differing greatly in longitude. For, suppose that the meteors descended from the atmosphere like a shower of rain; and first, let the descent be at the same moment of absolute time. Then the occurrence would have been at an earlier hour of the night to places lying westward, by an hour for every 15 degrees of longitude. The maximum which was at 4 o'clock at New Haven, would have been at 3 o'clock in the western part of

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* See Professor Caswell's observations in the Providence Journal.

† See Professor Hitchcock's remarks in the last No. of this Journal.

Ohio, and at half past 2 o'clock in Missouri and Louisiana; but in each case, it is said to have been about 4 o'clock.*

Secondly, suppose the meteoric shower to have commenced on the east, and to have had a progressive motion westward; then the simultaneous occurrence in different meridians can be accounted for, only on the supposition that such a motion was exactly equal to that of the diurnal revolution. We can hardly conceive of atmospheric bodies acquiring such a motion except in common with the wind; and we have already adverted to the improbability that the wind blew at the rate of seven hundred and fifty miles per hour.

Thirdly, suppose the meteoric shower to have commenced on the west, and to have had a progressive motion eastward; then the occurrence would have happened much later in the day to places lying eastward. For example, the shower is on the meridian in 87 degrees of west longitude, at 4 o'clock; at that moment it is 5 o'clock at New Haven; and before the shower reaches our meridian, it will be later still, by all the time it occupies in passing through 15 degrees of longitude.

We find it impossible, therefore, to account for the simultaneous occurrence of the meteoric shower at places differing so many degrees in longitude, on any other supposition than that the source or *cloud* (so to speak) was nearly stationary with respect to the earth, and beyond the influence of its rotation.

We are led by the same fact to infer that the cloud was either much larger from north to south than from east to west, or that it had a slow progressive motion in the former direction, either directly from north to south, or from north west to south east. Had it covered as great an extent of country from east to west as it did from north to south, an extent exceeding 30 degrees of latitude, the time of appearance on different meridians could not have been the same; and had the southerly progress of the cloud been otherwise than slow, the breadth being comparatively small from east to west, we cannot account for the observed *duration* of the phenomenon, which, in its extreme limits, was about eight hours, namely, from 10 to 6 o'clock, although in most places, not more than three or four hours. Let us

* No doubt a considerable range must be allowed for loose and indefinite statements respecting the time; but it seems hardly credible that the actual difference of time could have corresponded to the difference of longitude in places so remote, without being remarked.

then consider the consequences of a slow progressive motion in the cloud from north to south. Following the eastern limits, as the only one within our observation, we see that places lying on the same meridian, south of the place of the cloud at any moment, would pass to the eastward before the cloud would be vertical. This would cause the eastern line to extend in a direction from N. E. to S. W. Such we believe to have been the fact. In lat. 2° N. lon. 41° W. the phenomenon was not visible. In lat. 36° N. lon. 61° W. "an unusual number of meteors were seen, but comparatively few, not more than four or five in a minute." (See the last Vol. of the Journal, p. 399.) But, in this longitude, as far north as St. George's Banks, the display was as great as at New York. Capt. Parker also, in the Gulf of Mexico, actually saw the cloud advancing from N. E. to S. W.

An observation of Mr. Riddell at Worthington, Ohio, would seem, at first view, to be at variance with this fact. "It first occurred to me (says Mr. R.) to determine the location of the point from which the Meteors seemed to radiate, a little before 5 o'clock. A gentleman present, happened to have a map of the constellation Leo, so that we had no difficulty in recording our observations pretty accurately. At 5 o'clock, the R. A. of this point, as since determined from a globe, was near 149°: its declination, 21° 45′. Twenty minutes later, the R. A. was 151°, dec. 21° 30′, nearly. From this time, until the meteoric exhibition was rendered invisible by the light of day, the center of radiation seemed to retain the same place in the heavens, moving westward with the fixed stars."*

From this observation, it appears that before it became stationary, the cloud or source of the meteors, had an absolute motion from N. W. to S. E. How then could it appear to Capt. Parker, to advance from N. E. to S. W.? Resolving the southeasterly motion into two motions, one directly south, the other directly east, had the latter portion been exactly equal to the diurnal motion, the cloud would have been seen by Capt. Parker, (who referred the motion to the terrestrial meridian,) to advance directly south; but had the easterly part of the motion been less than that of the earth, the cloud would have apparently advanced from N. E. to S. W. The latter supposition, namely, that the progress of the cloud was so slow that the easterly part of the motion was less than the diurnal, is probably the true one—

* Letter to the writer, Dec. 21, 1833.

a fact which is indicated, indeed, by the observation itself; for, in twenty minutes, the radiant moved easterly two degrees in right ascension, while the earth in the same time must have moved five degrees. This easterly motion, moreover, must have considerably increased the duration of the phenomenon. Now had the cloud been near the earth, or within its atmosphere, its apparent as well as real progress, would have been from N. W. to S. E.; and this would have been the line of direction on the eastern limits, whereas that line appears to have been from N. E. to S. W.

2. *The height of the place whence the Meteors emanated, above the surface of the earth, was about* 2238 *miles.*

The R. Ascension and Declination of the radiant point, having been observed by Dr. Aiken, at Emmittsburg, (Md.) by Mr. Riddell, at Worthington, (Ohio,) and by myself at New Haven, we hoped to be able to obtain data for a satisfactory estimate of the height. But the observations present singular anomalies, especially in respect to the R. Ascension. As the observations were made without the use of instruments, none of them can be supposed to have been entirely accurate. Although, after making the observations, I had immediate recourse to a celestial globe of the best construction, and marked the spot with as much accuracy as I could, yet as the light of day was advancing at the time of making the observation, and as the lines of direction could not be traced back to the center of radiation, but only to the vicinity of that center, I cannot rely on my own observations as accurate, to less than half a degree. Mr. Riddell had the advantage of a celestial map before him at the time; but having no other aid to the eye, he can hardly be supposed to have been much more accurate, if at all. Dr. Aiken, resorted to a celestial globe, soon after observing the point in question, and marked its position with a pencil. He remarks, (in a letter recently received,) that its declination must have been at least 24° 30′, unless the globe which he used was inaccurate; and to enable me to judge of this, he gives the R. Ascension and Declination of several of the neighboring stars as indicated by the same globe. On comparing these elements with those given by one of Carey's best globes, I find the dec. of Gamma Leonis to be 45′ less than that stated by Dr. Aiken. Hence, deducting 45′ from 24° 30′, we have 23° 45′, as the true observed dec. at lat. 39° 40′. The dec. observed at Worthington, lat. 40° 4′, was 21° 30′, and at New Haven, lat. 41° 18′, it was 20°.*

* Not 21° as before stated by mistake. In the original article published on the same day of the occurrence, it was given at 20°.

Although these elements indicate a parallax in the right direction, yet there is some want of correspondence between the amount of parallax and the differences of latitude in the several cases. Between New Haven and Worthington, the parallax in Dec. is only 1° 30′, the difference of Lat. being 1° 14′, while between New Haven and Emmittsburg, the parallax is 3° 45′, the difference of Lat. being 1° 38.′

Owing to the want of correspondence between these elements, we shall form a different estimate of the distance, according as we derive our data from one pair or another of these observations. The apparent radiant being stationary, we may suppose the Dec. taken by each observer, at the moment when that point was on his meridian. The difference of Lat. will represent the distance corresponding to the parallax. Neglecting for the present all considerations of the earth's spherical figure, and of refraction, we may in a very simple manner, obtain an approximate expression for the distance as follows.

Let AB represent a horizontal line, and the angle BCD, the altitude of the radiant point, 74° 5′, as seen at Emmittsburg, in Lat. 39° 40′, C being the place of observation. Let A be the place of observation at New Haven, in Lat. 41° 18′; then the angle at D will represent the parallax in Dec., namely, 3° 45′, and the angle 74° 5′ − 3° 45′ = 70° 20′ = CAD; and the side AC = 1° 38′ = 112.7 miles.

Hence, Sin	3° 45′	8.815599
	Sin 74° 5′	9.983022
	112.7	2.051924
		12.034946
	1657	3.219347

That is, the observations at Emmittsburg, compared with those at New Haven, give the distance from New Haven to the source of the Meteors, *sixteen hundred and fifty seven miles.*

Fig. 1.

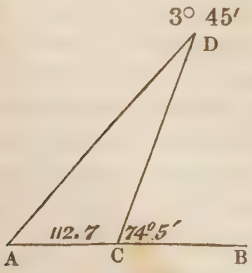
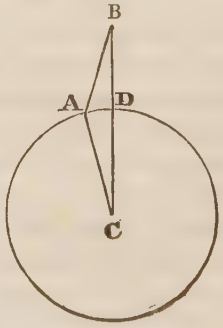


Fig. 2.



But applying to the same figure, the elements as deduced from the observations made at New Haven and Worthington, the calculation will be as follows.

BCD=71° 26′	Sin 1° 30′ - -	8.417919
ADC= 1° 30′	Sin 71° 26′ - -	9.976787
AC= 85.1	85.1 - -	1.929930
		11.906717
	3082 - -	3.488798

From this calculation we obtain for the distance from New Haven to the place of the Meteors, *three thousand eighty-two miles*, a result nearly twice as great as the former. I know of no way of accounting for this difference, but to impute it to want of exactness in observations made loosely with the naked eye, instead of being measured by instruments.

Referring the same estimates to the center of the earth, we obtain the following results.

AB=1657 AC=3956. ∴AB+AC=5613		3.749195
	AB−AC=2299	3.361539
	tan 10° 39′	9.274269
BAC=180°−21° 18′=158° 42′		
½ABC+½BCA= 10° 39′		12.635808
	tan 4° 25′	8.886613

ABC=15° 4′
ACB= 6° 14′

Sin 15° 4′ - -	-	9.414878
Sin 21° 18′ - -	-	9.560207
3956 - -	-	3.597256
		13.157463
BC=5528 - -	-	3.742585

DB=1572

Hence, according to the observations made at Emmittsburg and New Haven, the *perpendicular height*, above the surface of the earth, of the place whence the meteors emanated, was *fifteen hundred and seventy-two miles*. But from the observations made at Worthington and New Haven, the perpendicular height, estimated in the same way, was 2955 miles.

We have at present no more satisfactory way of obtaining the perpendicular height of the place in question, than to take the mean of

the two foregoing results, which gives 2263½ miles, as the approximate place of the radiant.

This estimate is entitled to greater confidence from the fact that according to the estimate of *Hon. S. DeWitt*, of Albany, (obligingly communicated to the writer,) the height estimated from the observations of Capt. Parker in the Gulf of Mexico, compared with those made at New Haven, is 2027 miles, differing less than one ninth part of the whole from the estimate made from the three other observations combined.

That this is an approximation to the truth, may be farther inferred from the correspondence of these estimates to one founded on the data of Prof. Thomson, (see p. 138,) which gives the perpendicular height above the earth's surface 2424 miles. Finally, taking the mean of all the foregoing estimates, we obtain 2238 miles, as the nearest approximation we are at present able to make to the perpendicular height of the source of the meteors, above the surface of the earth.*

3. *The meteors fell towards the earth, being attracted to it by the force of gravity.*

It seems unnecessary to assign any other cause for the descent of these bodies to the earth, than gravity, a known and an adequate cause. It is easy to conceive, that bodies situated in space at a distance from the center of the earth comparatively so small, as about six thousand miles, would be brought under the dominion of the earth's attraction, whatever may have been their previous tendency towards one another, or towards a central nucleus. Such a tendency indeed, if it existed, we shall hereafter see reason to believe was very slight, and would not materially oppose terrestrial gravitation.

4. *The meteors fell towards the earth in straight lines and in directions, which, within considerable distances, were nearly parallel with each other.*

The courses are inferred to have been in straight lines, because no others could have appeared to spectators in different situations, to have described arcs of great circles. In order to be projected into the arc of a great circle, the line of descent must be in a plane pass-

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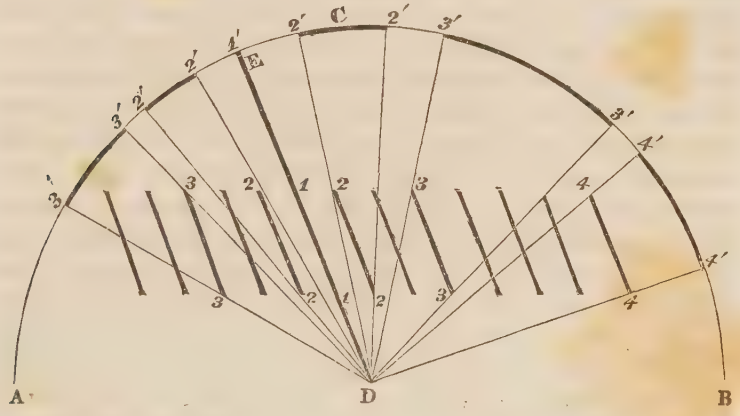
* I know of no way of accounting for the want of a parallax in R. A. corresponding to that in Dec. (as might be expected in some of the observations,) except to ascribe it to an uncertainty in respect to *time*, which would obviously greatly affect the observations in R. A.

ing through the eye of the spectator; and the intersection of such planes, passing through the eye of different spectators, must be straight lines.* The lines of direction are inferred to have been parallel, on account of their apparent radiation from one point, that being the vanishing point of parallel lines, upon well known principles of perspective. Some idea of the manner of falling, and of the cause of apparent radiation, may be gathered from the annexed diagram.

Fig. 3.



Let A B C (fig. 3) represent the vault of the sky, the center of which, D, being the place of the spectator. Let 1.2.3. &c., represent parallel lines directed towards the earth. A luminous body descending through the line DE, coincident with the axis of vision, would appear stationary all the while at 1′; a body descending 2,2; would appear to describe the short arc 2′,2′; and a body descending 3,3, would appear to describe the longer arc 3′,3′.

By considering thus, the manner in which the arcs described on the celestial vault would appear, according as the meteor was nearer to the axis of vision, or more remote from it, we shall arrive at the following conclusions; that those meteors which fell nearer to the axis of vision, would describe shorter arcs, and move slower, while those which were further from the same axis, would appear to describe longer arcs, and to move with greater velocity; that the meteors would all seem to radiate from a common center, namely, the point where the axis of vision met the celestial vault; and that if

* See a familiar illustration of this subject in Dalton on the Aurora Borealis, *Meteorological Essays*, p. 160.

any meteor chanced to move directly in the line of vision it would be seen as a luminous body, stationary for a few seconds at the center of radiation. All these circumstances are in accordance with the statements of various observers. Thus, Mr. Twining says, "in the vicinity of that point [the center of apparent radiation] a few star-like bodies were observed, possessing very little motion, and leaving very little length of trace. Farther off, the motions were more rapid and the traces longer; and most rapid of all, and longest in their trace, were those which originated but a few degrees above the horizon, and descended down to it." Professor Hitchcock observes, "that those nearest the point of radiation, had generally, a very slow motion, slower than in other parts of the heavens, and the apparent velocity as well as brilliancy, in some cases increased, as the meteor receded from the radiant point. In other instances, after a slow motion, over a very inconsiderable arc, they disappeared." (Amer. Jour. xxv. 356.) The *transient* appearance of a luminous body, at the center of radiation, is recognized in the account given in the Boston Christian Register, from which we have made an extract, on page 139; and the fact noticed by Mr. Palmer, (Vol. xxv. p. 384.) "that the circular space surrounding the center of radiation, from which no meteors appeared to fall, was small at first, but gradually enlarged its dimensions to the end of the observations, at which period it was many times larger, than at first,"—this fact is readily explained on the supposition that more meteors fell near the axis of vision at first than afterwards.

The westerly tendency, of the first variety of meteors, (See p. 394.) was probably owing to the earth's revolution on its axis, which would give to bodies falling towards the earth, but not endued with this motion, a relative motion westward.

By altering the position of the axis of vision, with respect to the horizon, in fig. 3. it will be seen that the meteors might, in certain cases, have appeared to the spectator to rise while they actually descended, a fact which was noticed by a few observers. Indeed from the above figure itself, those between the axis of vision and the zenith, appear to ascend.

5. *The Meteors entered the earth's atmosphere with a velocity equal to about four miles per second.*

Regarding the meteors as bodies falling from a state of rest, with respect to the earth, at the distance of 2238 miles from its surface, we may estimate the velocity they would acquire in falling any dis-

tance towards the earth, according to the laws of falling bodies. The atmosphere may either be considered as terminating at the height of fifty miles, or as being, beyond that limit, so rare, as to afford no sensible resistance to the descent of bodies; for, at this elevation the air would be nearly twenty times as rare as it can be made by the best air pumps. The question before us then is, *what velocity would a body acquire in falling from a point* 2238 *miles above the earth, to within fifty miles of its surface?*

If a denote any distance from the center of the earth, and x a less distance from the same center, r the radius of the earth, and m the space passed through in 1″ at the surface, then the velocity acquired in falling through $a-x$ will be given by the following formula.*

$$V = 2r\left(m + \frac{a-x}{ax}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

That is, $V = 7912\left(\frac{16.1 \times 2188}{5280 \times 6194 \times 4006}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}} = 4.1$† miles.

Hence it appears, that the meteors entered the earth's atmosphere with a velocity more than ten times greater than the maximum velocity of a cannon ball, and about nineteen times that of sound. We shall find reason to believe that these bodies were, in many instances, of great magnitude; and the immediate consequence of the falling of a body with this prodigious velocity must be, a powerful condensation of the air before it, thus retarding its progress, and producing also a great evolution of heat.

We may call to mind here, what is known respecting the density of the air at different elevations. At the height of seven miles above the surface, the air becomes four times as rare as at the surface, and this rarefaction increases in the same ratio as the height is increased, according to the following law:

Heights,	7	14	21	28	35	42	49
Densities,	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{256}$	$\frac{1}{1024}$	$\frac{1}{4096}$	$\frac{1}{16384}$

Hence, at the height of twenty one miles, the air is sixty four times as rare as at the surface; and at the height of forty nine miles, 16384 times as rare. It follows that *three fifths* of all the air contained in the atmosphere, is within four miles of the earth.

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* See Vince's Fluxions, Pr. XL. Ex. 5. Young's Mech. Art. 116.

† It is worthy of remark, that the velocity of the Weston meteor, as estimated by Dr. Bowditch, was three and a half miles per second. (Mem. Amer. Acad. III. 134.)

Rare as the medium must be at the height of fifty miles, where these bodies are supposed to enter it, yet we conceive that the air of the upper regions in the path of the falling body, would be put into violent motion, and would of course abstract an equal quantity of motion from the meteor; and since the body as it descended, would, at every stage of its progress, meet with denser and denser air, that the resistance would finally become such as greatly to retard or even to stop it, according as it were constituted of heavy or light matter; and if it were combustible, that heat would be thus evolved sufficient to consume it. For the sake of keeping the principal points distinctly in view we will, however, adhere to the method already pursued, of enunciating them in separate propositions.

6. *The meteors consisted of combustible matter, and took fire and were consumed in traversing the atmosphere.*

That these bodies underwent combustion, we had the direct evidence of the senses. We saw them glowing with intense light and heat, increasing in size and splendor as they approached the earth; we saw them extinguished in a manner in all respects resembling a combustible body like a sky rocket, burnt in the air; and in the case of the larger, we saw, for the product of combustion, a cloud of luminous vapor, which frequently spread over a great extent, and remained in sight, in some cases, for half an hour. To establish a case of real combustion, I do not know that we can either have or desire any better evidence than that of the senses. By combustion, however, it is not implied that every particle was converted into an aëriform product: the smoke is supposed to have consisted, as in most cases of terrestrial combustion, of vapors condensed in that region of cold, and of solid matter in a minute state of division, which escaped actual combustion, as is the case in the smoke of a common fire. The proportion of this solid matter would be greater, in consequence of the rarefied state of the air at the place of combustion.

That these bodies took fire *in the atmosphere*, we infer from the fact that they were not luminous in their original situation in space, otherwise we should have seen the cloud, or body, or whatever it was, from which they emanated; but they were not luminous except for the few seconds while they were within the atmosphere, for had they been so before, we should have seen them during the whole of their progress towards the earth, a period of about twenty and three fourths minutes.*

* 20′. 43.55″, calculated by formula in Young's Mech. Art. 116.

In the former part of this article, (p. 409.) the following query was raised: *Could bodies constituted like known aërolites, falling from any supposed height into the atmosphere, generate heat sufficient, by the abrasion or condensation of the air, to dissipate them in a cloud of smoke before they reached the earth?* It was deemed the most philosophical, first to inquire whether these bodies could be supposed to have the constitution of *known* aërolites, that is, of a class of substances which are known to fall from certain meteors, before assigning to them a different constitution. Several considerations, however, induce me to think that the bodies in question could not have been so constituted. In the first place, bodies as large as some of these were, composed like meteoric stones, of iron, silex, magnesia, &c. cannot be supposed to have undergone such complete destruction in a very few seconds of time. The Weston meteor of 1807, according to Dr. Bowditch, traversed the atmosphere, for more than one hundred miles, at the height of eighteen miles above the surface of the earth, nearly parallel with it, for the space of thirty seconds, but is not supposed to have been consumed or destroyed, but only to have thrown off a few superficial fragments, which fell to the earth.*

In the second place, had these bodies been thus constituted, falling as they did directly towards the earth, they would in many instances, at least, have reached the earth; and considering their immense numbers, we should have had multiplied and appalling proofs of the fact, in the destruction and ruin that would have marked the places where they fell. Yet no evidence has yet appeared of a single meteoric stone having been found; and it is even somewhat doubtful whether any palpable substance reached the ground, which could fairly be considered as a deposit from the meteors.

In the third place, these bodies were, according to the testimony of most observers, unaccompanied by any sound; and where such a sound was supposed to be heard, it was only a very faint one; but falling aërolites are attended by a sound like thunder, or the discharge of heavy artillery.

In the fourth place, if these bodies had proceeded from one large body in space, like the fragments which fell from the Weston meteor,

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* See the remarks of *Dr. Bowditch*, on the Weston Meteor, Tr. Amer. Acad. III. 213, also, *President Day* and *Professor Silliman*, on the same subject, Mem. Conn. Acad. I. 142-174.

and if that body had been analogous to this meteor, we should have seen it by reflected light at least, for the same reason that we see the moon, except at places where the sun was so far below the horizon, that it might fall within the shadow of the earth, and this could not have been the case, when the sun was at a less depression below the horizon, than 50° 41′. Or had it been a mere cloud made up of a congeries of the small bodies, such a cloud though less favorable for reflecting light than a solid sphere, would nevertheless have reflected enough of the sun's light to have been visible. Hence, we infer that neither the falling bodies themselves, nor the source from which they emanated, could have had a constitution analogous to known aërolites.

The immediate consequence of the prodigious velocity with which the meteors fell into the atmosphere, must as already suggested, be a powerful condensation of the air before them, retarding their progress, and producing, by such a sudden compression of the air, a great evolution of heat. If by forcing down a solid piston in a small barrel, we can elicit heat sufficient to set tinder on fire, an effect which takes place when the air is suddenly compressed into one fifth of its former volume,* what must be the heat evolved by the motion of a large body in the atmosphere with a velocity so immense. According to Dalton, when the rarefied air of the receiver of an air-pump is suddenly condensed to half its bulk, its temperature is raised fifty degrees.† We must remember, also, that as air expands, or enlarges its volume, its specific heat increases; and hence that the rarefied air of the upper regions will as truly afford heat on condensation, as the denser air nearer the surface, though less favorable to the support of combustion.

On account of the increase of capacity for heat which air undergoes by rarefaction, the absolute quantity of heat contained in a given volume of atmospheric air is, according to Leslie, the same at all elevations above the earth, more being in the combined, and less in the sensible state, as the rarefaction is greater; consequently, when a portion of air which had been rendered cold by expansion is powerfully condensed, a vast amount of sensible heat is suddenly liberated.‡ In accordance with this principle, Professor Leslie has given a *formula*,

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* Library of Useful Knowledge, *Heat*, p. 38.

† Thomson's Chem. I. 135, Pictet, Phil. Mag., XIV. 364.

‡ *Leslie*, Encyc. Brit., *Sup.* Art. CLIMATE. *Thomson* on Heat and Electricity, p. 121.

by which can be determined the amount of heat extricated from air of any given degree of rarefaction, in reducing it to the state of air at the common density. The formula is as follows. Let θ denote the degree of rarefaction; then $45\ (\theta - \frac{1}{\theta})$ will express, in degrees of Fahrenheit, the heat evolved by condensation.

Now at such a height as forty nine miles above the earth, the air is supposed to be more than sixteen thousand times rarer than at the surface; and if the formula were applied to air in this state, the evolution of heat would be immense. But it is not to be supposed that, in the case before us, the air becomes reduced to the density of common air, until the meteor has descended through some distance. Considering, however, the great velocity of the falling body, we may suppose such a density to be attained at an average height of thirty five miles above the earth where the rarity of the air is 1024 times that at the surface. Hence, $45\ (1024 - \frac{1}{1024}) = 46080°$. This is the amount of heat which would be extricated by the condensation of air as it exists at the height of 35 miles; but the compression supposed is not that which results from air of this density, but of such as is less dense, commencing with that which is of an extreme degree of rarefaction. The amount of heat therefore would be greater than the estimate here made.

But to form some idea of the intensity of even this degree of heat, we may call to mind, that the temperature required to melt gold is only 5237°; the highest heat of a glass house furnace, 16000°; and the extreme heat required for the fusion of platina, 23177°.* The temperature, therefore, elicited by the falling meteors of Nov. 13th, can be compared only to those immeasurable degrees of heat which nothing can withstand, as that of Hare's blow-pipe and deflagrator.

It has been common to resort to electricity as the agent which produces the heat and light exhibited by meteoric bodies;† but Biot has satisfactorily shown, that lightning itself is no part of electricity, but is produced by the condensation of air before the electric fluid.‡

A combustible body falling into the atmosphere under such circumstances, would become speedily ignited, but could not burn freely, until it became enveloped in air of greater density; but on reaching the lower portions of the atmosphere, it would burn with great rapidity.

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* Henry's Chemistry.

† President Clap's Theory of Meteors.

‡ Traité de Physique, Tome II. 459. (Ed. 1816.)

6. *Some of the larger meteors must have been bodies of great size.*

According to the testimony of various individuals, in different parts of the United States, a few fire balls appeared as large as the full moon. Thus Dr. Smith observes (p. 379): "By far the most magnificent meteor crossed the vertical meridian about 3 o'clock A. M. Its course was nearly due west, in length by conjecture about 45°, and at a distance of about 25° south of the zenith. *In size, it appeared somewhat larger than the full moon rising.* I was startled by the splendid light in which the surrounding scene was exhibited, rendering even small objects quite visible; but I heard no noise, although every sense seemed to be suddenly aroused, if I may so speak, in sympathy with the violent impression on the sight."*

This description implies not only that the body was apparently very large, but that it was at a considerable distance from the spectator. Now a body in order to appear as large as the moon, will have the respective diameters, calculated for different distances, assigned in the following table.

Miles Distant.	Miles in Diameter.
110	1†
55	$\frac{1}{2}$
22	$\frac{1}{5}$
11	$\frac{1}{10}$
$5\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{20}$
1	$\frac{1}{110}$

That is, a body appearing as large as the moon at the distance of 110 miles, must be one mile in diameter; at the distance of 22 miles, one fifth of a mile, or 1056 feet; and even, if only at the distance of a mile, it must be 48 feet in diameter. It may be impossible to decide at which of these distances the meteor seen by Dr. Smith, ought to be taken; but the position with regard to the spectator, the apparent distance, and continued brilliancy indicate, that its real distance was considerable.

Let us, (for a very moderate estimate,) suppose it to have been eleven miles off, and appearing as large as the full moon; it must then have had a diameter of 528 feet. But if any one should choose

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* Humboldt says some of the fire balls of 1799 were from 1° to 1° 15′ in diameter, and consequently more than twice as large as the moon. (Pers. Narrative III. 332.)

† 240.000 : 110 : : 2180 : 1 *nearly.*

to limit the distance still farther, say to 1 mile, he must even then admit the actual diameter to have been 48 feet. These considerations, indefinite as they are, are sufficient to show that the body in question must have been one "of great size," agreeably to our proposition.

We may farther infer the great magnitude of some of the meteors from the dimensions of the *trains* or *clouds* which resulted from their destruction. These often stretched over many degrees, and at length, were borne along in the direction of the wind, exactly in the manner of a small cloud.

From the remarkable appearances of these objects, it was early supposed that we might be able to identify certain meteors, proving that the same one was seen by different observers, more or less remote from each other, and that we should thus obtain data for estimating the height at which these meteors were extinguished. But the subject is not without its difficulties. On the one hand, there are many circumstances which seem to indicate that the same meteor was seen at different places. Several persons, on reading the notice which I gave of a fire ball that I observed, immediately supposed it identical with one seen by themselves. My account was as follows. "One ball, that shot off in the northwest direction, and exploded a little northward of the star Capella, left, just behind the place of explosion, a phosphorescent train of peculiar beauty. The line was at first nearly straight, but it shortly began to contract in length and to dilate in breadth, and to assume the figure of a serpent drawing itself up, until it appeared like a small luminous cloud of vapor. This cloud was borne eastward (by the wind, as was supposed, which was blowing gently in that direction,) opposite to the direction in which the meteor had proceeded, remaining in sight several minutes." The time was 15 minutes before 6 o'clock.

Mr. Daniel Tomlinson of Brookfield, about twenty five miles W. b N. from New Haven, characterizes a meteor which he saw as follows:

"The *time* of appearance was about half past five o'clock; it might vary a few minutes from that time. The *course* was from south to north, varying perhaps from 3° to 5° to the west of north. It started 4° or 5° south of the zenith, and passed directly over head to about the same distance north of the zenith; all who saw it here agree essentially in the foregoing particulars as well as in the following—that the train, when first seen was nearly straight, rather largest in the middle, and tapering nearly to a point at the south end; that it

instantly contracted in length, and assumed the form of a serpent, with its head to the north; that it continued to contract in length, doubling and crossing itself, and forming a confused line, like that of a loose cord or a piece of tape dropped endwise on the floor, and then gradually dilated, and intermingled its folds, and assumed the form of a light cloud, passing off slowly in an easterly direction." To this description Mr. Tomlinson annexed a drawing representing the successive figures of the train, which agree in general with those observed by myself. The time and other circumstances also accord so well in the two cases, that we can hardly resist the impression that both spectators were observing one and the same object. Proceeding on this supposition, we may form some estimate of the height of this train, that is, of the place where the fire ball exploded. This place being 40° from the zenith of New Haven, and at or near the zenith of Brookfield, distant 25 miles, the elevation above the latter place must have been about 30 miles, that being the tangent of the angle of elevation. It favors the supposition, also, that the large fire balls were extinguished at a considerable height above the earth, that little or no *sound* was heard, while we should expect a heavy report from bodies of such magnitude, moving with such prodigious velocity through the lower regions of the atmosphere, whatever might have been their density. It appears moreover that whenever a cloud was so situated as to enable the spectator to compare its elevation with that of the falling meteors, the latter appeared the most elevated. Thus Capt. Parker in the Gulf of Mexico saw the fire balls pass *behind* a cloud, but not one passed *between the cloud and the observer;* and Professor Hitchcock says that "in no instance was a meteor observed between the clouds and the earth." (See his Essay in the last number of this Journal.) Brydone also testifies, that shooting stars seen from Mount Etna and the highest peaks of the Alps, always appeared as high as when seen from the lowest grounds.

Two difficulties, on the other hand, attending the supposition that the place of explosion was as high in this case as 30 miles, are very formidable. The first is, the *great apparent extent of the train*, and the second, the *velocity of the cloud* which resulted from it. The train of this meteor is judged to have been at least 10°, and others seen by Mr. Tomlinson were thought to be 40° in length. Since a body half a degree in diameter at the distance of 30 miles would have an *actual* diameter of $\frac{3}{11}$ of a mile, it follows that a body 10° in length, must have extended over a space $5\frac{5}{11}$ miles long. Again, the cloud mo-

ved eastward with a very perceptible progress, equal to that of an ordinary cloud a mile high, carried by a breeze of 10 miles per hour. But in order to move with such an apparent angular velocity at the height of 30 miles, it must have had a real motion of 300 miles per hour. The improbability of either of these suppositions, would lead us to believe, that the place of explosion where the trains were formed, was comparatively near to the earth.

This conclusion is much strengthened by several other considerations. It was the general impression of spectators, that the meteors descended almost to the earth. In this they were doubtless under a mistake, but still the impression is hardly compatible with the supposition, that those bodies were, at the time of their extinction, very high in the atmosphere. Those observers who were on the water, would not be so likely to be deceived in this respect, as those on land; and such, in various instances, testify that they appeared "to come quite down to the water's edge, to reach the tops of the masts," and even "to fall into the water."*

Again, the improbability that the same train, resulting from the destruction of a large meteor, was seen by observers remote from each other, is increased by the fact that trains, which must have been different, greatly resembled one another. Thus the one described by Dr. Hildreth, in a preceding article, (See p. 87,) resembles that mentioned by myself before referred to, almost or quite as much as the one described by Mr. Tomlinson. It was seen at about the same time of day, (twenty minutes before six,) had nearly the same course, exploded near the same place, and left a serpentine train. Yet these three descriptions cannot possibly refer to one and the same body. Indeed the *tortuous* figure which the trains successively assumed, is very characteristic of the trains of falling stars, and is even recognized in the history of Chinese meteors. (See p. 133.) This peculiar change of figure may be conceived to arise from the action of the wind. The train being left at first in the path of the meteor, is of course straight; but the oblique action of the wind would soon change its form, and may easily be imagined to give it the wavy outline exhibited. Moreover the trains, according to the testimony of various observers, were largest in the center and tapered towards either extremity. This appearance would result from the manner in which the combustion or destruction of the meteor

* See Mr. Schoolcraft's letter p. 139, and the last No. of this Journal, p. 392.

took place, the cloud being smaller at first because the body was not fully on fire, and smaller at last because it had mostly burnt away.

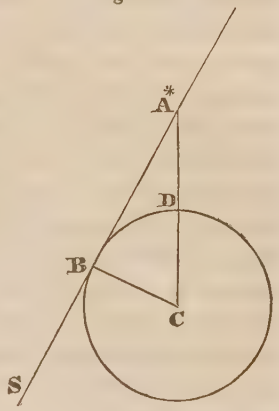
I feel constrained, therefore, contrary to my early impressions, to believe that the large meteors frequently descended to the region of the clouds. Nor is it difficult to apprehend the reason why a body should fall so near to the earth and yet not reach it, since the density and of course the resistance of the air increases so rapidly as we approach the earth, and becomes so much more favorable to the combustion of an inflammable body.

The short and fiery trains which followed the fire balls in their descent, are to be regarded as an ocular effect arising from the velocity of the body, the impression of the light remaining on the retina, as in the case of a whirled stick ignited at the end.

In the previous part of this article, the query was raised, *whether the trains were rendered luminous by being elevated above the earth's shadow into the region of the sun's light?* On submitting this inquiry to an easy calculation, we are compelled to answer it in the negative, since the height required for such a purpose, even when the sun is only ten degrees below the horizon, is sixty one miles; and since trains were seen as early as three o'clock, or even earlier, the height necessary to bring the train within the sun's light, becomes altogether too great to be admitted. This will be obvious from the subjoined calculation.

Let S, be the sun's place, D the place of the spectator, C the center of the earth, and AB the boundary of the earth's shadow. Then a body above the point A will fall into the light of the sun, and may be seen by reflected light in the same manner as the moon and planets are. To find the height of A, that is AD, we have in the triangle ABC, right angled at B, the angle BCD, which is the depression of the sun below the horizon, and BC, the radius of the earth. Hence, cos. BCA : BC : : rad. : AC, then AC − CD = AD.

Fig. 4.



Suppose the sun is fifty degrees below the horizon. Then the height of A would be two thousand two hundred and thirty seven miles.

The only remaining supposition is, that the matter of which the denser parts of the cloud was composed, (the parts which were dissipated without actual combustion) after having having been subjected to so powerful a degree of incandescence, remained luminous for a while after the combustion had ceased. This is a well known consequence of the exposure of various substances to a very intense light. Thus, after passing the electric spark from a large Leyden jar, through fluor spar, the mineral remains luminous for several minutes. It must be considered, also, that only a very small portion of light is required to render a body slightly luminous in the dark.

So great a number of bodies, some of which it appears, were very large, falling nearly through the atmosphere with so prodigious a velocity, must have produced *extensive derangements, in the atmospheric currents.* The first effect was a *westerly wind*, which suddenly succeeded the meteoric shower, in nearly every place where the shower prevailed. (See p. 385.) A westerly wind (as appears from the testimony of Sir H. Davy, already recited) commonly follows this phenomenon. Large volumes of air suddenly driven from the upper to the lower regions of the atmosphere, must have a relative motion eastward, since the velocity due to their greater distance from the earth, derived from the diurnal revolution, would not be instantly lost on their descending to a lower level. In our latitude, (41° 18′) a body of air descending suddenly to the surface of the earth from the height of twenty miles would have a relative velocity eastward of five miles per hour. For, the cosine of the latitude being 2972 miles, and the diurnal motion 750 miles an hour, 2972 : 2992 : : 750 : 755 = the velocity at the elevation of 20 miles.

A second consequence was, a sudden *production of cold*, an effect which would follow of course from the descent of such large quantities of air from the regions of perpetual frost.* A third consequence would be the *destruction of the equilibrium* of the atmosphere, and the prevalence of gales in various parts of the ocean. Nor is it altogether improbable that some *change of seasons* should result from so extensive a disturbance of the atmospheric equilibrium, and therefore that the remarkably warm weather of the northwestern parts of the United States as described by Mr. Schoolcraft, may have been

* The heat extricated by condensation might be supposed an equivalent; but this, when produced by sudden compression would not heat a gaseous medium, which is the worst of all conductors of caloric, but would escape by radiation.

one of the results of that disturbance. This uncommon mildness of weather, has pervaded a large portion of our country; but we are aware of the danger of ascribing too much to a natural agent which has taken possession of our minds, and would rather suggest this last conclusion, in the form of a *query* deserving of farther attention, than as a point fully established. If it should be found that the season in other latitudes has been colder than ordinary, it would strengthen the supposition that both effects were due to the cause assigned.*

7. *The Meteors, were combustible bodies, and were constituted of light and transparent materials.*

(1.) The fact that they burned, is sufficient proof that they belonged to the class of *combustible* bodies; but as this class is very numerous, embracing various substances in each of the three kingdoms of nature, this fact alone is insufficient to decide upon their specific constitution.

(2.) They must have been composed of comparatively *light materials*, otherwise their momentum would have been sufficient to enable them to make their way through the atmosphere to the surface of the earth. To compare great things with small, we may liken them to a wad discharged from a piece of artillery, its velocity being supposed to be increased to such a degree that it shall take fire, as it moves through the air. Although it would force its way to a great distance from the gun, yet if not consumed too soon, it would at length be stopped by the resistance of the air.

Although it is supposed, as already intimated, that the meteors did in fact slightly disturb the atmospheric equilibrium, yet had they been constituted of dense matter like meteoric stones, they would

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* A recent account of a shower of aërolites in Asia, exemplifies both the intensity of heat and light produced by powerful condensation, and the sudden cold, (for a dense fog is known to be owing to the influx of cold air,) that is occasioned by volumes of air brought down by falling meteors. "*Kandahor.*—A heavy shower of aërolites fell lately in this city; owing to the weight of the shower, the roofs of many of the houses fell in, and others were perforated. Zelfekar Aly Khan, the son of Olimała, having (although forbidden by his parents) gone to the court-yard of their house to gather some of these pebbles, which were very round and smooth, was killed by the fall of one of these fiery meteors, which struck him with such violence on the head, as to fracture his skull in three places. The flash which accompanied the stroke was so vivid, that it dazzled the eye of those sitting in the balcony of the house. The stone was found to weigh three seers, and many of the stones weighed upwards of two seers. This phenomenon was succeeded by so dense a fog, that the rays of the sun could not be perceived for three days that it lasted."—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

have disturbed it vastly more. Their own momentum, it must be recollected, could be lost only as it was imparted to the air; and the fact that the agitations of the atmosphere were, comparatively, so slight, is a striking proof that the quantity of matter contained in the meteors was exceedingly small.

(3.) They were *transparent* bodies; otherwise, we cannot conceive how they could have existed together in their original state without being visible by reflected light. The body, or source, from which they emanated, must have had a great extent. If we contemplate it under the idea of a 'cloud,' and the phenomenon itself as a 'shower,' then, after accounting in part for the great area which the shower covered by a supposed progressive motion of the cloud, still it must itself have extended over a great space. (See p. 142.) Now a body only 20 miles in diameter, at the distance of 2238 miles, would appear as large as the moon; and one 200 miles in diameter, would appear ten times as large as the moon. Such a body, if opake, and constituted like the planets, ought to be visible like them by reflected light; nor can we imagine a body of such dimensions, under such circumstances, which would not be visible, unless formed of highly transparent materials.

If we were permitted to class unknown things with unknown, we should say, that the cloud which produced the fiery shower, consisted of nebulous matter, analogous to that which composes the tails of comets. We do not know, indeed, precisely what is the constitution of the material of which the latter are composed; but we know that it is very *light*, since it exerts no appreciable force of attraction on the planets, moving even among the satellites of Jupiter without disturbing their motions, although its own motions, in such cases, are greatly disturbed, thus proving its materiality; and we know that it is exceedingly *transparent*, since the smallest stars are visible through it. Indeed, Sir John Herschel was able to see stars through the densest part of the small comet (Biela's) which visited our planet last year. Hence, so far as we can gather any knowledge of the material of the nebulous matter of comets, and of that composing the meteors of Nov. 13th, they appear to be analogous to each other.*

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* In farther elucidation of this point, the reader is requested to consult the recent Treatise on Astronomy by Sir J. Herschel, Chap. X, or a well written article on Comets, from the Companion to the British Almanac, inserted in the American Almanac for 1834.

We have finally to enter on the inquiry, *What relations did the body which afforded the meteoric shower, sustain to the earth?* Was it of the nature of a *satellite*, or *terrestrial comet*, that revolves around the earth as its center of motion—was it a collection of *nebulous matter*, which the earth encountered in its annual progress—or was it a *comet*, which chanced at this time to be pursuing its path along with the earth, around their common center of motion?

We conclude that it could not have been of the nature of a satellite to the earth, because it remained so long stationary with respect to the earth. The time in which a satellite, at the distance of 2238 miles from the surface, or 6194 miles from the center of the earth, would complete its revolution, may be estimated as follows. The time in which a body would revolve about the earth *at its surface*, is given by the following formula,* $T=2\pi\left(\frac{r}{2m}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$, where π is the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, r the radius of the earth, and m the space through which a body falls at the surface of the earth in 1″. That is,

$$T=2\times 3.14159\left(\frac{3956\times 5280}{32.2}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}=84.3 \text{ minutes.}$$

By Kepler's Law, $\overline{3956}^3 : \overline{6194}^3 :: \overline{84.3}^2 : \overline{165.2}^2$.

That is, the periodical time of a satellite, revolving in a circle at the distance of 6194 miles from the center of the earth, would be *two hours, forty-five minutes, and twelve seconds;* and consequently, its mean motion at the perigee, in a circle, would be 3.926, or nearly 4 miles per second; and its motion in an eccentric ellipse at the perigee, would be 5.552, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles per second.† This result is plainly incompatible with the supposition that the body in question was a satellite to the earth, since it remained stationary with respect to the earth, according to Dr. Aiken, for at least two hours,—a period sufficient to have carried it nearly round the earth in a circular orbit, and through many degrees of a parabolic orbit.

Nor can we suppose that the earth, in its annual progress, came into the vicinity of a *Nebula*, which was either stationary, or wandering lawless through space. Such a collection of matter could not remain stationary within the solar system, in an insulated state; and had it been in motion in any other direction than that in which the earth was moving, it would soon have been separated from the

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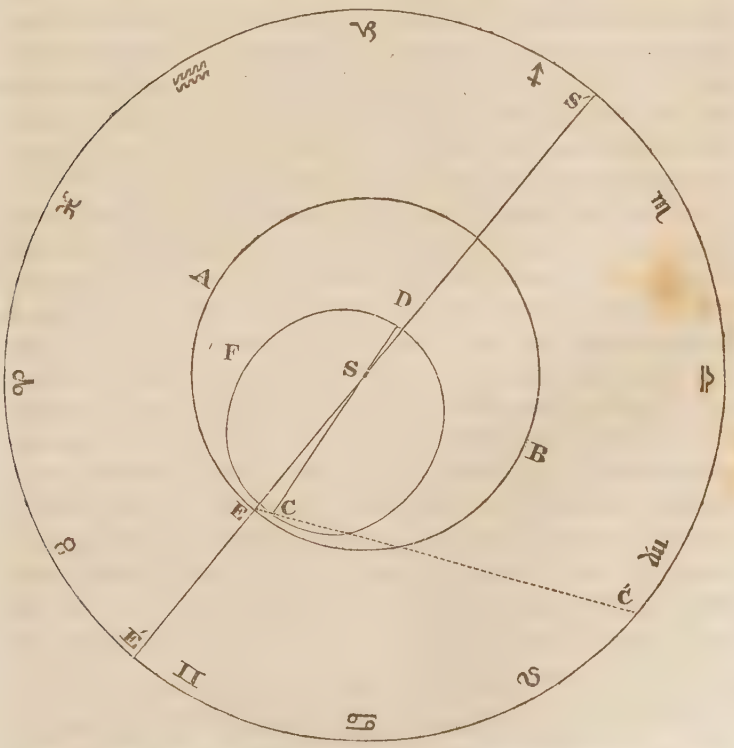
* See Vince's Fluxions, Prop. xl. Ex. 6. † Gregory's Astron. Art. 586.

earth, since, during the eight hours, while the meteoric shower lasted, (and perhaps it lasted much longer,) the earth moved in its orbit through the space of nearly 550,000 miles.

We have seen that the meteors appeared to be analogous, in their constitution, to the material of which the nebulous matter of comets is composed, in all the particulars in which we can compare the two. We may be permitted, therefore, in order to avoid circumlocution, to call the body which afforded the meteoric shower, a comet, while we pursue the inquiry, whether it exhibited the other attributes of that class of bodies.

The leading circumstances to be accounted for are the following: Why the phenomenon remained so long stationary with respect to the earth? Why it was seen in that particular part of the heavens? Why it returns at stated periods, having appeared at Mocha, in Arabia, just one year preceding, and, in a manner very similar to the present, as described by Humboldt, and by Ellicot, thirty-four years before?

Fig. 5.



Let ♈ ♉ ♊, &c. (fig. 5.) represent the plane of the ecliptic, with

the twelve signs, AEB the earth's orbit, S the sun, and E the earth. On the morning of Nov. 13th, the place of the sun was in $21\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ of Scorpio, and that of the comet in $23\frac{3}{4}^\circ$ of Leo, (as observed at New Haven) being distant from the sun within $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ of three signs or 90 degrees. The line of direction, therefore, as seen from the earth, was very nearly a tangent to the earth's orbit, and consequently coincided nearly with the line of direction in which the earth itself was moving. In other words, the earth was moving almost directly towards the comet. Therefore, S′ being the place of the sun among the signs, E′ that of the earth, and C′ that of the comet, join EC′, and the comet's place will be in the line EC′,* and, as was before shown, very near to E. Let it be at C.

Now the comet remained apparently at rest, and of course near the line EC′ for at least two hours. This it could not have done, unless it had been moving in nearly the same direction as the earth, and with nearly the same angular velocity around the sun. For had it been at rest, the earth, moving at the rate of 19 miles per second, would have overtaken it in less than two minutes; or, had it been moving in the opposite direction, the meeting would have occurred in still less time; or had not the angular velocities of the two bodies been nearly equal, they could not have remained so long stationary with respect to each other. Hence we conclude, (1.) *that the body was pursuing its way along with the earth around the sun.*

Taking it for granted that the orbit of the body is elliptical, like the orbits of all the other bodies of the system, we infer that, at the time of observation, it must have been either at its perihelion, or its aphelion, otherwise its angular velocity could not have corresponded so nearly to that of the earth. The regular return of the phenomenon, at short periods, indicates that the aphelion, and not the perihelion, is near the orbit of the earth. Another reason will be stated hereafter, which, it is supposed, confirms this conclusion. As the body was very near the earth at the time of observation, it must have been at its aphelion; and being seen then, only $7\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ from the ecliptic, the plane of its orbit must be inclined at a small angle to the plane of the ecliptic, so that the body itself, if seen at all, will be seen within the zodiac. From all these considerations we conclude, (2.) *that the body revolves around the sun in an elliptical orbit, but little inclined to the*

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* $7\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ northward of the plane of the ecliptic, as observed at New Haven.

plane of the ecliptic, and having its aphelion near to the orbit of the earth.

Let us inquire, next, what is the *periodical time?* Since the same phenomenon was exhibited at Mocha, on the morning of the 13th November, 1832, and on a much larger scale than that, in various parts of the world, on the morning of the 12th November, 1799, we cannot suppose such a coincidence in the time of the year to have been purely accidental, but must conclude that the periodical time of the comet, and that of the earth, bear to each other a ratio which can be expressed in whole numbers; so that after a certain number of revolutions of the two bodies, corresponding to the terms that express their ratio, they will come together again. They could not come together, as they did, on two successive years, unless the periodical time of the comet was nearly an *aliquot part* of that of the earth, such as one half, one third, &c. Now, if the time be any aliquot part of a year, it must be one half, so that the comet would perform two revolutions, while the earth performs one; for, were its period only one third of a year, the line of the apsides would not be long enough to reach the earth. This will be obvious from the following estimate. Let D represent the axis major of the earth, and d that of the comet's orbit, their times being as 3 to 1. Then, by Kepler's Law, $3^2 : 1^2 :: D^3 : d^3$.

Taking D=190,000,000 miles, d=91,343,000 for the whole major axis, which is not equal to the distance from the sun to the earth. But, supposing the times as 2 to 1, we have

$2^2 : 1^2 :: D^3 : d^3$, whence d=119,692,000 miles; giving for the perihelion distance 24,692,000, and for the aphelion 95,000,000 miles. Hence we conclude, (3.) *that the body has a period of nearly six months, and its perihelion a little below the orbit of Mercury.*

The transverse axis and the foci being determined, the ellipse may be described. Therefore, join CS, and produce the line CS to D, making SD equal to the perihelion distance, and upon CD describe the ellipse CFD, and it will represent the orbit of the comet.

This is to be regarded only as a *first approximation* to the true periodic time. The distance from the sun, instead of being taken, as here, at the *extremity* of the body, ought to be reckoned from the *center of gravity*, if we knew where to fix that. Nor can we suppose that the periodical time is very uniform, since a light nebulous body like the one in question, crossing as it does the orbits of Venus and Mercury, and having its perihelion near the orbit of the latter,

would be subject to very great perturbations, sufficient to alter the dimensions of its orbit at every revolution. It might, for example, by coming into near conjunction with Mercury, have its periodic time greatly shortened, and be compelled, for a long period, to revolve nearer to that planet than it does at present; and again by coming into a similar position with respect to the Earth, its orbit might be enlarged, and its periodic time increased, so that it might for a long period revolve nearer to the earth than before. I am not able at present to assign the amount of these disturbing forces, but it is easy to see that they exist, and must greatly influence the motions of the body.

The reader will very naturally suppose that, if a comet had approached so near to the earth, having the plane of its orbit in the zodiac, it would have been visible, first on one side of the sun, and then on the other, like an inferior planet. There are grounds for believing that such is the fact, and that a body answering to the conditions of the supposed comet, has been seen, at intervals, ever since the 13th of November, and is still (March 31st) visible in the west after sunset.

By inspecting figure 5, it will be seen, that at the time of the meteoric shower, the body must have been westward of the sun, and if visible at all, must have been seen in the east before sunrise; that in consequence of the greater velocity of the earth,* the comet would almost immediately afterwards be in such a position with respect to the earth, as to appear very near the sun, and shortly would be seen to the eastward of that luminary, and set after him; and it would either move onwards before the sun, or backwards so as to disappear from the evening sky, according to the relative positions of the comet, the earth, and the sun. It will be farther manifest, on a little reflection, that a nebulous body of considerable extent, when brought very near to the earth, would cover a large space in the heavens. If, for example, the body were a comet of an elongated figure, as is usual in those bodies, it might, in certain positions, cover an immense arc in the sky, extending from the meridian to the horizon, or even much farther. We will endeavor shortly to make this matter plain by a diagram. Let us now see if we have any evidence of a body like the

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* At the aphelion, the velocity of the body is determined as follows:

(semi axis major) $^{\frac{1}{2}}$: (Per. dist.) $^{\frac{1}{2}}$ :: Velocity in the cir. : Velocity in the ellipse. That is, 18.92 miles per second being the mean velocity of the earth, $(59.846)^{\frac{1}{2}}$: $(24.692)^{\frac{1}{2}}$ :: 18.92 : 12.15.

one supposed, having been seen in various positions, corresponding to those which a comet, revolving after the manner inferred in the foregoing paragraphs, must have assumed.

1. *Such a luminous appearance was exhibited on the morning of November 13th, being seen in the east before the dawn of day.*

Thus Mr. Palmer* says that "an auroral light, resembling day break, appeared constantly in the east from the time when his observations commenced," [2 o'clock, A.M.] Mr. P. stated to the writer, that this light was so bright, and so much resembled the morning dawn, that a member of his family got his pail to milk the cows, supposing it to be day break, but found it was only 4 o'clock.

Mr. *Darius Lapham* (p. 378) says, that at Cincinnati, "an aurora or boreal light, was seen during the meteoric shower, a little north of east. The lower edge of this bank of light appeared to be several degrees above the horizon."

Various other observers speak of seeing "an auroral light," or "an aurora borealis," but do not mention the points of compass. The greater number, however, of those who viewed the phenomenon, did not commence their observations till near day break; and others were too much occupied with the falling meteors, to notice such a light, although visible in the east. The writer quoted from in the Boston Centinel, (p. 367,) says, "there was a vapor in the atmosphere, visible round the horizon, which in the south east assumed a very beautiful appearance during ten minutes, about half an hour before sun rise."

2. *A peculiar light was seen eastward of the sun, visible in the west after sun set, as early as the first of December.*

I beg leave to repeat what was said on this subject in the former part of this article, p. 398. "The writer of this article observed an appearance resembling zodiacal light, between the hours of 7 and 8, on the evenings of Dec. 1st and 3d. It consisted of an auroral appearance in the west following twilight, being an apparent prolongation of the latter. It reached to a length of about 25 degrees, towards the head of Aquarius." Also on page 410, "The same appearance has been exhibited as late as Dec. 29th, in a form much more imposing than on either of the preceding occasions. It was observed immediately after twilight, being brighter than the zodiacal light, not len-

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* See the last No. of the Journal, p. 384.

ticular like that, and not extending along the Zodiac, but having its apex in a vertical circle, near Alpha Pegasi. Ridges of dark clouds, (cumulo stratus,) with intervals of clear sky, contributed to heighten the effect by contrast; and higher than these, was a thin vapor that became visible as it crossed Jupiter, which was near the meridian, being illuminated in a circular space around the planet. The vapor was so thin as hardly to diminish the light of Jupiter." The same appearance continued to present itself for several evenings, although in a manner less striking, until the presence of the moon prevented its being seen. After the moon light was withdrawn, it was seen again. I had the pleasure of pointing it out to several members of the Connecticut Academy on the evening of their meeting, the 28th of January. The following minutes are from my Note Book.

Feb. 3d. "The occidental aurora has been very conspicuous for the last two evenings, remaining until about 9 o'clock. Although it did not resemble the zodiacal light on the 29th of Dec., being then much more diffused over the southern and western sky, than is usual with that phenomenon, and extending much farther to the east, yet it has ever since appeared to extend along the zodiac, and to resemble that light in other respects. A faint halo about the brighter stars has been noticed of late by many persons."

The return of the moon prevented observations in the west until near the close of the month, and it never occurred to me to look for it in the east before the morning dawn, having, at that time, no correct ideas of the nature of its connexion with the meteors, nor of its importance to the theory of which it is now believed to afford a striking confirmation. Nor after the full moon, which occurred on Feb. 23d, did the light attract my attention again until the 8th of March, when I entered the following memorandum in my Journal. "This evening, the sky having been thoroughly cleared by a copious shower of rain, the luminous cone or lens, reached nearly to the Pleiades, through about 60 degrees of longitude, and was visible until nearly 9 o'clock." The return of the New Moon on the 10th, interrupted my observations; but on the 26th, a short interval was afforded me between the end of twilight and the rising of the moon, during which the same light again presented itself. On the 27th, 29th and 30th, it has been observed by myself, and a number of my friends. The last evening (the 30th) it reached in a direct line from the sun between the Pleiades on the west, and Aldebaran on the east, having its apex a little to the west of the latter, and making an angle with the eclip-

tic of 7¼ degrees, which is the inclination of the sun's equator, as has been observed heretofore, respecting the zodiacal light. Gen. DeWitt observed the same at Albany, also, early in February, and describes it "as extending towards, but not reaching Aldebaran."

Since this light was first observed by me on the 1st of December, it has advanced in the order of the signs through the constellations Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries and Taurus.*

Let us now inquire whether its different positions will be such as the supposed comet would assume, as seen from the earth.

The aphelion of the comet being in 21¼° of Taurus, we may estimate its true anomaly from that point at intervals of ten days during the whole period of its revolution, or 182½ days, and we shall have the positions of the body in its orbit at each of these times. Comparing these with the corresponding positions of the earth, we shall determine the relative places of the comet and the sun. They will be as expressed in the following table.†

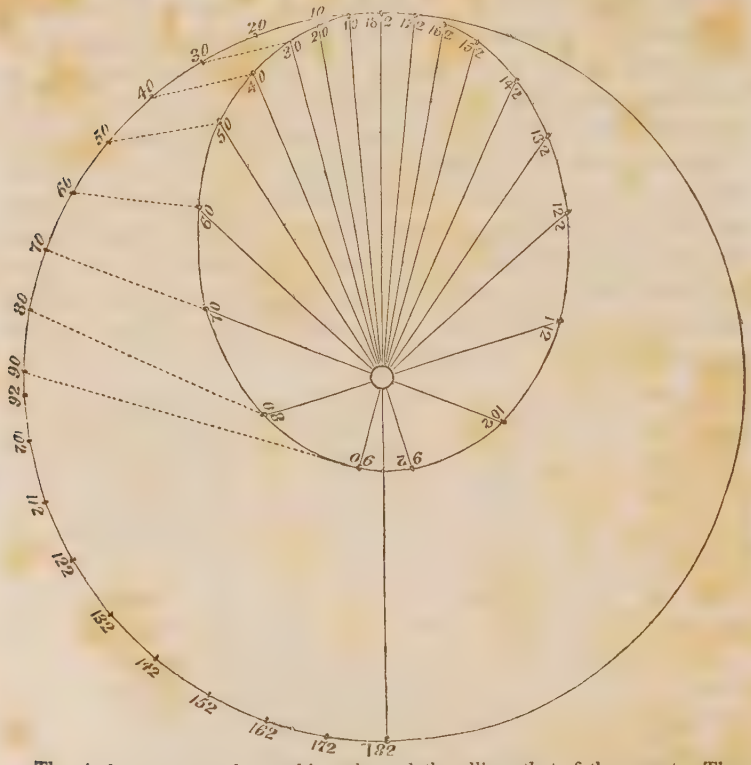
Date.	*Days from Aph.*	*Comet's true Anom.*	*Corresponding positions of the Earth.*
Nov. 13, . . .	0	0	0
23, . . .	10	5° 10′	10°
Dec. 3, . . .	20	10° 38′	20° 14′
13, . . .	30	16° 14′	30° 24′
23, . . .	40	24° 8′	40° 35′
Jan. 2, . . .	50	33° 40′	51° 2′
12, . . .	60	47° 0′	61° 13′
22, . . .	70	68° 12′	71° 24′
Feb. 1, . . .	80	105° 40′	81° 33′
11, . . .	90	170° 2′	91° 40′
13, . . .	92½	170° 2′	93° 42′
23, . . .	102	105° 40′	103° 46′
March 5, . . .	112	68° 12′	113° 48′
15, . . .	122	47° 0′	123° 47′
25, . . .	132	33° 40′	133° 42′
April 4, . . .	142	24° 8′	143° 34′
14, . . .	152	16° 14′	153° 23′
24, . . .	162	10° 38′	163° 8′
May 4, . . .	172	5° 10′	172° 50′
14, . . .	182	0	182° 30′

* The present appearance is almost precisely the same as that represented of the Zodiacal light in La Lande's Astronomy, tome I. 338.

† Calculated according to Ward's elliptic formula. See Vince's Astronomy, I. 109.

The relative positions of the earth, the comet and the sun, will, however, be more readily understood from the following diagram, constructed from the foregoing table.

Fig. 6.



The circle represents the earth's path, and the ellipse that of the comet. They set out together at the comet's aphelion, and revolve in the same direction around the sun, until the comet has performed an entire revolution.

It is manifest from the diagram, that immediately after the conjunction of November 13th, the comet would be projected, as seen from the earth, to the eastward of the sun, and would continue to be seen in this situation until about 70 days, or the latter part of January, when the line of projection passes to the western side of the sun, and continues there to near 112 days, or the 5th of March, when it returns to the eastward of the sun, and remains there until the circuit is completed, namely, the 14th of May. About the 29th Dec., it would be seen at the greatest possible distance from the sun. These results

agree with our observations, as far as they have gone, with the exception of that of Jan. 28th to Feb. 3d. From the diagram we perceive that the comet would be to the westward of the sun, whereas we saw it after the evening twilight. This discrepancy indicates either that we have not yet learned the true periodical time, or that the comet has so great dimensions that, when on the side next to the earth, it may extend on both sides of the sun. This latter condition, indeed, may be fulfilled by a comet of a comparatively small size, as will be evident on substituting for the mere point at 70, or at 80, a small figure of a comet with its tail opposite to the sun, and inclined as usual towards its path.

From our theory we should farther anticipate, that the comet will disappear by or before the first of May, being too near the sun to be visible ; and that after the month of May, if seen at all, it will appear on the western side of the sun and rise before him, until the month of August, when it may possibly reappear for a little while in the evening sky.

Should future observations conspire with those already made, to establish such a period to this remarkable light, it will probably be regarded as a cometary body, and as the source of the meteors of Nov. 13th. But it will be remarked, that the several arguments alleged to prove the connexion of that phenomenon with a comet, are entirely independent of this light.

From all the foregoing considerations, I feel authorized finally to conclude, *That the Meteors of Nov. 13th, consisted of portions of the extreme parts of a nebulous body, which revolves around the sun in an orbit interior to that of the earth, but little inclined to the plane of the ecliptic, having its aphelion near to the earth's path, and having a periodic time of* 182 *days, nearly.*

I have supposed that a nebulous body, revolving about the sun in an eccentric orbit, might properly be called a comet; but should any one think that the analogy is not strong enough to authorise us to rank it among bodies of that class, he can apply any other name which seems more appropriate. Changing the name will not affect the validity of the theory. As the light spoken of in the preceding paragraphs, has many things in common with what is called the *Zodiacal Light*, it may appear to some to have been proper to denominate it thus; but would not such an identity imply that the Zodiacal Light itself, is owing to a nebulous body, bearing to the solar system the relations which have just been developed? Such is my present belief,

but not having had leisure to examine all the facts recorded of that phenomenon, I would not venture to assert, positively, that this is the true explanation of that mystery. The explanation of the cause of the meteors of November 13th, may include that of the Zodiacal light, although it is not responsible for it. In March, the appearance becomes identified with that of the Zodiacal Light; but in Nov. and Dec. the Zodiacal Light was identified with that; and it may prove to be a fact that both appearances are dependent on the same cause.

Having now, as we suppose, arrived at a knowledge of the cause of the "Meteoric Shower," we may, as in other cases, go back and apply our theory to the correction of inferences made from independent sources of evidence. In fact, all the conclusions drawn in the former part of this article, as far as to the last head of inquiry, were wholly independent of the theory now developed, and without reference to any hypothesis whatever. Although I had early received the impression, that a nebulous body, or comet, had some connexion with the meteors, and intimated such an idea to the Connecticut Academy, at their session on the 24th Dec., yet I had formed no consistent views of the *nature* of this connexion, until nearly the whole of the preceding article was in print. Having come to the conclusion that the material of which the meteors were composed, was analogous to that which forms the tails of comets, I began to reflect on the connexion which such a body might have with the phenomenon observed, and was led successively to the several conclusions now submitted, nearly in the order in which they are here presented. Nothing but a strong conviction of their truth, would induce me to offer them to the public in so imperfect a state. The candid reader will appreciate the difficulty of maturing points of such intricacy, and establishing them by refined and elaborate calculations, while the press is waiting.

On comparing the theory with the propositions previously made out, the agreement appears to be, generally, good. Probably the origin of the meteors, was farther from the earth than the distance assigned in the second proposition; but it was necessary to form some estimate of the distance as a *starting point*, and that result was the best I was able to obtain from data so imperfect and discordant. But should the origin appear to have been at a much greater distance than was there assigned, the subsequent conclusions, built upon the supposition that the meteors fell towards the earth from a great distance, will be true for a stronger reason.

I cannot conclude without expressing my deep sense of obligation to various scientific gentlemen, who have been so good as to communicate to me their observations. I am particularly indebted for many valuable suggestions, to Gen. DeWitt of Albany, and to Alexander C. Twining, Esq., of West Point. Indeed, on comparing notes with Mr. Twining, I learn, that we have pursued nearly the same track of investigation, and arrived at some results very similar to each other; and I am happy to share with so able a coadjutor, the responsibility of bringing them before the public.

ART. XX.—*Further proof of an annual Meteoric Shower in August, with remarks on Shooting Stars in general;* by EDWARD C. HERRICK.

IN a hasty communication published in the last number of this Journal, I stated my conviction of the high probability, that *there generally occurs on or about the 9th of August in every year, a remarkably large number of shooting stars.* In support of that opinion, it was shown that such a meteoric shower had been observed at that period, in at least six different instances. Since that article was written, I have continued the search, and have had the gratification of finding several additional facts, which confirm the proposition. These will be here recited.

(1.) Mr. T. Forster, in his *Pocket Encyclopædia of Natural Phenomena*, &c. 12mo. London, 1827, has a short article on meteors, which he divides into three classes. Of the third kind he says, "They are generally small, and of a bluish-white color, but their peculiar characteristic is that of leaving long white trains behind them, which remain visible for some seconds, in the tract in which the meteors have gone." * * * "*These kind of meteors abounded on the night of* 10*th August*, 1811, after a showery day." Part I. p. 40. In the same work, (p. 298,) in the *Rustic Calendar*, under date of August 10, he remarks, "Falling stars and meteors most abound about this time of year;"—and refers to *Calendar at end of Researches about Atmos. Phenom.*, and to the *Perennial Calendar*. Neither of these works is at my command. This 'Encyclopædia' is made up chiefly from manuscripts left by the author's father, T. F. Forster, Esq. who was long distinguished as an assiduous meteorologist.

(2.) In the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Vol. 70, (1780) is a letter from Sir William Hamilton, describing a series of eruptions of Vesuvius witnessed by him in the month of August, 1779. Not having access to the original Transactions, I quote the following extracts from that letter, through Dodsley's Annual Register, for 1780. London. 8vo.

"1779. August 9. Upon the whole, this day's eruption was very alarming: until the lava broke out about two o'clock, and ran three miles between the two mountains, we were in continual apprehension of some fatal event. It continued to run about three hours, during which time every other symptom of the mountain-fever gradually abated, and at seven o'clock at night all was calm. *It was*

universally remarked, that the air this night, for many hours after the eruption, was filled with meteors, such as are vulgarly called falling stars; they shot generally in a horizontal direction, leaving a luminous trace behind them, but which quickly disappeared. The night was remarkably fine, starlight, and without a cloud. This kind of electrical fire seemed to be harmless, and never to reach the ground."—*Ann. Reg.* pp. 81, 82.

It is scarcely possible that these meteors came from Vesuvius. The writer says expressly, that at 7 at night all was calm, and gives us no intimation that there were, after that hour, until the morning of the 11th, any signs of disturbance in the mountain. If these bodies proceeded from the crater, they must have been visible in their ascent. Moreover, had they been either incandescent or burning particles ejected from the volcano, they must have fallen to the earth.

The constant expectation of a new volcanic eruption, doubtless induced many persons to maintain a vigilant watch during the night, and thus they happened to witness this display of shooting stars, which might otherwise have passed unnoticed.

(3.) The following extracts are taken from the "*Results of a Meteorological Journal for August*, 1826, *kept at the Observatory of the Royal Academy, Gosport, Hants*," contained in Taylor's Philosoph. Mag. and Journal, 8vo. No. 341. London, Sept. 1826. Vol. 68.

"This high mean temperature is chiefly owing to the warm and sultry nights in which meteors were frequently seen. *In the night of the 10th instant, from 9 till 12 P. M., there was a fine display of meteors in all directions, amounting to 42;* the lower ones appeared the largest and most luminous, and several left long sparkling trains behind them. It is remarkable that these meteors appeared almost at regular intervals, viz., three, four, and sometimes five, in quick succession about every quarter of an hour. There were dark horizontal beds of cirrostratus of an electrical appearance moving about at the time, which with freshening breezes from the westward, seemed to favour their appearance. Two brilliant meteors, each about four inches [!] in apparent diameter, were also seen here in the nights of the 18th and 27th. They descended comparatively slow from an alt. of 44° or 45°, and in the mean time each separated into two distinct meteors before they disappeared. According to observations made here for some years past, meteors have been more prevalent in August, than in any other month." pp. 237, 238.

(4.) In the Philosophical Magazine and Journal, 8vo. London, No. 277, May, 1821, Vol. 57, p. 346, is a "Series of Queries regarding Shooting Stars and Meteors," by John Farey, Sen., in which he furnishes evidence that *on the night of August* 9, 1820, *there was seen at Gosport, a very unusual number of shooting stars.*

The following statements are from the remarks prefixed to the queries.

"Under the head of 'Atmospheric Phænomena' [in the Annals of Philosophy] the Doctor [William Burney, of Gosport] has of late years recorded the number of his observations on small *Meteors* or *Shooting Stars:* these, in the year 1820, were in January 7, Feb. 2, Mch. 1, Ap. 2, May 2, June 1, July 15, Aug. 80, Sept. 10, Oct. 4, Nov. 2, and Dec. 5; making 131 in this year: in 1819 the annual number of each observations was 121.

"The singular fact, of the month of August having furnished so very disproportioned a number of these observations, is accompanied by the mention, that 35 *of these were observed in one hour, which preceded midnight on the 9th of August* last;—they shot in different directions, and three of them whose visible paths lay between the constellations *Lyra* and *Ursa Major* were caudated or appeared with tails; and the Doctor adds 'their sparkling trains having been left brilliantly illuminated, for several seconds of time subsequent to the disappearance of the ignited bodies: this indeed was the grandest display of meteors we ever remember to have seen in so short a period, arising from the very gaseous or inflammable state of the air.'"

The two latter instances (1826 and 1820) may by some be deemed not at all uncommon; but it must not be forgotten that all the records of meteors seen at Gosport are most wonderfully diminutive. It is perfectly certain that these displays far surpassed any appearance of the kind, observed in those two years. During the entire year 1820, 131 meteors only were registered at that place; in 1819, 121; in 1824, 100; and in 1825, 159. In each of these years, August is the most fertile month. It is not easy to imagine how so few only could have been seen by a person who took any notice of them whatever.

(5.) *An unusually large number of brilliant meteors or shooting stars was seen in different parts of this country on the night of August* 10, 1834. The quotation below given in evidence is taken from the meteorological record of Dr. Henry Gibbons, whose writings evince him to be an attentive and faithful observer. The observations were made at Wilmington, Delaware (N. lat. 39° 41′, W. long. 75° 28′) and published in "The Advocate of Science and Annals of Natural History." 8vo. Philadelphia, Vol. I, 1834, p. 179.

"On the evening of the 10th of this month (August), and until it became cloudy next morning at 4 o'clock, an unusual number of brilliant meteors were visible. Their course at first was from north to south, and afterwards from east to west. Two or three were sometimes observed in a minute. On the night of the 11th they were again visible. I find by an account in some of the newspapers, that the same phenomenon was observed at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the same nights."

I have not been able to find the papers which contain the observations made at Cincinnati.

(6.) Mr. Luke Howard, in a meteorological table in Thomson's Annals of Philosophy, Sept. 1813, p. 240, reports, "1813, August 11. A Stratus after sunset, with Cirrostratus remaining above. *Small scintillant meteors now appeared, falling almost directly down, and seeming to originate very low in the atmosphere.*" As Mr. Howard, in his journal published in the Annals, rarely notices these meteors, it is probable that if they had not been on this occasion, uncommonly numerous, they would not have been mentioned.

(7.) For the following additional paragraph concerning the meteoric display seen at Breslau, on the night of August 10, 1823, I am indebted to Prof. Elias Loomis, of Hudson, Ohio, whose library contains a copy of Brandes's work on shooting stars.

"This evening was so still, the air so mild, and the heavens, though not entirely free from clouds, so rich in shooting stars, that even travelers, who felt no particular interest in these phenomena, had their attention attracted by the numerous and large fiery meteors." p. 9.

The above shows plainly that on this occasion the meteors were much more than usually abundant and brilliant. It is interesting to note that on the evening of the 8th next previous, the number seen at Breslau was above the average. No observations are given of the evening of the 9th, which may have been cloudy.

(8.) The meteoric shower of last August (1837) was more splendid than I before supposed. From a gentleman of this city who was abroad very early on the morning of the 10th, I learn that at about 3 A. M. he saw within ten minutes, in an eastern region of the sky, which comprehended not more than a fourth part of the hemisphere, at least fifty shooting stars. Many left brilliant trains, and three were often visible at once.

On the night of August 10, 1837, there was also an unusual display of meteors, but invisible here, as our sky during that night was entirely overcast. By permission of Professor Silliman, I copy the following from a recent letter to him, written by Mr. Davis B. Lawler, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

"On the night of the 10th of August last (1837), being at Springfield, in this State, about 70 miles N. N. E. of this city, sitting at the front of the hotel there in the evening with some friends, between the hours of 8 and 9 P. M. we were all struck with the uncommon number and brilliancy of the meteors or falling stars, which made their appearance, and commanded our attention without being

in any wise attentive to them, being engaged in conversation. Their course or track was from the N. N. E. to S. S. W., and of various degrees of brilliancy,—some of them very large and splendid. No watch was kept for them, and no particular attention paid to them, and we soon retired into the interior of the house. The air was uncommonly transparent and the moonlight bright."

(9.) The display of shooting stars described in the following extract, must have been one of uncommon numbers, and although the time does not correspond with the other dates within a week, yet the case deserves to be copied in this connection. If the times of the occurrence of the meteoric showers have gradually changed within six hundred years, it is highly important that we should know it. The quotation is from *Matthæi Paris Historia Major, etc. Ed. W. Wats, S. T. D. fol. Lond.* 1640. p. 602.

A. D. 1243. "Et eodem anno, videlicet septimo Calend. Augusti, fuit nox serenissima, aërque purissimus, ita quòd Lactea, sicut solet placidissima nocte hyemali contingere, manifestè apparebat, Luna existente octava. Et ecce stellæ cadere de cœlo videbantur, velociter sese jaculantes hac et illac. * * * In uno instanti, præter solitum, triginta vel quadraginta saltitare vel cadere viderentur, ita scilicet, quòd duæ vel tres simul uno tramite, volare se mentirentur. Unde, si veræ stellæ fuissent, (quod nullius sapientis est sentire) nec una in cœlo remansisset. Considerent Astrologi, quid hujusmodi portentum significet: sed omnibus intuentibus, videbatur nimis stupendum et prodigiosum."

This date is the 26th of July of the Julian style, and consequently about the 2d of August of our present calendar.*

(10.) Observations on shooting stars have of late engaged the attention of persons in various parts of Europe. The September No. (1837) of the Lond. and Edin. Philos. Magazine, which has recently arrived, contains three articles on this subject;—one by M. Wartmann, of Geneva, and two by M. Quetelet, of Brussels. The following quotations from the latter show that the author suspects a meteoric shower in August.

"M. Sauveur stated that being on the road from Brussels to Liége, in the night of the 8th of last August (1836) he observed a considerable number of shooting stars, of which several were remarkable for their size and brilliancy. M. Quetelet suggests that this epoch presents a singular agreement with that of the 10th

* There are on record several other well-marked instances of ancient star-showers, some of which it may be difficult to reconcile with the periodic times of the present day. If their dates are truly given, these displays have happened, at various times between A. D. 764 and 1243, in the months of March, April, October and December. There seems however good reason to suppose that the meteoric showers of antiquity did in fact occur at times of year somewhat removed from the present periods. A statement of these instances, with an inquiry into this change of period, may be expected in the next volume of this Journal.

of August, which the results of observations of shooting stars, point out as one of those which are to be remarked for the abundance of meteors of this kind." p. 270.

"It would seem that a cause exists which produces from about the 8th to the 15th of November, more frequent appearances of shooting stars. I have also thought that I remarked a greater frequency of these meteors in the month of August (from the 8th to the 15th)." p. 272.

From the preceding statements it then appears, that *on or about the 9th of August, in at least eleven different years* (viz. A. D. 1779, 1781, 1798, 1811, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1833, 1834, 1836, 1837) *there has occurred a meteoric shower*, or in other words, an unusually abundant display of shooting stars.

As no observations have yet been made for the purpose of detecting the August shower, it is somewhat remarkable that so many instances have been recorded. It should be noticed, that these August showers have rarely been watched later than midnight. Since shooting stars are found to come mostly from that region of the heavens towards which the earth is moving, it cannot reasonably be doubted that each of these displays would have been found to be more abundant, during the hours of the next morning. That region, (which for brevity may be called the *tangential region*,) rises of course about midnight, and comes to the meridian about 6 A. M. The memorable storm of stars of November, 1833, scarcely commenced before 11 P. M.; and it is altogether probable, that every November meteoric shower which has occurred since that year, would have passed unseen, had not special watch been maintained after midnight.

Characteristics of the August Meteoric Shower.

1. This shower appears to be longer than that of November. As far as can be gathered from the accidental observations hitherto made, its duration may be considered about three days. It may perhaps be found to extend through ten or fifteen days, and to arrive at its maximum about the ninth. See 1, 3, (1), (5), (6), (7), (8).

2. The 'radiant,' or apparent starting point of the meteors, appears to be farther north than in the November shower. On this point, however, nothing positive can be stated without more observations continued during the whole night. See Mr. G. C. Schaeffer's paper, p. 133 of this volume, and 3, (5).

3. Although its displays are in general superior to those of the November shower, yet it seems never to have risen to the mag-

nificence to which both the November and the April showers have occasionally attained.

On the number of Meteoric Showers in a year.

Three during the year may be considered as well established, viz. those of November, August and April. Of the latter, however, our knowledge is lamentably defective. It is certain that an unusual display of shooting stars was witnessed in this country about the last of April, 1803, and that very extensive meteoric showers occurred in April, A. D. 1095, and 1122. No proper efforts to discover the April shower have to my knowledge yet been made. A careful look out should be, and probably hereafter will be kept up, for ten days before and after the 30th of that month.

Having looked through many hundred volumes in search of meteoric showers, it seems to me rather improbable that any fourth periodical time will be found. There are however several uncertain statements which afford some slight reasons for supposing, that there may be a meteoric shower about the middle of February, and also about the middle of June. As the phenomenon is one which in most cases would escape ordinary observation, we must look for our evidence chiefly to the future. If the showers of A. D. 902 and 1202, now referred to October, (new style,) should be found correctly stated, then we shall be obliged to admit that in these two years a meteoric shower occurred in October; and we ought to lose no opportunity for ascertaining whether their successors can now be discovered.

On the nature, motions, and numbers of Shooting Stars.

Shooting stars are without doubt cosmical or celestial bodies, and not of atmospheric or terrestrial origin. No plausible reasons for the common supposition that they are particles of electricity, or in some way the result of electrical action, have, to my knowledge, ever been advanced.

If we consider them as a class of bodies wholly distinct from meteorites, then we have no knowledge of their constituent elements. The different colors and appearances which they present, clearly indicate however that they differ in constitution. The majority are white, many are yellowish-white, some are red, and a few are green. They probably also differ in density;—some appear to us like mere streaks of phosphoric vapor; others seem to be solid balls of

fire, and leave behind them trains of scintillations, which are sometimes iridescent. These trains not unfrequently retain their lustre and their position several seconds, which, considering the excessive tenuity of the atmosphere at the place, is a fact quite unaccountable. I know of nothing which renders it at all improbable, that meteorites and shooting stars are bodies of the same class and have a common origin. No one can by the eye discriminate between them.

By well-planned simultaneous observations in distant places, Brandes* has proved that shooting stars come principally from that part of the heavens towards which the earth is tending. He has also proved that they do sometimes *actually move upwards*. This apparently anomalous motion is easily explained. His observations were made commonly between 9 and 11 P. M., when of course the tangential region is beneath the horizon; so that a meteor coming from that region must, if it comes into our field of view, move upwards. Observations made in this city on various days of the present month, between 7 and 10 P. M., show that at this season at least, three fourths of the shooting stars visible here at this time of day, move from the N. E. quarter towards the S. W. If the premises first stated are true, the reasons for this general tendency are sufficiently obvious. At a corresponding south latitude, we might expect this tendency to be from the S. E.

It must ever be exceedingly difficult to determine the velocities of shooting stars, and the statements on this point are not satisfactory. If their rate is found to be from 18 to 36 miles a second, it seems necessary to suppose that they move in a direction contrary to that of the earth's motion.

Shooting stars are wonderfully numerous. Leaving out of consideration the myriads which fall during the meteoric showers, *the average daily number for the whole globe is at least two millions.* It is of course impossible rigidly to determine this number; but there is no difficulty in showing that this statement is probably far within the truth. 1. The average number visible per hour at one place, M. Quetelet, who has devoted much attention to the subject, states at *sixteen*. This calculation is based on observations made in Germany and in Belgium, but there is no reason for sup-

* A valuable abstract of Brandes's account of his observations, was published by Prof. Loomis, in Vol. 28 of this Journal, to which I am chiefly indebted for my information concerning those researches.

posing that part of the world to be particularly favored in this respect. In fact these meteors are, according to scientific travelers, much more abundant within the tropics than in higher latitudes; and Capt. Parry speaks of them as not uncommon in the extreme north. This average number, however, appears to be the result of observations made before midnight, when of course shooting stars are least numerous, and also to be founded on the assumption, that "a single observer or several observers directed towards one and the same region," can detect half of the whole quantity visible at one place. This number is therefore too small. Observations made in this city, at various times in November, 1837, by three observers, (a number insufficient to secure all) give an average of rather more than 20 per hour.* Other observations justify the assumption of this number, as a fair hourly mean. During the entire day then, 480 might be seen at one place if superior lights did not interfere. 2. The distance at which shooting stars are ordinarily seen, I take at one hundred miles. A few may be seen at a greater distance, but very many more are probably invisible at fifty miles, and some, according to Quetelet, are discerned only by the telescope. Let this area be taken at 32,000 sq. miles. 3. The earth's surface contains at least 196,800,000 sq. miles, and there are consequently upon it 6150 such areas. The latter number being multiplied into 480, we have 2,952,000 as the daily number for the whole earth. This is an *average*. The actual number on any one day, (omitting the three yearly showers,) may be one fourth more or less than this.

The source of these meteors must be of vast extent, to be able to sustain for thousands of years such incessant and enormous drafts. It seems not unreasonable to suppose, that, in a long course of time, the amount of matter resulting from the combustion of these meteors must be very considerable.† Some may ask whether, if these bodies meet the earth advancing in a direction opposed to their motion, they must not deprive it of some small portion at least of its projectile force, and thus shorten the year? Past observation answers in the

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* More observations on this point, in all parts of the world, at all times of the night and of the year, are much needed. Nine observers at one place are required to do full justice to the subject; yet four persons might probably see about three fourths of the whole visible number.

† Prof. Rafinesque's "Thoughts on Atmospheric Dust," Vol. 1, p. 397 of this Journal, may be profitably consulted in this connection. See also Webster's Hist. of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases, Vol. 2, p. 91.

negative, and no one surely will suppose there is any ground for immediate apprehension.

On the theory of Shooting Stars.

In the present very imperfect state of knowledge concerning many of the phenomena of shooting stars, there is much hazard in proposing any hypothesis on the subject. Without further observations, it is indeed impossible to state more than a small part of the conditions which a theory ought to fulfil. Besides accounting for the meteors of daily occurrence, it should explain the reasons for their appearance in unusually large but varying quantities every year, (or at least for many years in succession,) certainly at two periods in the year, viz., about Aug. 9, and Nov. 12, and probably also at a third, viz., about the last of April. The various characteristics of the November shower have been stated at large by Prof. Olmsted and Mr. A. C. Twining, in preceding volumes of this Journal; those of the August shower, (so far as they are known,) are contained in the present volume.

It is not impossible that these meteoric showers are derived from nebulous or cometary bodies with which, at stated times, the earth falls in. This hypothesis, however, does not satisfactorily account for the meteors of daily occurrence.

M. Arago (Comptes Rendus, 1835, pp. 394, 395. 4to. Paris,) proposes the hypothesis of an immense zone or ring, composed of millions of small bodies or asteroids, revolving about the sun, whose orbits meet the plane of the ecliptic at that part of the path of the earth, which it occupies from 11th to 13th November. This hypothesis, in some shape, will probably be found adequate to account for all the phenomena.

The facts at present known, seem to require that the earth should pass through some part of this zone in November and in April; and approach in August sufficiently near it, to receive an unusually large quantity of meteors. It is also necessary that the earth should constantly keep very near it, in order to obtain its daily supply. If however additional periodic showers should be discovered, it might be difficult to account for all by one such zone.

This zone probably lies partly within and partly without the orbit of the earth. When the earth is in that part of its orbit which is *exterior* to the zone, we might expect by the aid of the telescope, occasionally to detect these bodies passing across the disc of

the sun. Owing to their distance and comparatively small size, they might however, while in their celestial courses, be totally invisible. Frequent observations of the sun, for the purpose of detecting these transits, are highly desirable. The only important facts known to me, which relate to this point are these:—on the 17th June, 1777, Messier saw myriads of small dark bodies passing over the sun; and at Geneva, May 19, 1830,* from 1 to 2 P. M., multitudes of "small luminous emanations" were discovered passing across the field of a meridian telescope. Both these facts are of great value and deserve attentive consideration.

When the earth is in that part of its path which is *interior*, it might not be unreasonable to suppose that we should see the zone by reflected light; but while we are ignorant of the density, numbers, size and distance of the bodies which constitute it, we cannot assert that it ought to be visible.

The only known celestial appearance to which this zone can be referred is the *Zodiacal Light*. Our great distance from the equator renders it impossible for us to make observations upon this light, which will determine whether its position at various periods of the year is such as to permit us to consider it the source of shooting stars. Satisfactory observations can be made only at or near the equator.

The limits which circumstances prescribe to this article, compel me to omit the consideration of many important particulars relating to this subject, and to speak of others with too much brevity.

My thanks are due to Prof. B. F. Joslin, for the important assistance which he has afforded me in relation to this inquiry; and also to various friends in this city, especially to Messrs. A. B. Haile and J. D. Dana, for whose coöperation and counsel I am under great obligations.

New Haven, Conn. Nov. 29, 1837.

P. S. Since the preceding article was written, I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. W. Haskins of Buffalo, N. Y., been furnished with his translation of M. Arago's reports to the Academy of Sciences, at the sessions of August 14 and 28, 1837, concerning unusual numbers of shooting stars seen that month in various parts of Europe. The translation is published in the Buffalo Daily Commercial Advertiser, of Nov. 25, 1837. There is no room to quote it here. With a single exception, its statements do not contravene any fact or conclusion contained in the foregoing paper.

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* The details are related by Gautier, at p. 206 of his account of the extensive meteoric shower of Nov. 13, 1832, Bib. Univ. de Genève, 1832, Sci. et Arts, tome 3, pp. 189—207. These bodies may possibly have been in our atmosphere.

6. *On meteoric showers in August; supplementary to Art. XX.*— The facts below given, came to hand too late for insertion in their proper place. For those marked *a.* and *b.* I am indebted to the kind attention of my friend, Mr. Geo. C. Schaeffer, of New York.

a. The following is the entire statement concerning the meteors seen in England, Aug. 10, 1833, an imperfect account of which was given at pp. 178, 179 of this volume.

"A very remarkable flight of falling stars was seen between 10 P. M. and midnight, on the evening of Aug. 10, (1833,) about midway between Worcester and Great Malvern. They resembled the almost incessant discharge of sky-rockets in the upper regions of the atmosphere, and the trailing light they left upon the sky was particularly curious and beautiful. This appearance continued for a considerable time; the velocity with which the meteors appeared to move was very great. Some of them were nearly in the zenith, but none approached the horizon. The general direction of their course was from Northwest to Southeast."—Lees: Analyst, Aug. 1834.

b. In a register of the weather, kept at Edmonton, near London, by Mr. C. H. Adams, published in the London Literary Gazette, in the report for the week Aug. 2–8, 1834, it is stated, "the innumerable meteors which are nightly seen, shooting in all directions, are worthy of notice, as were those especially from 9 to 11 on the evening of the 9th inst."—Compare (5), p. 136.

c. By No. 218 of *L'Institut*, received here on the 11th Dec., it appears that M. Quetelet, at the session of the Royal Academy of Brussels, Dec. 3, 1836, stated his belief that shooting stars were unusually frequent about the middle of August, and more particularly on the 10th. In order to find facts in relation to this subject, he examined the Register of the Observatory of Brussels. The only observations there recorded of extraordinary appearances of these meteors, refer to Aug. 10, 1834, and Aug. 10, 1835. No special attention had, however, been given in the Register to observations of these phenomena.—L'Institut, *fol. Paris, No.* 218, *p.* 256. *Aout*, 1837.

At the time when the last number of this Journal was published, I was not aware that any person in Europe or elsewhere, had ever advanced the idea of a meteoric shower in August.

The statement on p. 359 concerning the *tangential region*, is inaccurate in the unrestricted form there given. In our latitude, it is true only about the times of the solstices, but in the intertropical latitudes it would, without much variation, hold true, during the year. The general propriety of the conclusion there stated, viz. that the

showers would have been found more abundant after midnight, remains however unaffected. If we assume the radiant of August 9 to be in the ecliptic, and 90° West from the sun's place, it will be found to rise about 10*h*. 40*m*. P. M. This may account for the fact that about that time of the year, meteors have been seen so abundantly before midnight.

We have now an August meteoric shower, in five successive years, (1833 to 1837 inclusive,) and there seems to be little risk in predicting its recurrence on or about the 9th of next August. For several reasons, and especially on account of our early dawn at that season, it is extremely important that persons who live near the equator, in all quarters of the globe, should make careful observations on this interesting phenomenon. E. C. Herrick.

New Haven, Dec. 15, 1837.

7. *Brilliant Meteor seen in the day time.*—On Saturday, August 20, 1836, being in the state of Illinois, on the road between Winchester and Jacksonville, and about eight miles southwest from the latter place, (which is near N. lat. 39° 45′, and W. long. 89° 40′,) a brilliant meteor or globe of fire was seen both by myself and companion. Its true bearing was about N. 15° E., nearly. Its apparent size was about fifteen minutes of a degree; or, the apparent disc was about one fourth that of the moon. When first seen it had an altitude of about 60°; it moved rapidly in a line nearly vertical, and became invisible at an altitude of about 40°. It would doubtless have been seen at a greater elevation had the eye at first been properly directed. The sky at the time was entirely clear, and the sun shining bright; it being about four o'clock in the afternoon. The meteor left behind a distinct train of smoke, which appeared like a small cloud and was visible for at least fifteen minutes. An explosion was noticed by several persons in the vicinity, which I failed to hear on account of the noise made by the wagon in which I was traveling. R. Gaylord.

8. *A Synopsis of the family of Naïades;* by Isaac Lea, Philadelphia, 1836.—This work deserved a notice at our hands long since, but it has been mislaid and overlooked. Mr. Lea's reputation is too well and too extensively known to need any encomium from us: his name is identified with American conchology, and no student sees the word *Unio*, without being reminded of our author and his distinguished services. In this synopsis are enumerated three hundred and fifty four species, recent and fossil.

REVIEW

OF

STUART'S SELECT CLASSICS,

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

CICERO ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL,

OR

QUÆSTIONUM TUSCULANARUM,

LIBER I.

FROM

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1833.

BOSTON:
RUSSELL, ODIORNE AND CO.
1833.

REVIEW

OF

STUART'S SELECT CLASSICS.

The editor of this portion of the philosophical works of Cicero, has been long known to the public as a very active and vigorous cultivator of the wide field of theological literature. He now presents himself in a character somewhat new, and, in this first volume of select classics, he invites the admirers of ancient learning to examine the nature of his undertaking, and to weigh his pretensions as a classical commentator. In his design we see nothing which we do not approve; nothing which is not deserving of encouragement and commendation. It has been customary, it seems, with Professor Stuart, to recommend to students in sacred philology the daily reading of a portion of some Latin or Greek classical writer, that by increasing their familiarity with the ancient languages, they may indirectly enlarge their knowledge of scriptural phraseology, improve their skill and ability in criticism, and form a correct taste in writing. For the use of this class of readers, he has selected a part of the philosophical writings of the great Roman orator, peculiarly adapted from the subject of discussion as well as from the manner in which it is treated, to fix the attention of the reflecting and inquisitive. We repeat, that the general plan of this work has our entire approbation. Our chief concern in the following remarks will be with the execution.

Professor Stuart, as those must be aware who are conversant with his publications, chooses generally to rely as much as possible on his own resources; and we believe he has never been suspected of entertaining an undue reverence for precedents or mere authority. The republication of a book without great and radical changes, — even one of his own,

for he has shown in this respect very commendable impartiality, — he would no doubt consider as indicating a censurable if not a criminal disregard of the progress of knowledge. This characteristic disposition not to take, as a matter of course, things as they are, but to bring forward whatever he has in hand in new, and, as the case may be, improved forms, breaks upon us at the first opening of this volume.

Professor Stuart can find no text of Cicero which he is willing to acknowledge as a standard. He has had before him, as he informs us, the editions of Ernesti, of Rath, of Nobbe, and of Carey; but he is satisfied with none of them. As to punctuation, Carey's he regards as the best; but he makes no use of it. Nobbe's, as he thinks, stands next, and the punctuation of Ernesti "obscures," at least for himself, the meaning of the author. All preceding punctuation, therefore, he proscribes in a mass. The old division of the text into sections enjoys as little favor with Professor Stuart as the punctuation. He found it oftentimes so much at variance with what seemed to him the most desirable division, that "after consideration" he was induced to abandon it altogether. Nothing now remained to be disposed of but notes and comments, which are despatched in few words. "European editions of the classics," says Professor Stuart, "school books excepted, are principally characterized by notes on the various readings of the text; in which he, who studies for profit or pleasure, can feel but little if any interest." Of the classics published in our own country, "most of them" he pronounces "merely copies of European editions."

Having thus stripped the text of all old appendages, and exhibited it without a shred or a patch, *in puris naturalibus*, the next question is, how it is to be again decked out for public inspection. In settling the text, after mentioning Ernesti, Rath, Nobbe, and Carey, Professor Stuart says, "in doubtful cases I have selected that which seemed to me the most probable reading; and in this, I have sometimes agreed with one and sometimes another, of these editors;" he might have added, — and sometimes given, like other editors, the reasons for the preference. There is here, what it may be well to notice in passing, an apparent inconsistency between this course of proceeding, and the sweeping censure just passed on the labors of European critics. Professor Stuart, it will be perceived, has himself formed a new text. He has done all, he says, in this respect, "that the nature of

the case seemed to admit." But in the works which he has enumerated, he must have had under his eye every important reading which is known in the text of the Tusculan Questions, and he had, therefore, the same materials to work with which were in the hands of his predecessors. Professor Stuart indeed says, that we have no manuscripts in this country, "from which a new edition [by which we suppose he means a new *recension* or *revision*] of the text could be formed." That new readings from manuscripts would afford important aid in the formation of a new text, is undoubtedly true; but this is the first time we have heard, that such readings are essential to this object. Most of the discussions, among the critics of the present age, on the text of ancient authors, respect the *weight* to be given to readings long since known. Had Carey and Nobbe any new manuscript readings? Yet their texts are considered distinct. We suspect that Professor Stuart, after all, has published a new text without knowing it. We by no means object to his selecting readings according to his own judgment. If a thorough grammatical interpretation of any author either sacred or profane can be made out, which has not its foundation in an exact knowledge of the state of the text, we are ignorant of the process. That European critical editions of the classics contain many notes on various readings, is true; but considering the object for which they are published, they are the more valuable on this account. Editions designed for the use of learners have fewer notes of this description. The edition of the Tusculan Questions, which Professor Stuart has published, is of this latter class; and in introducing few various readings, and in alluding to them but seldom in his commentary, he has followed the example of others.

In introducing a new division of sections, the editor has certainly done what he had a plain right to do; but he could hardly have supposed his division would come so immediately into use as to render the old division unnecessary. The larger sections, which Ernesti adopted from his predecessors, are retained so far as we have observed, in all the modern editions of Cicero; and are used by most writers at the present time in their references. It would, therefore, have been a convenience to the reader, if, in the volume under review, the old as well as the new sections had been in some way indicated.

With respect to notes on classical authors, Professor Stuart asserts, that the great mass of readers, not being grammarians and critics, "need an exegetical commentary;" that they "need to be allured and guided and encouraged, with respect to classical study;" and that he has accordingly in the volume he has published, translated or explained every passage, in which he supposed there could be any difficulty. But his views have not been limited to this point. He aims at becoming the founder of a new school of commentators. "It has been," he says, "my endeavour, in the notes and appendix of this work, to point out in what manner we should read the Greek and Roman writers, in order truly to profit by them. If I have succeeded in the attempt, it may *encourage* others to rise up as editors among us, in the like way." And he adds afterwards, that he cannot but think the time devoted to this work well spent, if it shall "excite some of the scholars in our country to publish such editions of the classics, as may [shall] be the real means of literary and moral improvement. We have been, long enough, shut up to the European method," etc. The obvious meaning of all this is, that of the Greek and Roman writers we have no commentaries properly exegetical, either foreign or domestic; that this attempt is the first of the kind in this or any other country; that the editor has made this *excursus* into the classical territory to show what ought to be done, and that he hopes others will be wise enough to copy after his example.

But is it in fact so, that a full exegetical commentary on a classic author is now first known among us, and that the world, for the first time, has an opportunity of seeing in this edition of the Tusculan Questions how editions of the classics ought to be prepared, if they are to become the "real means of literary and moral improvement"? Notwithstanding all the light we have obtained on the nature of an exegetical commentary from the labors of Professor Stuart, our old opinion, that nothing is more common than this kind of commentary, remains unshaken. Is not Heyne's Homer as well as the Virgil of the same editor, illustrated by an ample exegetical commentary? Of both which works we have abridged school editions, in which the commentary forms a very prominent part. What are we to say of such works as Doering's Horace, Ruperti's Juvenal, Koenig's Persius, Hermann's Sophocles, and a multitude of others? We might, indeed,

here enumerate almost all the Greek and Roman writers, the commentaries accompanying which, if not exegetical, we know of no epithet by which they can be distinguished. The classics which were edited *in usum Delphini*, have exegetical commentaries; and some of them have been often republished among us. To come to editions of the classics prepared in our own country, we think that Professor Anthon's Horace can hardly have fallen under the eye of Professor Stuart. Here he may see a new text without new manuscript readings; introductory remarks to every ode, satire, and epistle; explanatory notes, more copious than his own on Cicero; *excursus*, and every other appendage ever attached to such works; enough, we should suppose, to satisfy the most voracious appetite for classical interpretation. A work executed with so much ability ought not to be passed over as a nonentity. Others have published very copious commentaries wholly exegetical on classical authors, though not so full and overflowing as that of Professor Anthon. We are unable to find a single particular in the plan of Professor Stuart's commentary, — of the manner of its execution we shall speak hereafter,—in which he has not been long since anticipated, and, in most respects, even in his own neighbourhood.

We have now come to the exegetical part of this work; the real character and value of which we shall closely examine, not from any desire to find fault, but because the character of our country for scholarship is to some extent committed by the labors of such a man as Professor Stuart, and because he would be the last to shrink from a scrutiny. We are first presented with a biographical sketch of Cicero; then we have introductions to the great divisions of the work, in which the course of thought pursued by the author is pointed out; notes on the text of these several divisions; and the whole is concluded with an appendix, in which the editor discusses the topics of the immateriality and immortality of the soul, and adds an examination of Cicero's arguments in proof of the latter doctrine. Of the notes, many, indeed a large proportion of the whole, are biographical and historical. The editor's reasons for being so liberal in this part of his illustrations, are, that most readers have not the sources at hand, from which he has drawn more or less of them; that students in general do not understand the languages in which the books that he has used, are written; and that in cases

where these reasons do not hold good, the reader may not be "inclined to load his table with biographical, geographical, chronological and historical works." We will give some examples of the manner in which these notes have been prepared.

In a note on a passage in the second section, we find the following:

"Aetoliam [Aetolia] lies north of the Sinus Corinthiacus, and was conquered by the Romans in the time of Ennius. M. Nobilior was sent as Præfect over the conquered province, and took Ennius along with him, out of admiration for his talents and poetry."

The facts of this case are erroneously stated. There were no prefects over conquered provinces till the time of the emperors. M. Fulvius Nobilior was consul, and had command of the Roman army in Aetolia. It seems to be implied in the language of the note, "conquered province," that the Romans had subdued Aetolia before Fulvius was ever there; whereas Fulvius himself was the conqueror. All this may be seen in the thirty eighth book of Livy.

In section 5th, or according to Professor Stuart, section 6th, there is an allusion to Tantalus, and it is said in a note on the passage, in reference to the huge stone suspended over his head, and every moment ready to fall, that

"This punishment was inflicted, because he served up his son Pelops for a supper made to regale the gods; which he did in consequence of doubts as to their real divinity, and in order to put their knowledge to the test. So Pindar."

Now as we understand Pindar, he directly contradicts this story, and says, that it was fabricated through envy. Pindar's own account of the subject is very different.

Olymp. I.

Section 16, Professor Stuart, 13. It is here said, that by the lake of Avernus, "is the fabled entrance to the infernal regions, as described by Homer and Virgil." That the entrance to the infernal regions according to Homer, is by the lake Avernus, was new to us. In the eleventh book of the Odyssey, Homar represents this entrance to be at the utmost bouuds of the ocean, in the country of the Cimmerians, a region of perpetual darkness and clouds, and we know of nothing anywhere else, which contradicts this.

Professor Stuart in his examination of Cicero's arguments for the immortality of the soul refers to the Dialogue entitled *Cato Major*, or *de Senectute*, and says that Cicero here, after recapitulating very briefly a great part of the arguments used in the first book of the Tusculan Questions, exclaims in view of a future state: "O præclarum diem, cum ad illum divinum animorum concilium proficiscar, cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar, enim, non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi; sed ad Catonem meum quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior." He then adds, —

"He means, that he shall, after death, be with Cato Major, whose body he had burned, but whose soul was gone to the world of spirits."

The passage in Cicero respecting the burning is this: "Cujus a me corpus crematum est, quod contra decuit ab illo meum." We have here one of the most extraordinary specimens of classical allusion, illustration, *exegesis*, or whatever it should be called, which we recollect to have met with. We are told by Professor Stuart that Cicero burned Cato's body. But how and where? Cato had been dead near half a century when Cicero was born; and his body was no doubt burned at the time he died. Besides, for what reason should Cicero say, as we must understand him to say, according to Professor Stuart's interpretation, that there was a propriety in his own body's being burned by Cato? with whom he had no connexion. The truth is, that Professor Stuart has wholly misconceived the plan of the treatise *de Senectute*, as well as the meaning of this particular part. Cicero appears in his own person in the first section only of the Dialogue, and says that his opinions on the subject of old age he shall express in the character of Cato. After a short conversation with Scipio and Lælius, Cato in the third section begins his speech, and with the close of the speech the treatise is ended. The passage above quoted, therefore, is the language of Cato Major himself; and when he says, "proficiscar ad *Catonem meum*," he means his son, whose name was Cato, who died in his youth, and who was the especial object of his father's affection. Plutarch, in his life of Cato Major, says, that the father was accustomed in his writings to speak of this son in terms of high commendation. Cicero

has, therefore, very beautifully introduced the words, "quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior," the more nearly to describe Cato's feelings respecting his son, and to render the whole discourse more highly characteristic. We now see what is intended by the burning. Cato says he burnt the body of his son, when it would have been more proper, that the son should have performed the same office for the father. Children, in the order of nature, attend the funeral obsequies of their parents, not parents of their children. This is all that is meant. One of two things we here conclude to be certain; either Professor Stuart never read the Cato Major, or if he has read it, he did not understand it. Examples enough have been produced to show, that the class of notes now under review cannot be relied upon for the correctness of their statements. The table of the reader is not relieved of its burden, but must still be loaded with books, if not to furnish information in the first instance, yet to afford satisfaction, that the notes are correct.

We now pass to that portion of the notes in which the interpretation is for the most part grammatical, and the author had an opportunity to exhibit his exact knowledge of the Latin language, and his method of applying the rigid rules of critical interpretation. Here if anywhere, he ought to be expected fully to support his pretensions, and here certainly, if we may judge from his remarks on exegetical commentaries, he would prefer that the merits of his book should be brought to a severe trial. He is evidently on his favorite ground, and in that particular employment in which, no doubt, he would wish to be an example to others. Before beginning our remarks on these notes, we would premise a single observation. There is a kind of knowledge of a language, which any person of a retentive memory and active mind can acquire without much effort; which will enable him to run over much space in a little time; and which, by the aid of some insight into the general object and scope of an author, and by a good deal of *guessing*, will answer for ordinary purposes; but which when brought to the explanation of unusual constructions and idioms, and to the elucidation of the nicer shades of thought, almost always fails. We would not assert or intimate, that this is the kind of knowledge which Professor Stuart has of the Latin language; but we think that if his knowledge were such, and he were

to edit the first book of the Tusculan Questions with an exegetical commentary, he might be expected to produce a volume very much, in several important particulars, like that which he has now sent abroad from the press. The resemblance of the actual work to the one supposed, may be Professor Stuart's misfortune, and we are altogether inclined to believe that it is; our business, however, is to show, that such resemblance exists.

Most of these notes, in our view, are on passages which need no explanation. The language of the Tusculan Questions is in general extremely simple and obvious in its meaning, and any attempt to elucidate it must be a work of supererogation. Thus we are told in a passage, where the author is obviously speaking of himself, that "*defensionum laboribus* relates to the engagements of Cicero as an advocate to defend those who were brought to trial before the courts at Rome;" in the clause *Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo*, that "*fuit* has the same sense as *vixit*, [qu. what is the precise mistake which a theological student is in danger of making here?] and that what follows should be rendered, *Archilochus* [lived] *during the reign of Romulus*." Again it is said, that *sudans nitendo* means "*sweating because of strenuous exertion;*" that in the phrase, *cum apud Græcos antiquissimum sit e doctis genus poetarum*, the words *e doctis* "are a periphrasis for the simple genitive" — and in another place that "*esse* takes the same case after it as before it." Such comments as these seem to us necessary only for very "babes" in Latin. Students in theology must certainly consider Professor Stuart in such cases, as disposed to feed them "with milk and not with meat;" yet no inconsiderable portion of the notes is of this description. But there are in the Tusculan Questions a few phrases and sentences, which present some difficulties, and which are comparatively obscure. We will look at some places of this kind and the interpretation which is given of them, including, however, many others where we can perceive no difficulties, but which nevertheless are erroneously explained.

Section 2. "Tibicen, *flute* or *pipe*." Its real meaning is, a *performer* on the flute or pipe.

"Epaminondas fidibus præclare cecinisse dicitur." "*Is said to have sung admirably in connection with stringed in-*

struments." This is incorrect. *Fidibus canere* means to *play* on the lyre, not to accompany such an instrument with the voice. Cicero directly contrasts vocal and instrumental music in the following manner. Si velim — canere vel *voce* vel *fidibus.* (de Div. II. 59.) If I wish to *sing*, or to *play on the lyre.* Here *canere* is applied to both. Sallust says, "Catilina signa canere jubet." (Cat. 62.) Is it the meaning of the historian, that Catiline ordered the signals to be given by *singing?* Besides, to accompany a musical instrument by the voice, is expressed by appropriate language, *canere ad tibiam — ad citharam.*

Section 5, Professor Stuart, 6. "Nec, quoniam apud Græcos judices res agetur, poteris adhibere Demosthenem." "Quoniam, *whilst*; the sense seems to require *quamquam*, as Ernesti remarks; but *quoniam* is admissible in the sense now given to it." We are not aware, that *quoniam* ever has the meaning of *whilst;* and if this meaning can be given to it, the difficulty is not removed. Does Professor Stuart render the passage *whilst*, that is *during the time*, or *as long as* "the cause shall be tried before Greek judges, you will not be able to employ Demosthenes"? This might imply, that before other judges than Greek, the Athenian orator would be admitted as an advocate. If *quoniam* is retained, the sentence is elliptical. But there are two manuscripts which have *quamquam*, and this is probably the true reading.

"Tibi ipsi pro te erit maxima corona causa dicenda." "*The cause must be pleaded for yourself, the crown being of the highest value.*" This is a very extraordinary translation. If *corona* means *crown*, then *maxima corona* is *a very great crown*, and nothing more. To express *value*, a very different construction would be necessary. But the language of Cicero has an obvious allusion to the Roman forum, where the crowd was usually styled *corona.* Cicero uses the word in this sense in many places and in many forms. Professor Stuart however, supposes, that there is here a reference to the celebrated oration of Demosthenes *pro Corona*, and accordingly in a note, gives a history of the events which led to the contest between Æschines and Demosthenes. But as he departs here, from all critics, translators, commentators and lexicographers, as well as from the very plain import of the language, he seems to feel it incumbent upon him to assign his reasons. He says:

"Cicero — in the phrase *maxima corona* — means as much as to say: 'The crown for which you will plead, will be one of the highest possible value;' i. e. it amounts to the question of eternal happiness or misery. The idea of a *great assembly* before which individuals are to plead their cause at the bar of the judges in Hades, is, as it seems to me, foreign to the *classical* circle of thought; although it is familiar to us, because we insensibly transfer the scriptural account of the judgment day, to the heathen judgment day. It comes, therefore, from the scriptures, rather than from the Greek and Roman views of our final trial."

But how is this matter represented by Homer? In the Odyssey, Ulysses says, that he saw Minos, —

θεμιςεύοντα νεκύεσσιν,
Ἥμενον· οἱ δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ δίκας εἴροντο ἄνακτα,
Ἥμενοι, ἑσσάντες τε, κατ' εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ. — Lib. xi. 568.

The shades of the dead are here represented as appearing before Minos in great numbers, some sitting, some standing; and that the crowd is really great, appears from the wide doors of Pluto's mansion, which otherwise would be mentioned to no purpose. What does Virgil mean by *concilium*, Æn. VI. 433? *Turba forensis*, says his "exegetical" commentator Heyne. We have a similar representation in Lucian's *Necyomantia*, and in many other places. But Professor Stuart seems here to have run into the very difficulty which he was endeavouring to avoid. A great assembly at the bar of Minos he supposes "foreign to the classical circle of thought," and that our notions of such an assembly have been derived from the Scriptures. But where has he got the idea that crowns are distributed by Minos and Rhadamanthus, for his language seems to imply this, or that a crown in the classics is made symbolical of "eternal happiness"? We are able to recal no classical authority to this effect. We find no such thing in either Homer or Virgil. Pindar, with whom Professor Stuart seems to be familiar, in his second Olympian ode, in describing the island of the blessed, represents the inhabitants as occupied, in part, in weaving wreaths and garlands, but gives these no distinction over the gales from the ocean, the golden flowers and brilliant trees of this enchanting residence. The whole condition or state of the happy occupants of this territory is ascribed to the just decision of Rhadamanthus; but it is nowhere said, that a crown was adjudged, or that this emblem of power

and dignity is the appropriate reward of the good in a future life. It is well known, that in the Scriptures, mention is made of a "crown of righteousness," and a "crown of life," in reference to the heavenly state, and that the blessed are called *kings* as well as priests. It is here Professor Stuart got his notion of a crown in Hades.

Section 6. "Quid tandem." "Literally *why at last?* Tandem, in such a case, is expressive of surprise or strong feeling; just as we say, in English: Why, in all the world? Why, for heaven's sake?" — This is putting a heavy burden upon "tandem." We are sorry that Professor Stuart has not translated "Dii boni" in a subsequent part of the treatise. If "tandem" is to be rendered "for heaven's sake," we can think of nothing in English which corresponds to "Dii boni," if a proportional advance is to be made on the usual translation.

Section 9. Professor Stuart, 6. "Geram tibi morem." "*Mos* sometimes signifies *one's own will and opinion;* and *gero*, to *manage*, *direct*, &c. Hence gero tibi morem, literally, *I direct my will for you.*" — That *mos* ever literally signifies *will* or *opinion* is to us entirely new. That in construction with other words, *will* or *opinion* is sometimes implied, as in the present instance, is admitted; but the literal meaning of *mos* is always the same. Just as in English, the phrase "to tread in the steps of another," may, according as it is used, imply *respect*, or it may imply *servility*, but neither *respect* nor *servility* is the *literal* meaning of *steps*. Says Simo in the Andria of Terence, "Prope adest tempus, cum *alieno more* vivendum est mihi," — after the manner of another, implying, no doubt, after the *will* or *humor* of another; but this meaning is contained in the whole clause; the literal meaning of *mos* is unvaried.

Section 10. Professor Stuart, 8. Ἐντελέχεια, or, as Professor Stuart prefers to have it, Ἐνδελέχεια, is a word employed by Aristotle to express a fifth element; but to ascertain its precise meaning, has very much troubled the metaphysicians and critics. In a story told by Pietro Crinito, it is said that Ermolao Barbaro, patriarch of Aquileia in the fifteenth century, a zealous cultivator of the Aristotelian philosophy, and who translated many works of the Stagyrite into Latin, was so anxious to find out the meaning of this vexatious word, that he held a conference with the principle of evil himself,

to draw from him, if possible, the important secret. Whether the question put was of too puzzling a nature, or it was thought unsafe to gratify such extraordinary curiosity, we are unable to say; but the fact seems to have been, that the venerable patriarch returned from the interview no wiser than he went to it. Gassendi, Leibnitz, and others, have since that time tried their strength on this knotty point, but with no decided success. Our readers will no doubt wish to see the views of Professor Stuart. He says;

"Ἐνδελέχεια, (so, on the whole, I think, with Rath, it should be written, and not as Ernesti writes it, ἐντελέχεια,) means *perennity, continued existence in the same state.* Ἐντελέχεια means *activity, action itself,* or *actual being.* Neither the one nor the other of these Greek words seem [seems] fully to correspond with Cicero's explanation. On the whole, however, his emphasis seems to lie upon *continuatam* and *perennem,* rather than on *motionem,* which would favor the reading ἐνδελέχεια."

On such dangerous ground we shall not enter.

Section 15. Professor Stuart, 12. "Iisdem ne .... terminaretur?" *Shall we say that their fame is terminated by the same boundaries as their life?* It is plain, from what goes before and follows the sentence here partially quoted, that the true rendering is, *Did they think that their fame, &c.*

Section 17. Professor Stuart, 14. "Nisi quid erat numeris aut descriptionibus explicandum," "*Unless they might be explained either by numbers or by imagery.* He refers here to the Pythagorean *numerical harmony* of the universe; and as to *descriptionibus,* I understand it to mean, the *mythic stories,* which were told concerning the souls of men after their decease, their transformations, appearances, &c."—Ernesti explains *descriptionibus* to mean, in this place, *geometrical* figures, and his interpretation is obviously correct. Cicero says that the Pythagoreans did not often state the ground of their opinions, unless it was explicable by *numbers* or *diagrams,* that is, by arithmetic or geometry; and an allusion here to *numerical harmony* and *mythic stories,* is a mere fancy.

Section 30. Professor Stuart, 25. "Deficientem solem, *the departing or setting sun.*" — The verb *deficere* connected with *sol* or *luna,* is the appropriate word to mark an *eclipse;* and the participle *deficiens* has the same meaning, at least, so we are taught respecting this participle in that scarce book,

Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary; and this very passage is quoted as authority.

Section 31. Professor Stuart, 26. "Nam hæc quidem vita mors est: quam lamentari possem, si liberet. Si liberet, *if circumstances permitted*, or, *if it should be desired.*" — *Si liberet*, here must refer to the person speaking, and means simply, *if it pleased me*, that is, *if I would.*

Section 35. Professor Stuart, 30. "At certe ei melius evenisset." — These words relate to Priam, and Professor Stuart renders them, "*but surely matters turned out better with him*, i. e. better than is usually supposed or estimated." How this meaning can be obtained from the words, without entirely disregarding both mode and tense, we know not. The whole paragraph is somewhat obscure, and it is not certain that the text is sound; but a consistent meaning may be made out as the text now stands, without violating any principle of the language. In the clause "Quod si ante occidisset, tum eventum omnino amisisset," Ernesti supposes *eventum* and *amisisset* to be improperly connected, and that they afford no intelligible sense. He proposes *regnum* instead of *eventum*, and in this way connects the clause with what goes before. An anonymous critic, however, quoted by Olivet, refers to a passage in Sallust (Jug. 14.), where *amittere* is used with *egestatem*, &c. in a similar manner. If the Latinity of the passage is allowed to be correct, and here seems to be the only ground of Ernesti's difficulty, *eventum* must be explained by what is before said of Priam, the loss of his children and his own tragical death. The words, then, above quoted, may be rendered: *If he* [*Priam*] *had died sooner, he would have avoided the issue, the catastrophe*, that is, the *catastrophe* before mentioned; or if with Bentley we read *talem* instead of *tum*, the rendering then will be *such an issue, such a catastrophe*, which makes the reference more direct. Professor Stuart's rendering is: "*If Priam had sooner died, he would have escaped the occurrences of life in general;*" a very strange enunciation for Cicero to make, and a rare example of the frigid in writing. What occasion of saying this of Priam? when whoever dies, at any time or place, or in any circumstances which can be named, escapes "the occurrences of life in general."

Section 43. Professor Stuart, 38. Cicero relates the story of Diogenes the Cynic, who ordered his body when dead,

to be cast out without burial. "What," said his friends, "to the birds and wild beasts?" "By no means," says Diogenes; "but place a staff beside me, that I may drive them away." — The original of this last clause is, — "Sed bacillum propter me, quo abigam, ponitote." This Professor Stuart renders, — "But give me a staff *with which I may go off.*"

Section 44. Professor Stuart, 38. "Pressis et flebilibus modis." Professor Stuart renders these words, "*in well adjusted and mournful modulations.*" *Well adjusted* expresses an idea which belongs to all proper modulations whatever. It has nothing distinguishing, nothing which marks the least propriety in its being associated with *mournful*. *Pressis* here means *suppressed, indistinct, partly inarticulate*, which is characteristic of the accents of sorrow.

Section 47. Professor Stuart, 41. Argiæ sacerdotis — filii." Professor Stuart renders this clause, "*sons of the Grecian priestess.*" It should be *priestess of Argos*. This personage held an important place in the religion of the Argives. By substituting the general term *Grecian* for *Argive*, the translator has very plainly trespassed on matter of fact. Where is there any account of a priestess, who was known as *the Grecian priestess?*

Section 48. Professor Stuart, 41. "His et talibus auctoribus usi, confirmant causam rebus a diis immortalibus judicatam." This is a concluding remark of Cicero, after relating several stories taken from Herodotus and others, from which some supposed it evident, that the gods considered death better than life. Professor Stuart translates the last clause in the passage thus: "*decided by things from the immortal gods.*" *Rebus* here refers to what is reported in the preceding narratives, and means *facts, examples:* and the whole passage should be rendered: "Employing these and such like authorities, they maintain that this question — *in a course of facts*, has been decided by the immortal gods."

We will now give a list of errors taken indiscriminately, referring to the sections according to the old division, and to the *page* of Professor Stuart's volume.

Section 31, page 145. Cicero refers to a work of the philosopher Dicæarchus, which he wrote against the doctrine of the soul's immortality. His words are, — "Is enim tres libros scripsit, qui *Lesbiaci* vocantur, *quod Mytilenis sermo habetur.*" *Lesbiaci*, says Professor Stuart, "belonging to the island of Lesbos, the capital of which was Mytilene, *where*

the discourses of Dicæarchus were delivered." This is incorrect. It should be, *because the discourse is held at Mytilene;* that is, Mytilene is the place, *where the scene of the dialogue is laid.* This phraseology is common with Cicero in similar cases. Thus in his letter to Varro, communicating the Academic Questions, and which is prefixed to the copies of that work, he says,—"Feci igitur sermonem inter nos *habitum in Cumano*, cum esset unà Pomponius." That is, I have composed a dialogue, *the scene of which is laid at Cumæ*, &c. That this is the meaning appears from what immediately follows. "Puto fore, ut, cum legeris, mirere id nos locutos esse inter nos, *quod nunquam locuti sumus.*"

Page 108. Professor Stuart says of this same philosopher Dicæarchus, that he was "of Messene, in the province of Messenia in the south-western part of Peloponnessus." But Suidas says he was of Messene in Sicily, nor do we know any authority, on which Professor Stuart could have decided against him. It seems to be a mere random conjecture.

Section 28, page 139. "Ad temperationem." These words Professor Stuart renders, "*to the appropriate condition.*" This English, to say the least, stands more in need of explanation, than the Latin which it is made to represent. Cicero is speaking of the seasons of the year, and says, that they are suited "ad temperationem corporum." Ernesti referring to this passage, says, "*Temperatio corporum* est, cum nec nimio calore nec frigore uruntur." This is intelligible, and the true explanation of the words.

In a note on the same section, Professor Stuart remarks: "The *Triones* appear to revolve around the axis of the north star; but whether Cicero was acquainted with this fact I do not know." That the ancients, who took so much notice of the stars about the north pole, as to arrange them in constellations and name them, were unacquainted with the fact of their revolution, would seem, without any direct evidence of the contrary, to be altogether incredible. But that the translator of Aratus could possibly be ignorant of this revolution, we were not a little surprised to see suggested. If Professor Stuart will turn to Cicero's treatise de Nat. Deorum, Lib. II. 41, he will find his doubts on this point resolved. Cicero here says:

> "Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex
> Dicitur esse *polus.*
> *Hunc circum* ἄρκτοι duæ feruntur, nunquam occidentes."

Section 38, page 153. "Cum luna laboret." *When the moon is in trouble*, says Professor Stuart. But what kind of trouble? It would seem as if the learned commentator had been inclined to translate the word *laboret* by an English word of nearly the same orthography, but that he adopted the word *trouble* as an *euphemism*. If this is not the true meaning of this translation, we are unable to explain it. But "cum luna laboret" means, *when the moon is eclipsed*. If there is anything here beyond the obvious import, it should have been elucidated.

Section 33, page 146. "Ut ego me tardiorem esse non moleste feram." Which Professor Stuart translates, *so that I must bear with it to be called somewhat stupid*. A more correct translation would be, *so that I bear without repining to be called more than ordinarily stupid*. The word *must*, in the translation of Professor Stuart, conveys an idea inconsistent with the meaning of Cicero, as may be seen by reference to the context. This is one among many places in this volume, from which a plain inference may be made, that Professor Stuart's views of the Latin subjunctive are not very definite. The same thing appears from the following translation in the same note. "Idque quasi constet, rationem cur ita fiat affert." The first part of this sentence Professor Stuart renders, *and as if the thing might be proved*. The whole should be translated thus: *and as if this were a fact, he adduces a reason why it is so*.

Section 12, page 112. Cicero draws an argument from the pontifical law and the reverence for sepulchral ceremonies, that it was the belief of antiquity, that the soul existed after death. Among other things he says, "nec violatas [ceremonias] tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi," etc. This clause Professor Stuart thus translates, — *nor when* [these ceremonies] *are* [were] *violated, would they have punished with a scrupulosity not to be appeased*." But what is a *scrupulosity not to be appeased*? That is, a *scrupulosity not to be expiated*, for this is the meaning of the Latin. Wherever there is *expiation* there is some *offence* to be expiated. If the idea of *appeasing* is ever conveyed by the Latin *expiare*, or by any of its derivatives, it is conveyed incidentally. Thus Petronius: "ut Tutela navis expiaretur." *That the tutelary Deity of the ship might be appeased through expiation*, that is, *expiation of the offence committed*. Professor

Stuart's translation, therefore, with the explanation of *inexpiabili* means, *Nor when these ceremonies were violated, would they have punished with a scrupulosity, for which they, i. e. the punishers, could make no expiation.* But where is the *offence* here? Clearly not with those who had violated the sepulchral ceremonies, but with those who punished the violation. The sense of the author is entirely perverted. This passage is very fully illustrated by Ernesti and others, yet it may be well to give a brief explanation of it in this place. *Religio* very often signifies in the classics *the guilt incurred by an offence against religion, the guilt of profanation. Sancire* means, to *make anything sacred,* hence, to *set anything apart for a particular purpose.* It means likewise, to *set anything apart to be avoided, to be guarded against.* The adjective *sacer* likewise, means not only *sacred* but *cursed. Sancire,* when it signifies *to avoid, to guard against,* coincides in meaning, according to Ernesti, with the verb *cavere.* Thus, *vis capite sanciatur, — let violence be guarded against by making it a capital offence.* The verb *sancire,* in such cases, may sometimes without important error be rendered *to punish;* but *to guard against* is often a more exact translation of the word. The clause above quoted, therefore, means, *Nor would they have guarded against the violation of these ceremonies by treating it,* i. e. *this violation as a religious offence admitting of no expiation, unless,* etc. *Religio* and *sancire* are often used in phrases, which are entirely idiomatic, and as in the present instance, cannot be translated literally. They always detect loose and indefinite knowledge of the language.

Section 37, page 151. Professor Stuart, speaking of Camillus, whom Cicero calls M. Camillus, says, "L. Furius Camillus appears to be the person here designed [designated]; for it was he that drove away the Gauls under Brennus, who had invested Rome, and conquered the country [conquered the country and invested Rome]. Cicero calls him *Marcus* Camillus; it would seem by mistake."

To charge a mistake upon Cicero in writing the name of one of the most distinguished men in the Roman annals, and to state no ground of the charge, requires unusual assurance. Will it be believed, after this bold assertion, that Livy calls this distinguished Roman *Marcus* Furius more than ten times in his fifth book, that the Capitoline marbles do the

same, that Sigonius, in his commentary on the *Fasti*, knows him by no other name, and that no L. Furius Camillus occurs in Roman history until fifteen years after the death of the great dictator, being probably his son? There is, however, one authority in favor of Professor Stuart, Lempriere's Dictionary. But, that a professed critic should undertake thus summarily to convict Cicero of a blunder on such ground as this, we will not believe. We look for more light.

Section 43, page 156. Theodorus of Cyrene, "a teacher of Plato in geometry" — says Professor Stuart. This is a mistake. There was a Theodorus of Cyrene, a geometer, of whom Plato is said by several respectable ancient writers, to have taken lessons; although Ast, in his life of Plato, has made this story doubtful by citations from the philosopher himself. But that circumstance, if it occurred at all, occurred just after the year 399 B. C. the era of the death of Socrates. The incident mentioned in the text, took place more than seventy years afterwards, when Alexander died, and Lysimachus (to whom the words reported by Cicero were spoken by Theodorus on an embassy from Ptolemy Lagus) arose to power. The Theodorus of Cyrene here mentioned, was a noted philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, and a disciple of Aristippus the younger. Many particulars are recorded of him by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristippus; and he is more than once mentioned by Cicero.

Section 2, page 90. "Polycletus, a celebrated statuary and also painter, of Sicyon near Corinth, flourished 232 B. C." — So says Professor Stuart. If, however, we may believe Pliny the elder (N. H. 34. 19) the year should be 432 B. C. Pliny assigns the 87th Olympiad for his age. We should have considered this an error of the press, if we had not found the same in Lempriere.

If the editor of this book were not Professor Stuart, we should say, that he showed himself ignorant of Roman literature generally, and particularly of the works of Cicero; very few of whose works do we find evidence that he ever read, and most of them we see evidence that he never did read. Most readers probably are already satisfied of the editor's want of familiarity with Cicero's writings; but we will give four more examples which go to prove the same point.

Section 24, page 135. "Charmadas," says Professor Stuart, "I do not find particularly described." We are not

able to *describe* him, but some *account* of him Cicero himself furnishes. He was a disciple of Carneades, founder of the new academy, of whom his master was wont to say, " that he always said the same things in the same manner. (Orat. 16.) This perhaps Professor Stuart will consider a defect in his character. Antony (de Orat. 2. 88) calls him " summus homo divina prope memoria" — and mentions having seen him at Athens, from which fact we learn his age. For Antony the orator governed Cilicia as proconsul A. U. C. 656, or about that time, having been Consul just before ; and may have seen Charmadas on his journey to or from his province.

Section 32, page 145. Panætius. " Lempriere calls him," says Professor Stuart, "a *stoic* philsopher ; Cicero here makes him a Platonist, one point only excepted." Cicero, however when he speaks of Panætius as differing " a Platone suo," means only from Plato whom he much admired ; and when he says " hanc unam sententiam de immortalitate animorum non probat," does not imply, that Panætius held no opinions peculiar to his sect never taught by Plato, and never admitted by the Platonists. Every one who has read Cicero's philosophical works, knows Panætius to have been a stoic, and one of the most eminent.

Section 9, page 105. " Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem ; aliis, pars quædam cerebri visa est animi principatum tenere ; aliis, nec cor ipsum placet, nec cerebri quandam partem, esse animum." *Empedocles thinks, that the soul is the blood diffused through the heart ; to others, a certain part of the brain appears to be the soul ; others do not allow that the soul is the heart itself, or a certain part of the brain.* The words *animi principatum tenere*, Professor Stuart translates, *to contain the principal portion, or, the predominating portion of the soul.* But *animi principatum tenere* is a phrase which here means rather *to hold the power or office of the soul*, that is, *to be the soul ;* just as Cicero says *tenere oratorum locum* (Brut. 36.), *to hold the place of orators*, that is, *to be orators.* This explanation is consistent with what follows, but the meaning put upon the words *principatum tenere* by Professor Stuart confuses the whole paragraph.

Section 17, page 126. Cicero is still speaking of what the soul is ; and after enumerating principles, of some one

of which, as he thinks, the soul may consist, he goes on to say: "Horum igitur aliquid animus est, nec tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebrove, aut in Empedocleo sanguine demersa jaceat." *The soul, therefore, is some one of these* [*principles*] *nor does a mind so active in its nature lie immersed in the heart, or the brain, or, according to the opinion of Empedocles, in the blood.* The last part of the sentence is figurative, and the simple meaning is, *nor is a mind so active, the heart, the brain or the blood.* The translation of this clause by Professor Stuart, is, "*And not such a mind as vegetates in the heart, or in the brain, or in the blood of Empedocles.*" We ask the reader to look at this translation a second time, and to compare it with the original. Here is the adjective *vegeta* made somehow to signify *vegetates*, but for no other reason, that we can imagine, than that the two words somewhat resemble each other in appearance. *Vegeta* is a derivative from the verb *vegere* and signifies *quick, active, vigorous;* is so defined in all the dictionaries; and this very passage of Cicero is adduced by Gesner, Forcellini, Ainsworth and Adam, as an authority for this meaning.

Enough, we suppose, has been produced from this volume, to prove to the satisfaction of every competent judge, that there is, in its statements and illustrations, a degree of incorrectness, indistinctness, and looseness, that will render it a very unsafe guide to the student. If it were thought possible, that a doubt would remain as to its real character, we have on hand a goodly list of additional errors, which could have been easily furnished. It should be here recollected, that the whole Latin text in this volume, would fill little more than thirty common octavo pages, and yet Professor Stuart, in commenting on this short treatise, has made a greater number of mistakes, which are *flagrant*, than we recollect to have met with in all the editions of the Latin classics we have ever seen. We have no wish to injure the feelings or the reputation of Professor Stuart; and the preceding exposition has not been made without reluctance. But when an author, whoever he may be, falls so far below the mark at which he confidently aims; when a book, in which there is so much promise and so little performance, is sent out to the world to be an *example*, a *pattern*, the *cynosure* to guide wandering editors and students in the right path, it is a duty to the public, it is a duty to the author himself, that the truth should be told.

A LETTER

FROM

THE REV. JOHN PHILIP, D. D.

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MISSIONS OF THE LONDON SOCIETY

AT THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, &c.

TO THE

SOCIETY OF INQUIRY ON MISSIONS,

IN THE

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PRINCETON,

NEW-JERSEY.

PRINCETON:

PRINTED BY JOHN GRAY.

1833.

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the following interesting communication from the Rev. Doct. Philip, to "the Society of Inquiry on Missions, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J." may fall into the hands of some persons who may not be acquainted with the nature and object of this Society, I beg leave to state for the satisfaction of such, that it has existed from an early period of the history of the Seminary. The plan was borrowed, I believe, from a similar institution in the Theological Seminary at Andover. It is a Society which originated with the students, and has been kept up for nearly twenty years, by their voluntary association ; and the whole business is conducted without any interference of the professors.

The Society of Inquiry holds its regular meetings on the first day of each month, during term-time; except, when the month begins on the Lord's day, in which case the meeting is held on the following day.

The object of this Society, as its name imports, is to collect missionary intelligence from all quarters, and to promote a spirit of missions among the members. In pursuance of this object, a correspondence has been opened with foreign missionaries in all parts of the world, and an intercourse by letters is kept up with other similar societies, in this country and Europe. This correspondence has been increasing in interest, every year, and has been the vehicle through which much important intelligence has been obtained, and communicated to the Christian public ; of which the following communication from the Cape of Good Hope, is a striking example.

It may not be improper for me to observe, that, in my opinion, no part of the exercises in the Theological Seminary has been attended with more manifest good effect than those which appertain to the proceedings of this Society : and there can be little doubt, that some of those who are now labouring successfully among the heathen, received their first missionary impulse from the ideas suggested, the intelligence received, and the solemn scenes, which they here witnessed: and when the thoughts of those who have been removed for years from the place of their Theological education, revisit these sacred walls, there is probably nothing which is remembered with deeper interest, than the transactions of the first day of the month.

It will scarcely be necessary for me to state, that the Rev. Dr. Philip, the author of the following deeply interesting communication, is an able and distinguished minister of the gospel, who has resided for many years in South Africa ; and is the Superintendent of all the missionary stations in that region, which are in connexion with the London Missionary Society. Dr. Philip has, in a particular manner, distinguished himself as the able advocate and undaunted defender of the interests of

the Aborigines of South Africa, against the oppressive measures of the government and people, of the European colony, at the Cape. In consequence of some publications in which the cruel treatment of these people by the colonial government was laid before the British public, he was subjected to a legal prosecution, and to a heavy pecuniary mulct. It is believed, however, that by the generosity of his friends in England, he was relieved from the embarrassment which this fine must have produced in his affairs. He is evidently a man of talents, possessing a bold, energetic mind, and highly qualified for the arduous station which he occupies. During the last year, as appears from the letter now published, he employed no less than seven months in a visitation of all the missionary stations in South Africa which are connected with the London Missionary Society. His opinions and suggestions respecting missions to the continent of Africa, contained in this paper, are highly deserving of attention as being the result of much experience, at this time, when the attention of the Christian public is so particularly directed to that continent, and is occupied with plans of colonization, and of missionary establishments in that dark region.

A. ALEXANDER.

Princeton, N. J. Sept. 7, 1833.

A LETTER, &c.

Cape Town, (Cape of Good Hope,) May 2d, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR*—

I deeply regret that it has not been in my power to give you a more early reply to your very interesting communication of 16th March, 1832. On the 15th of August, last year, I left Cape Town to visit our missionary stations in the interior. My tour occupied me nearly seven months, and it was not till towards the end of that period, your letter reached me. I am much delighted with the object of your society. It is long since I considered such a society a desideratum in Europe, and without knowing that such a society existed in America, I endeavoured some years ago to get a similar one formed in England, but I was unsuccessful in my attempts. I augur much good to the cause of missions over the world from the establishment of such a society in America, and from the spirit in which it appears to be conducted. I have had many letters from Europe, inquiring as to the success with which our missionary labours have been attended, but your letter is the first I have seen confessing ignorance as to the manner in which such labours should be conducted, and at the same time praying for information on the subject. The most painful trial I experienced on my late visit to England was, that I found that on this subject I could not make myself understood. This state of mind at home has been attended with the most pernicious effects upon our foreign missions; and till the evil is removed, our success will be far from bearing a proportion to the means, which will be expended on the object we have in view. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the state of things in Africa and in England; and yet the generality of the friends of missions in England have no idea that African missions are any thing different in their nature from their city or country missions at home. The consequences of this error have been and are highly prejudicial; and it will be no small satisfaction to me, if I can, by any thing I may be able to communicate to you, guard the friends of missions in America against so fatal a mistake. For the sake of brevity in my reply to the queries contained in your letter, I shall answer them as they occur to my mind while I am writing, without naming them.

So far as my observation extends, it appears to me that the natural capacity of the African is nothing inferior to that of the European. At our schools, the children of Hottentots, of Bushmen, of Caffers, and Bechuanas, are in no respect behind the children of European parents: and the people at our missionary stations are in many instances superior in intelligence to those who look down upon them, as belonging to an inferior caste. The natives beyond the colony live in a world of their own, and they know little of our world, but we know less of theirs than they do of ours. In point of abilities and good feelings, I consider the Caffers on the borders of the colony as most decidedly superior to that portion of the refuse of English society that find their way to this country. I

* The letter was addressed to Mr. John B. Pinney, who had written in the name of the Society, and who was then contemplating an exploring tour to Africa. He has since visited Liberia and the adjacent country as a missionary of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, and is now in this country, making arrangements for a permanent settlement there.

have never seen any thing in civilized society like the faculty those people have in discerning the spirit and character of men. When Englishmen go among them, they will discover more of their visitors in a few minutes than some of their own countrymen may have been able to find out in them by an acquaintance of years. We have at this moment a young Caffer Chief at one of our missionary stations, who is vindicating the character of his countrymen, and exposing the cruelty and injustice with which they have been treated, in our public journals, with an ability superior to that of any of his numerous and virulent assailants within the colony. Contemplated through the medium of their own superstitions, or that of their general condition, we might hastily pronounce them to be inferior to the white race; but on those points they lose nothing by a comparison with our own European ancestors.

From the peninsula on which Cape Town stands, in S. lat. 34, to De la Goa Bay, which is in S. lat. 26, and from the eastern to the western coast, the people in this country are anxious to have missionaries. During my last journey I had people who came four and five days journey to request me to send them missionaries. We cannot suppose for a moment that this desire to have missionaries among the savage and barbarous tribes of South Africa, arises from any sympathy which they can have with us in the great end of our missionary labours, the conversion of the heathen to God, and the salvation of their souls. This would suppose a state of society among the ignorant heathen of which we have hitherto had no example in the history of the human race. But it shows that the missionaries, wherever they settle, impart certain advantages to those among whom they labour, that those around them can appreciate: and for this reason, among others, they become valuable auxiliaries to us, inasmuch as they soften down the prejudices of the heathen against the truth and doctrines of Christianity, and procure for us a favourable reception and hearing. On one of my journeys into the interior of Africa, I met with one tribe of Korannas, which had been three weeks on the road, by which I was to pass, expecting me, to request me to send them missionaries. When they understood I could not then send them a missionary, they requested me to send them an instructed native from one of the missionary stations; that by his superior advantages they might be secured against the frauds and impositions practised upon them by the traders from the Colony. Inquiring as to the office or station such a person would be called by them to fill, they replied that they would make him a chief. On the ground that their chieftainships were hereditary, and descended from father to son, I asked them how they could raise a person of no family to that rank. Their answer was curious and amusing. To get over this difficulty they proposed that the stranger should be married to a daughter of their chief. According to their usages, it appeared that a connexion with one of their great families conferred the rank of a son upon a son-in-law; and it was very gravely added, that by this means, and the approbation of the counsellors and the people, the stranger would have a preference granted to him above any other member of the chief's family.

About fifteen days journey N. E. from our missionary station at Philippolis, on the Great River, there is a tribe of Bechuanas, that have been very much harassed of late years by a plundering horde of Korannas, who have been very much corrupted by the Colonial Traders, who have been in the habit of supplying them with brandy, guns and gunpowder, which they have received in exchange for the cattle they have stolen from the more remote and defenceless tribes. This Bechuana tribe had never been visited by a missionary; but they had heard of our missionary stations among the Griquas from their countrymen, who had found protection at them, and the chief set out on a journey to find out Dr. Philip, taking a thousand head of cattle with him to *purchase* a missionary. Shortly after this event he was visited by a respectable man from Philippolis, to whom he related the above circumstance, and that his old enemies, the Korannas met him on the road, and robbed him of his cattle. What this chief's motives were, in being so desirous to have a missionary, I cannot pre-

cisely state, but it was stated by the individual to whom he related the circumstance, that he entreated him very much to procure a missionary for him; and he added, that if he did not send him a missionary, that the next time he came to see him he would detain him, and make *him* his missionary.

The natives can scarcely be said to have any religion among them. They have no Priests nor Temples, nor any form of religious worship to oppose Christianity. But they have sorcerers, and rain-makers, and they are believers in witchcraft. The chief difficulties the missionaries have to contend against in their endeavours to bring them over to the truth of the Bible, are—their ignorance, their superstitions, and the plurality of wives which obtains among them. I have never been able to learn that they had any notions of a future state, which they have not derived from the missionaries. The resurrection of the body is a truth as strange to them when first brought to their ears, as it was to the polite Athenians; and they have no idea of any man dying except by the following causes—hunger, the sword, or by witchcraft. Speaking to a Caffer chief one day upon the second coming of Christ, turning suddenly round, he asked—"Where is the promise of his coming?" He at the same time enumerated his ancestors for thirteen generations, naming each of them: and added—"Do we not see that since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were?"

So far as the success of our labours in South Africa is concerned, I shall as much as possible allow the facts to speak for themselves. For the state of the Hottentots before the missions of the London Missionary Society commenced among them, I must refer you to the Transactions of the London Missionary Society, Barrow's Travels, and my "Researches," published when I was lately in England, pleading the cause of the Hottentots.

Till the missions commenced, nothing had been done in South Africa for the improvement of the coloured population; and the shortest and best view that can perhaps be given of the beneficial effects of the missions upon the Hottentots, may be given in the words of a Hottentot belonging to the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp, in reply to the question put to him by I. T. Brigge, Esq. and Major Colebrooke—"What have the missionaries done for the Hottentots?" The name of the Hottentot to whom the question was put was Jantjes Spielman; and to the above question his reply was—"What have the missionaries done for the Hottentots?—When the missionaries came among us we had no clothing but the filthy sheep skin kaross; *now* we are clothed in British manufactures. We were without letters; *now* we can read our Bibles or hear them read to us. We were without any religion; *now* we worship God in our families. We were without morals; *now* every man has his own wife. We were given up to licentiousness and drunkenness; *now* we have among us industry and sobriety. We were without property; *now* the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp are in possession of fifty wagons and a corresponding number of cattle. We were liable to be shot like wild beasts; and the missionaries stood between us and the bullets of our enemies." Were the same question to be asked the same person or any other Hottentot now, he might greatly enlarge the catalogue. At that period the Hottentots and free people of colour had no protection except at the missionary institutions; and even there, in spite of the efforts of the missionaries, they were subject to the most cruel oppressions from the local authorities of the colony.—The condition of the Hottentots in general was much worse than that of the slaves. They were obliged to be in service; the local authorities of the district in which they resided, had their services at their disposal. They were a kind of perquisite of office; they might give them to whom they pleased; under the pretext of providing for their children, they could take them from their parents, and give them away to any one they chose for ten or 15 years. They could not appear in any place at a distance from their master's premises without a *pass*, and not be liable to be apprehended and punished; and they were liable to all

the degrading punishments to which the slaves were subjected, without any of those securities against cruel treatment which the slave has, in the interest his master has in him. From the struggle we have had to sustain, in our attempts to protect the Hottentots from the cruel oppressions to which they were exposed, the Hottentots, and indeed all the people of colour within the colony (the slaves excepted,) are now under the protection of the same laws with the other inhabitants of the colony, whether Dutch or English.

The missionary institutions belonging to the London Missionary Society within the colony are,—Caledon Institution, Pacaltsdorp, Hankey, Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. And what has been said of the change effected upon the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, is applicable to all of them. Besides the missionary institutions, we have missionaries for the white people and people of colour at the following towns—Paarl, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Graham's Town, and Graaf Reinet. To the above enumeration we may add the new territory called the Kat River. But of this interesting settlement, and of the success of our labours among the people, I shall have occasion to speak more fully, when I come to speak of the importance of a Native Agency. To our missionary stations within the colony we must also add Komaggas and Steinkopff, on the western coast of Africa, near the mouth of the Orange or Great River. Of these two stations I shall have occasion to speak when I come to notice the principle on which missionary stations should be selected. Our missionary stations in Caffraria, on the eastern side of the colony, are Macoma's Kraal and Buffalo River. On the N. and N. E. side of the colony they are—the Bushman station on the Caledon River, Philippolis, Campbell, Griqua Town, and Kuruman, or Lattakoo. The Griqua mission includes Philippolis, Campbell, and Griqua Town.

Our missions among the Griquas present at this moment a scene of very deep interest. When Mr. Anderson began his mission among that people, they were in as bad a state as the Hottentots when Dr. Vanderkemp began his labours among them. He wandered about with them five years before he saw any fruit of his labours, or could prevail upon them to lay aside their wandering habits, and locate themselves in the country where they are now settled. Their history is a very interesting one, and full of instruction to missionaries and missionary societies: but I cannot do more than notice a single feature or two of it at present. This people may be about 4000 in number: they are governed by the chiefs of Campbell, of Philippolis, and of Griqua Town: they are situated on the northern bank of the Great River; their territory extends about 250 or 300 miles in length by 140 miles in breadth; and they have under their protection and subject to them 5000 Korannas, 1000 Bushmen, and perhaps 25,000 Bechuanas. The Korannas fear them, and acknowledge their superiority; and the Bushmen and Bechuanas look to them for protection. The greater part of the Bechuanas who are living under their protection, are the Bechuanas who were plundered of their cattle by those people to whom I have already adverted, as having been excited to these deeds of mischief by the colonial traders and others, who have been in the habit of furnishing them with brandy, &c. in exchange for their stolen cattle.

At the Missionary station at Philippolis these people (the Griquas) have 35,000 sheep, 3,000 head of oxen, and 500 horses. On the last two Sabbaths I spent at that station, a place of worship that contains nearly 500 people was very well filled; the people were as well dressed as any country congregation I have seen within the colony; and there were 32 family wagons at the church doors. Andreas Waterboer, the chief of Griqua Town, is a very superior man; he is truly pious and very active; and the cause is in a very flourishing state at that station. Ever since the Griqua mission commenced, the Griquas have been the bulwark of the colony on the northern and north-eastern frontier: and they have saved the colonial government the expense of at least 500 soldiers;

they would have been obliged to employ them to protect that part of the colony, but for the Griquas. All the sensible part of the Boers acknowledge that they could not enjoy a sound night's sleep if it were not for the Griquas, who they consider as placed between them and danger. On my late journey I was empowered by the Griquas to solicit that their country should be taken within the colony. They have rendered the greatest services to the colony; they are at this moment of the greatest importance to the colony, as the peace and order of that part of the frontier is dependent upon them. They are willing to pay taxes like the other colonists, and to be subject to the laws of the colony as they are, on the ground that their lands are secured to them. And yet I am sorry to say that the colonial government declines the proposal. There are many here that would rather destroy the people and take their country, than see them under colonial laws, and their country forming a part of the colony. It is not long since a petition signed by 1800 Boers was sent to the colonial government, requesting the government to put them in possession of the Griqua country about Philippolis. The Griqua country has as good a right to be considered a Christian country as the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; and we see here by the labours of our missionaries a new country brought within the pale of Christianity. In the success of the gospel and the efficacy of our schools among the Griquas, we see what we owe to Christianity; and how the gospel spread in past ages over the nations of Europe. The Griquas at the commencement of our missions among them were as ignorant and defenceless as the Korannas, the Bushmen, and the Bechuanas around them, and under their protection, and such is the condition to which this handful of people have been raised by the elevating influence of Christian doctrine and Christian education, that while the people under their protection are perhaps five times their own number, their strength and courage and discipline is an occasion of jealousy with the colonists, while they are at the same time its defence along a frontier about 300 miles in extent.

This statement will show you that we are not to estimate the success of the labours of our missionaries by the numbers that are received into Christian fellowship at our missionary stations. The principles upon which our missionaries go, in their admission of converts from among the heathen to the Lord's Table, exclude a large proportion from that ordinance that would be received under another system. There are not perhaps 150 Griquas who are admitted to the Lord's Supper; and yet the whole of the people bearing that designation, to the amount of 4000, have renounced polygamy, bear the Christian name, and discover an acquaintance with Christianity, and have generally speaking an outward conduct not less worthy of the Gospel of Christ than any portion of an English or Scotch peasantry of the same extent, in any of the most favoured parts of Scotland or England with which I am acquainted.

Whatever may be said in favour of strictness in the admission of members to the Lord's Table in England or America, has with us a double weight. The heathen have scarcely any other method to enable them to judge of the nature of genuine religion, if the criterion which arises from the Christian character in those we receive as fellow Christians from among themselves, is taken from them. This is a standard they can appreciate and feel, if they are incapable of understanding or feeling any thing else that may be said to them on the subject.

The great body of the Bechuanas in the Griqua country we have not yet been able to do much for: but something is doing for them at Griqua Town. About 16 of them have lately made a credible profession of the truth, and have been received into the church at that station.

The Kuruman, or Lattakoo, is the only mission we have in what is properly speaking the Bechuana country. Mr. Moffat and his fellow labourers had to wait long for any appearance of fruit: but the Lord has been pleased of late

to bless their labours, and a church consisting of about 24 members has been recently formed. The Kuruman is about 40 miles south of what is called Old Lattakoo, and about 8 or 9 miles from New Lattakoo, the place to which Mateebe removed for greater security from the invasion of the Mantatees. It was chosen on account of a fine stream of water, which the missionaries have by great labour turned to account, by employing it for the purpose of irrigating the valley through which it flows. By going to reside in this valley, the missionaries separated themselves in a measure from the great body of the tribe among whom they were labouring: but it was expected that the people would all follow them, and take up their residence beside them, when the advantages of the situation should be seen. Owing to various causes, this expectation has not been fully realized: but I consider the missionaries justified in what they did in this affair. Perhaps it might have been better, if like Anderson with the Griquas, they had remained with the chiefs and the body of the people, till the power of religion had been felt as it was among the Griquas, before they had decided on the commencement of the plan on which they acted.

In accordance with your wishes I shall now attempt to give you a brief view of the Bechuana country, and of the country in general beyond the Colony, and the Griqua country; that you may be able to judge how far it may present to you an inviting field for your missionaries to assist us in cultivating.

When Mr. Campbell visited Lattakoo and the country beyond it, he found the country, as far as he travelled, inhabited by 8 or 9 separate tribes bearing the general designation of Bechuanas. For any particulars as to the state of the Bechuanas at that period, I must refer you to Mr. Campbell's journals, including both tours. Till 1823 those tribes, speaking the same language and having the same customs, appear to have been possessors of the country they then inhabited, from a period so remote that they had no tradition among them of any other people having possessed the country before them. They had never had the Christian volume to expand their minds; and any knowledge they had of Divine things or of science was indigenous. The state of civilization among them accorded with the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, and had arrived at that pitch, beyond which it was impossible perhaps in their circumstances (supposing them to have remained shut out from the rest of the world as they then were) to carry it. On the south they had the Bushman country, the Korannas and the Great River, and the Griquas, between them and the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. On the West between them and the coast by the great Calagary desert. On their northern boundary lies a great lake which they describe as unknown as to its extent, and having waves like the sea. And on the south and south-east lie the Zoolahs, a people we shall soon have occasion to notice more particularly. To strangers this people were always remarked as kind and hospitable; the reception our missionaries have received from them gives a favourable view of their character: and the French Missionaries, Lemue, Rolland, and Pelissier, who lately went to settle among the Baharutsi, a tribe of Bechuanas who resided about 15 days journey south-east of Lattakoo, spoke of the prospect of their mission in very flattering terms. Respecting the vices and virtues of this people I cannot at present say much; but with the vices common to people in their circumstances they had many good points, which I cannot now dwell upon, in their general character. Like other nations or tribes in Africa they had their wars among themselves; but their wars appear to have been carried on with very little bloodshed. In their battles they never came to close quarters; and in stealing cattle from each other, they depended more upon their dexterity in thieving than upon their courage in open conflict. In 1823 the country of this people was invaded by a nation, who to the number of perhaps 80,000, was precipitated upon them *en masse*, and who bore down every thing before them, and moved onward till they were met by the Griquas be-

longing to our missionary station, by whom they were repelled and driven back. When this people first made their appearance in the Bechuana country, it was unknown from whence they proceeded: but we have since then become acquainted with their history, and we have found that they proceeded, not from the north, as was then supposed, but from the south and southeast; and that when they came into the Bechuana country they were retreating before Dingaan, a powerful Zoolah Chief, who exercises his authority over the eastern coast of Africa from Port Natal to De la Goa Bay.

The people called *Zoolahs* are subject to two powerful chiefs, Dingaan and Mosalekatsi. Chaka, the late brother of Dingaan, appears to have extended his authority over all the other chiefs of that people.—But on the death of Mosalekatsi's father, the young man by the advice of his counsellors threw off all allegiance to Chaka: and so far as I have been able to obtain information, the territory of Mosalekatsi appears to extend from behind De la Goa Bay, to the 23d or 22d degree of latitude, immediately behind the Portuguese territory in that quarter. The Zoolahs are originally from the same stock with the Bechuanas; they speak the same language, and have many of the same customs; but they resemble their brethren the Caffers on the eastern frontier of the colony more than the tribes farther in the interior. Like the Caffers they go naked, and they are the most warlike and courageous people we have heard of in Africa in modern times. Mosalekatsi was visited by Mr. Moffat and Mr. Pellissier, and both speak of him as an extraordinary man. To an address the most mild and winning he unites great capacity for war, great ambition, and like many other ambitious conquerors, he shows none of that weakness which allows any feelings of compassion to come between him and the attainment of his object. His mode of government is as peculiar as any other feature in his character. His ambition is to be a great king, he has 32 African kings or chiefs under him. When he subdues a nation or tribe, he takes full possession of the country, and divides it among his warriors. The old people he generally destroys; the young he preserves for future service; the boys are sent to his cattle posts or military camps to be trained up for war: the girls he disposes of in a similar manner, to be kept as rewards to his young soldiers. Every acre of land, every head of cattle, and every man, woman, and child in the country are the property of the king. The young women go perfectly naked till they are given in marriage, no one can have a wife till the king is pleased to give him one; before marriage no intercourse is allowed between the sexes; to attempt the chastity of a young woman is to incur the penalty of death, and to be accused is to be found guilty. The young men are allowed to see the young women, but that is all; and when they are exhibited to them before they go out to battle, they are reminded that those are the rewards that Mosalekatsi confers upon the brave. No young man can have a wife from the king till he has distinguished himself in battle; and when he receives a wife from the hand of the king, he has cattle and land allowed him with her as her dowry. Every subsequent display of courage in battle is rewarded with an additional wife, and an addition of cattle. With some little variation the same practice is said to obtain among the Zoolahs under Dingaan. Whether the Zoolahs have improved upon the Mahomedan paradise, or whether Mahomed borrowed his idea on that subject from the ancestors of the Zoolahs, it may be difficult to determine, but the Zoolah chiefs, particularly Mosalekatsi, exhibit the system in greater perfection than it was in the mind or the power of Mahomed to show its workings. The false prophet promised his followers their paradise beyond the grave, but Mosalekatsi holds it up to them as a reward which they are to enjoy in the present life. To the most powerful motive that any tyrant could place before the human mind in the embruted state of human nature as it is found without religion, Mosalekatsi adds another, as terrible by its restraining, as the

one we have noticed is in its impelling force. He allows none of his soldiers to desert his post, he must conquer or die.

Last year the soldiers of this tyrant invaded the Bechuana country; and the unwarlike Bechuanas fell before them like sheep under the knife of the butcher. The whole of the Bechuana has been desolated as far as Lattakoo, which is yet untouched; and the people of Mosalekatsi possess the country. When I arrived at Lattakoo on my late journey, I found the people, subjects of Mahuri, and the remains of the Barolongs and the Baharutsi, who had escaped the slaughter of Mosalekatsi's bands, in the most distressing situation. The remains of the destroyed tribes were suffering by famine, and the whole of the people were (to use their own expression) "like dead men," from an apprehension that they might be visited by Mosalekatsi and destroyed the next hour, as the other Bechuana tribes had been. I had intended to visit Mosalekatsi: but although I had no apprehension as to my own personal safety, I could not be sure that my journey would protect the helpless thousands around me, who were looking to me for assistance, as if I had had an army at my command. After consulting with the chiefs and the French missionaries, who had retreated to this place on the approach of Mosalekatsi, I returned to Griqua Town, accompanied by Mr. Lemue, and followed by the chief Mahuri, to consult with Waterboer, the chief of Griqua Town, about the means of preserving what remained of this people. The plan formed was, that they should all fall back to the number of perhaps 20,000, on the territory of Waterboer, that he might be able to throw his shield over them, should they be attacked by Mosalekatsi.

If any one is disposed to ask—What has Christianity done for Europe? or what will it do for the native tribes of Africa? we refer such an inquirer to the spectacle now before us. Before the Griquas embraced Christianity, they were as helpless as the Bechuanas; and such is the difference now between the Griquas and the Bechuanas, that we see perhaps 30,000 Bechuanas looking up to the Christian chief of Griqua Town, who cannot perhaps muster more than 200 horsemen, as their sole dependence and their only safeguard against the overwhelming and ferocious band of Mosalekatsi.

It is an interesting fact, that not only are the Korannas and Caffers and Bechuanas in the country around the Colony desirous of having missionaries with them, but even Dingaan and Mosalekatsi unite in expressing the same desire; and we have not the slightest reason to suspect that missionaries would be less safe with them than among the other more peaceable tribes around us.

The Societies now in operation in South Africa, cannot do any thing efficiently for these two powerful Chiefs and their people. And on this ground should the churches of America think of assisting us in South Africa, I would strongly recommend that they should send a mission to them. The country occupied by Dingaan, which stretches from the neighbourhood of De la Goa Bay to Port Natal, presents a noble field for missionary labour, and in many respects deserving the preference to any other field of labour connected with the southern portion of the African continent. From the fertility of the land, and the contiguity of Port Natal and De la Goa Bay, the labours of efficient missionaries in that country might in course of time give rise to a civilized community, which might be of the greatest importance to the eastern shores of this continent.

Some years ago some adventurers from the eastern part of the colony, visited Port Natal with a view to establish themselves there. With this view they obtained permission from Dingaan to locate themselves there; but the settlement has not yet obtained the sanction of the British Government; and as it has been hitherto conducted, it is more likely to deteriorate than to improve the natives. The greatest difficulty which missionaries would in all probability have to encounter, would be from the vices of that settlement. Those difficulties do not, however, present a sufficient barrier to discourage your missionaries from engaging

in this undertaking. American ships sometimes touch at Port Natal; and any ship passing to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope might easily land them there. Whatever views the few English at that place might entertain of the object of the missionaries, they would not offer them any violence; and if they could not do them any good, they might pass on from them to the chief, who would at once receive them. Dingaan is acquainted with the power and character of the American nation. Not long since an American captain made him a present of an article and he sent it to the English settlers, asking them if the English could make him as handsome a present. There is now a communication by land between this colony and Port Natal, but should any of your churches think of sending missionaries there, I would recommend in preference that they should go immediately there by water. If you resolve upon a mission to that country, the sooner it is undertaken the better.

To give you any estimate of the population of this country I find very difficult. The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is very thinly peopled. A great part of it is covered with mountains and barren plains; but the taste of the people for grazing farms has contributed more than any other disadvantage it labours under, to keep the people at a distance from each other. And so long as they are allowed to spread themselves, taking possession of the territories beyond them, when more grazing farms are required for their children, this evil will not soon be remedied. This system has been attended with the most baneful effects to the natives. Deprived of their country and of the means of subsistence by the encroaching spirit of the colonists, offences on their part were unavoidable, and those offences have been too frequently followed by extermination; and now immediately beyond the borders of our colony little remains but what our missions have preserved. The Commando System pursued on our frontiers is perhaps the worst system imaginable, and must while it is persisted in, render the countries around our colony deserts. This great abuse is one of the evils I hope to see remedied by our Reformed Parliament.

Those parts of eastern Africa nearest the coast are the most fruitful, and the most thickly peopled. Our European colonies have a fatal influence on the population in their immediate neighbourhood. This is in a great measure where the people are not saved by the labour of the missionaries, the inevitable consequence of the introduction of brandy, guns, and gunpowder among them. In my late journey into the interior I was made acquainted with the names of several traders, who are in the habit of carrying these articles to the native tribes, and of exchanging them for the cattle they had sent them out to steal from the more defenceless tribes farther in the interior. The Government declares those articles to be contraband; but as no means have hitherto been employed to make examples of the offenders, the law is a dead letter. This is another evil, which it is to be hoped will be cured by our Reformed Parliament. I need scarcely mention the slave trade as another cause of the thinness of the population. Mosalekatsi has never himself traded in slaves, but the constant wars in which he has been engaged with the slave-traders on the coast may account for the ferocity of his people, and their superiority in war over the tribes they have lately subdued. The country of the Zoolahs is the most thickly peopled of any of the countries with which we are acquainted in South Africa.

The Bechuanas have of late years suffered more from famine than from any other cause. Being wholly dependent upon their cattle, when they have been robbed of them they have no alternative but to rob others, or die of hunger, and many of them die in this way.—One of the chief arguments we have heard urged in defence of polygamy has been, that it is favourable to population. Yet such is the fact, that the increase in Africa is much greater where the law allows one wife only, than it is where polygamy obtains. The prevalence of polygamy and the number of children that die in infancy from neglect and want of proper nourishment, must be allowed to have a considerable share in

the scantiness of the population in many of the districts on this continent. If Commodore Owen's opinion is correct, (and no man had ever better opportunities or was better qualified for forming an opinion on the subject,) that there are 80,000 slaves transported every year from the eastern and western coasts of Africa, and that 4 or 5 perish for every individual that is shipped on board the slave vessels, the loss of human beings to Africa by that infernal traffic, must be sensibly felt in keeping the population, particularly in those parts of the continent where it is most actively carried on, at a low standard. But those that are killed and captured by this traffic, are nothing in comparison of those barriers that are thrown in the way of the increase of the population, by the state of society which it occasions over the whole continent, and the numbers that perish by the famines it occasions. There is no part of this continent free from the baneful effects of this traffic. It penetrates from shore to shore to the very centre of Africa, dashing to pieces every fragment of society, before those fragments can have time to unite into any thing like a regular government. Most of the famines which sweep off so many of the inhabitants of Africa arise from this cause. People will never cultivate the ground to great advantage, where they have little chance of reaping a harvest. And as the slave-traders seize the cattle as well as the people of the tribes they conquer, the desolation occasioned by the capture of the former must be greater than that which arises from the latter. For one who may perish immediately in those conflicts to which the slave-trade gives rise, many perish by the attempts of the plundered tribes to supply themselves with cattle for those they have lost, and that indifference to human life and that state of universal disorder, which it is the tendency of the system to generate.

In discussing the merits of Africa as a missionary field, we must before quitting this subject say something respecting the other parts of this continent on which you ask my opinion.

I say nothing of the advantages America may gain from the new colony of Liberia, or of the advantages the people of colour may gain from becoming citizens of this new country. I leave such questions to be settled by the citizens of the United States, who are by their local knowledge better qualified than I am to decide them. But so far as our plans for the future improvement of Africa are concerned, I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on christian principles, might be the means under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian governments than that which this new settlement presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent. From some hints I have seen in some of the English papers, I perceive that you will have some difficulties to encounter in the prosecution of your present plan. It is the fate of every good plan for the melioration of the human race to be opposed, particularly at its commencement; and the virulence of the opposition is generally in proportion to the excellence of the plan proposed. But we have this to encourage us in our endeavours to persevere in the pursuit of a good object that it must in the end triumph. I cannot for a moment suppose that ever America will force the poor people of colour to go to Liberia. Such a mode of proceeding would neither accord with the liberties or good sense of your countrymen. And if every slave proprietor in the United States offer to make his slaves free, and the slaves are willing to accept their freedom on the condition that they will exchange America for Liberia, I can see nothing in such an arrangement to excite or nourish a spirit of hostility against your new settlement. Care should be taken, however, that the slaves

liberated on this principle should not be the worst slaves on an establishment, or slaves of bad character. If your new settlement should ever come to be crowded with persons of such a description, disorder, despotism, and ruin must follow, or at least must be in danger of following. As I do not see any American publications at the Cape of Good Hope, and as all the information I have of what is doing on your side of the water, is from the scanty notices of American affairs I can glean from the English papers, what I say on this subject is to be understood as spoken under correction. But with the information I have I would suggest, whether it would not be well to give the whole of the undertaking a religious character, and to invite the religious and benevolent portion of the black people to unite in it for the purpose of evangelizing and civilizing Africa. If your new settlement is to be so conducted as to answer the expectations to which it has given rise, the Committee or Board which may have the management of its affairs must keep in operation an efficient gospel ministry, and an efficient system of education. The natives immediately around the new settlement should be at once supplied with missionaries. Missionary stations should be formed at convenient distances from each other, so as to admit of a communication between them. And with a faithful and able missionary at each station you should have schoolmasters and mechanics, with all the apparatus necessary for the attainment of the object you propose. In this way you may evangelize and civilize one circle after another, till you have brought a vast portion of the African continent within the pale of the Christian church and the civilized world. This is what we are doing in South Africa, and would soon be able to do to a great extent, were not the generality of our white people more partial to the old system of seizing the country and then the property of the people, and then the people themselves for their own use, than they are to any plan which has for its object the destruction of caste, and the elevation of the aborigines of the country to an equal participation with themselves in the blessings of liberty and civilization.

I have read with attention the travels of Captain Clapperton and the journals of the Landers. They have made an important discovery, and it is upon that discovery that their friends must be content to rest their claims to public gratitude. It would be unjust and cruel to decide their merits by the composition of their journals. They did not go to Africa to write books, but to discover the Niger, and in that they have succeeded. Allowing them then that high merit to which they are entitled, I shall not be blamed for undue severity, if I find fault with some of their sentiments. They were evidently very deficient in the talents necessary to enable them to give a correct view of the state of society in those places they visited. One feels grieved at the charges of idleness, &c. &c. which they bring against a people who have not, according to their own account, a single motive to industry, beyond what was necessary to supply their present wants. It would be highly absurd to expect industry among a people, or indeed any thing but indolence and listlessness among a people, who had been so long under the withering curse of the Slave Trade, and who might be plundered or murdered with impunity by any wretches who bore the livery of their Chiefs, or those who held them in subjection.

Missionaries will have two difficulties to encounter in this country, the demoralized state of the people, and the zeal of the Mahomedans among them. In an incidental manner our travellers have furnished us with facts, the importance of which they did not seem to be aware of, which clearly show that the Apostles of the Koran are numerous and indefatigable on the banks of the Niger. There is a something in the doctrines of the Koran exceedingly favourable to the dominion of its votaries in such a country as Africa. They raise the savage to the condition of the barbarian; but as there is nothing in them to raise them above a semi-barbarous state of society, and there is something in them to prevent a higher rise in the scale of civilization, a Christian community

in the centre of Africa, keeping up a constant communication with America, would soon gain the ascendency in that quarter. Could you plant another colony like that of Liberia on the banks of the Niger, it might be the means of rolling back the tide of Mahomedanism which appears to have set in with so strong a current from the north, and of establishing a Christian state in the centre of Africa. If this is impracticable, a mission may be undertaken on ordinary principles; but the conducting of it should not be left to ordinary men; and those who are to engage in it should go forth in numbers, and with resources at their command, from which a great impression might be soon expected. A solitary individual may do much among a reading people, and who hold many principles in common with himself, to which he can appeal in his addresses to their understandings and to their hearts. But in such a country as Africa we must concentrate our strength, and keep firm possession of every inch we have gained, and make use of the resources we may be able to raise upon it for the further extension of our conquests. It was long a prevalent notion in England, that we might plant missionaries in Africa as a man may in the fertile lands of the United States plant acorns, and leave them to the rain and to the climate to spread themselves into forests. But our experience has shown the folly of that notion, and taught us if we would succeed in our object, that a more expensive and laborious system of cultivation is necessary. Like the trees of the field, the greatest difficulty is in rearing the first plantation; and when that has risen to a sufficient height to afford shelter, every new seed or young sapling should be planted within the range of its protection.

In making choice of a situation for a missionary station, a country that would repay the cultivator of the soil, and having if possible a water communication with the rest of the world, is to be preferred to an inland desert. The inhabitants of the rock and the dwellers in the wilderness are not to be forgotten, as the one are to shout for joy at the glad tidings of the gospel, and the other to bow down before the Saviour of men. But the most crowded parts of Africa are first entitled to our attention, and our object in following the other should be to induce them to exchange their wandering habits and their barren soil, to locate themselves on spots of the earth where they can cultivate the soil, and enjoy in Christian communities the social blessings of christianity and civilization. The desert is unfavourable to the fruits of christianity: and after repeated trials we have found that they never can be brought to perfection, or cultivated to any extent, unless they are literally planted by rivers of water, where they may rise into families and tribes. The ark of the Lord was carried into the wilderness: but it would not have remained long with Israel if the people had been allowed to choose the wilderness as their final abode.

The civilization of the people among whom we labour in Africa is not our highest object; but that object never can be secured and rendered permanent among them without their civilization. Civilization is to the Christian religion what the body is to the soul; and the body must be prepared and cared for, if the spirit is to be retained upon earth. The blessings of civilization are a few of the blessings which the Christian religion scatters in her progress to immortality; but they are to be cherished for her own sake as well as for ours, as they are necessary to perpetuate her reign and extend her conquests.

Because multitudes in England and America have lost their religion, to which they are indebted for their civilization, many pious people make light of civilization as connected with the labours of missionaries: but it should never be lost sight of that if men may retain their civilization after they have lost their religion, that there can be no religion in such a country as this without civilization; and that it can have no permanent abode among us, if that civilization does not shoot up into regular and good government.

The importance of education, and particularly of early education, begins only to be felt by many of our missionaries. The preaching of the gospel is the great

agency ordained by God for the conversion of the world; and it must precede and accompany every other agency that has this object in view. In the first age of the church, and more particularly in the first part of that age, the preaching of those employed in this part of the ministry, and the conversation and example of the primitive Christians were the means, I may say the only means, which could be employed to evangelize the world. The instruction of the rising generation was however of such obvious importance, that it never could have been for a moment overlooked in Christian families; and while the parents were engaged in training up their children like young Timothy, who was taught to read the Holy Scriptures from a child, the Pastors and Elders of the primitive churches appear at an early period to have cared for the lambs of their flocks. How far the general education of the people around them was then a subject of deep interest with the churches of Christ, we are not informed: but as the boundaries of the churches were enlarged, and many were added to them who could not themselves read, and for that reason could not teach their children, provision was made by the churches for their instruction. When civil governments arose, professedly Christian, so long as they manifested any thing of the spirit of Christianity, more or less was done to furnish the poor with the means of instruction.

I shall here confine myself to one aspect of the subject—the importance of raising up in savage or barbarous countries, with the least delay that is possible, a Native Agency.

You may as well think of supplying all the continent of Africa with bread or corn from Europe, as to supply it with teachers and the means of instruction from Europe. The seed-corn may be furnished; but it never can become general, unless it shakes, and stocks the country to which the first handfuls are carried. This great object has hitherto been too much neglected in missionary work. The work of God in the conversion of the world has never been carried on to any extent without a native agency; and that work has always prospered in proportion as that agency has been numerous and effective. The Apostles preached the gospel within the pale of the civilized world, ordained Bishops and Elders in every city in which churches had been formed, and left the newly appointed office-bearers to carry on and extend the work of God, while they employed themselves in preaching the gospel in the regions beyond them.—Even at the period of the reformation, the reformers could have done nothing without the sympathies of the people, and without a native agency. In countries which have been civilized by Christianity, agents are easily found in a great measure prepared, and what is wanting is easily supplied. But in savage and barbarous countries, we can only look for a native agency by the general education of the people. I say *general education;* for we have found by experience that we must raise the community itself to a certain level, before such an agency can be found as will prove to be of any efficiency in the general spread of the gospel. When the power of religion is first felt in its quickening influence at a missionary station, the change is so marked, that the individuals thus awakened are frequently the means of communicating what they have felt to others; but in persons of this description there is so much ignorance mixed with their new light, so much of the old leaven remaining, and the fancy is so much more powerful than the judgment, that they constantly stand in need of their teachers to watch over them; and few of them indeed can be *appointed* as authorized teachers of others.

To raise such a community or people in the state I have described by education, the work should be begun as soon as possible. If the children of parents in such a state of society are not put under instruction till they are 7, 8, or 9 years of age, after all the education which can be given them they will differ very little from their parents. Conducting our schools on this plan, generation after generation will pass away under the most discouraging circumstances to the

ordinary observer. In 1819 education had made little progress among the Hottentots. Something had been done, but nothing in proportion to what might have been expected, or that could be turned to any account; and many engaged in the missionary work assured me that I should never be able to raise up a native agency to assist us in the work among the Hottentots. Such a prophecy under such circumstances could not fail to insure its own accomplishment; for I have invariably found where a missionary despairs of improving the condition of the natives, he as invariably fails to effect the object. But we had at that time an example of a native boy at Pacaltsdorp conducting a small school to my satisfaction: and it was evident to me that there was no solid ground for the objection: and that if we failed in this object, our labour would prove in vain in the end. The schools then at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis were in a very low state. The parents felt no interest in the education of their children; the attendance was very irregular; indolent habits had been contracted before the scholars came under instruction; and it was difficult to say from the appearance of the schools, whether the children or the masters found their books the most irksome. From the want of labourers, and other business of paramount importance upon my hands, nothing could be done to improve the schools till 1821. From that period, through the means which were adopted, the schools were better attended, and a degree of life and animation was thrown into them, which encouraged our hopes. About this period my arduous conflict with the local authorities and the colonial government commenced; and the attention of the missionaries was withdrawn from the schools, being almost entirely occupied in correspondence with the constituted authorities of the colony, and executing their commands; which were often multiplied with no other apparent view but to annoy them and drive them from their stations. During that struggle the importance of the schools was not, however, lost sight of, but owing to various causes I need not enumerate, much less was done than I wished to see effected.

As an illustration of the principle I have laid down, I shall give you a brief account of the state of things now at the Kat River settlement, on the borders of Caffraria. This settlement was begun in 1829. It was in that year that the Caffers were expelled from it; and the peopling of it with Hottentots appears to have been an after thought. The plan was suggested to the colonial government by Captain Stockenstrom, the Commissioner General on the frontier district; and it was urged by that gentleman on sound political views, which were acceded to by the colonial government. When the plan was arranged and agreed to, the Commissioner General visited Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, two of our missionary stations; and by his persuasion 144 families, including the most respectable families at those institutions, went to settle in this new territory.—The plan was, to settle the Hottentots in small villages, and to give them a property in the soil. The families from our institutions were soon joined by others who had never been at any missionary institution, and of this latter class there are now between 3 and 4000 in the district. I visited this people early in 1830, and I then viewed with pleasing surprise their industry, the spirit of hope by which they were actuated, their anxiety for a religious teacher, and their determination to have education for their children. One woman I found surrounded with 50 children, in a place where they were literally wedged together, so that one could not move without disturbing the whole mass; and with the leaves of a New Testament, which were all the lessons she had to set before them. At all the other locations where I found Hottentots from our institutions, I found the same desire for the instruction of the rising generation. But it was not till Mr. Read (who is now the missionary settled in that district) went among the people, that we coul! do any thing efficiently to aid them in the desire manifested by them for their own improvement and the improvement of their children. On my late visit to that district in 1832, the expectation excited by what I saw in 1830 was in every respect more than realized. The exertions the people had

made to lead out the water, of which they have an excellent supply, for the purpose of irrigation, the lands they had brought under cultivation, the houses they had erected, and the decent clothing in which they appeared, with the improvement I remarked in their habits of thinking, in their address, and in the self-respect they discovered—evinced a general improvement that afforded me the most exquisite pleasure. At Philipton, the location at which the missionary resided, there was an infant school, very ably conducted, and a sewing school, by the Miss Reads, and a school on the British system taught by a Hottentot boy, including both together about 140 children. At one location where the whole of the party had been Bushmen, and were in a state of nature when they settled in the district, I found a Hottentot schoolmaster who belonged to Bethelsdorp, and a Christian people. This man was introduced among them by Mr. Read; he had been the means of bringing most of the old people to the knowledge of the truth; he kept Divine service among them, except on the first sabbath of the month, when all that could travel so far went to Philipton to the Lord's Supper; and he had a day school in a flourishing condition. On this visit I established several infant schools, which are conducted by young people formerly at the missionary stations, and who have been instructed in the infant system by the Miss Reads. The people have plenty of food, and it is surprising to see how well they are clothed; but they have not yet money in general, and cannot therefore do every thing they wish to do. The plan I adopted in establishing schools among them was as follows:—The people furnish the teachers with land and plough, and sow and reap it for them, or they supply them with food: and I allow each teacher 1s. 6d. or 2s. a week, to purchase clothing for them. On this principle eight schools were established in the district on my last visit to it. The economy and the means by which we are enabled upon this system to multiply the means of instruction, are too obvious to require further illustration. Many of these native teachers fill their spheres of labour with as much efficiency as many persons we get from Europe might do, and we can with the salary of one European teacher employ 20 or 30 such teachers. Besides the number of such teachers that we can employ instead of one, we have no expense of out-fit, passage money, and their widows and orphans are no charge to the society. Looking at the scenes this district presents, and particularly at the schools, with the pleasure they were calculated to inspire, my pleasure was not without some regret. Had I been warmly supported in my views 7 or 8 years ago, and had I met with that cooperation I wished for, instead of 8 or 9 schools conducted on this principle, we should have had five times the number.

The religious aspect of the district was not less encouraging than the thirst of the people for the education of their children. The public ordinances of the Gospel are on the Sabbath well attended. The Rev. W. Thomson and Rev. J. Read are the ministers of the district, and they hold service at two different locations apart from each other. The sabbaths I was at Philipton the congregations might be about 1000 people, and I do not know that ever I was more affected than on seeing this people on the sabbath morning coming from the different locations in groups, well dressed, and in the most decent and orderly manner, at the sound of the church bell. In conversing with the people the leading feature of their piety appeared to be gratitude to God, which was often manifested by tears, when they contrasted their former bondage and wretchedness with their present prosperous condition. To enter into their feelings, and to form a proper estimate of what has been done for them by the instrumentality of the missionaries, it was necessary to keep in mind what they were before the missionaries came among them. We now compare all we see among them with nothing. When our missions commenced among those people, they were in a condition much worse than that of common slavery; they were without any religion, without morals; without one yard of cotton or woollen cloths, and I may say

naked, without property, living in licentiousness and drunkenness, and without any desires excepting such as terminated on beastly gratifications.

The morality of this district cannot be omitted in our present estimate; and to illustrate this it is necessary only to say, that they have a magistrate of their own nation, and there has not one offence occurred in the district that it has been necessary to bring before the circuit court of justice.

To illustrate the importance of a Native Agency, it is necessary only to say that the work of God among the people and in the schools is carried on chiefly by the people who were from Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. They are the leaven which is leavening the whole lump. At each of the locations where these people are placed they are active in schools, and in bringing others under the means of grace. From the church at Philipton several of the office-bearers and other gifted individuals visit on the sabbath the distant locations, and many of them preach, perhaps with much more effect to their own countrymen than persons of superior education would do, and who from the nature of their very education, and their ignorance of the customs and modes of thinking among the people, might not have the same access to their understandings and their hearts.

While education of the people as a whole is pursued as of paramount importance, the Christian minister is not to allow himself to sink into the mere schoolmaster. Those who are advanced beyond childhood, and who may never be taught to read, are to be objects of his Christian solicitude, and are to be brought under the influence of Christian principles for their own sakes, and for the influence they have over the rising generation. And it is by the oral instruction of the missionaries, any reasonable hope can be entertained of bringing them within the pale of the Christian church. The instructions given to them need not occupy much of the missionary's time in the usual mode in civilized countries of preparing sermons and addresses for them. Provided he can speak to them in their own language, the simpler, the shorter, and the more familiar his addresses are, the more effective they will be. Conversation and a conversational mode of preaching, is the best suited for their condition: and the missionaries who have followed this plan have been the most successful.

In raising up and keeping in operation an effective agency, the public ministrations of the word of God are necessary. When religion has made some progress among a savage or barbarous people, it is under the public administration of the word of God they receive those elevated sentiments and accessions of Christian zeal, which exercise their benevolence to their fellow men, and preserve alive in their minds those spiritual energies which carry them forward in the exercises and labours of Christian love. The efficient ministry of the gospel in public, and in the social meetings of the people is like the action of the heart to the human body, it is from it, that health and life are diffused over the whole body. But the missionary will do very little good who considers his duty at an end when he has done preaching to the people. It is not enough for him to say: I have preached the gospel to the people: I have set before them the words of life and death: I have told them what to shun and what to practice. He must ascertain whether the gospel is received, whether the evils against which he has warned them have been shunned, and whether the duties he has enjoined upon them have been put in practice. He may not immediately see the signs of conversion, and in many cases he may have to wait long for them. But there is a diversity of means besides preaching, that he must employ in his work; to all these he must be attentive, and into all these he must be constantly breathing a spirit of life. In training up an effective agency, the gifts and graces of the different members must be called forth into exercise, and it is when they are thus employed that he fits them for being useful to each other; and it is from those that make the greatest improvement that

he is to select individuals for special purposes. An efficient agency will be looked for in vain, if suitable means are not thus employed to secure it.

By the blessing of God upon the ordinary means employed to evangelize the heathen, men who have never been taught to read may be very useful in the church, and to those around them; but without the education of the rising generation this kind of agency can never be extensively useful: teachers cannot be raised up to continue the work of God in a heathen country: and after all the money which may have been expended upon them, the cause is in danger of perishing, and in such places it may ultimately die away. From what has been said, one thing is clear, that to carry on and extend the missionary work we must have Native Agency; and that to procure that agency the work of education among the heathen cannot be begun too soon, nor carried on too extensively.

We come now to the importance of Infant Schools. If Miss Hamilton's opinion is correct, (and I fully agree with her in it,) that, generally speaking, the character is formed by the time a child is seven years of age, the propriety of beginning education at an earlier period than what has been customary, particularly among the heathen, is obvious. Dr. Vanderkemp, remarking the debilitating effect of the manners and conversations of the parents upon the minds of the children, had his mind for some years before his death occupied with the plan of an Orphan Asylum. The scheme miscarried for want of sufficient funds, and that sympathy with it in England necessary to raise them. This is not to be regretted; as it never could have been carried to that extent which would have answered his expectations.

The Infant School system at our missionary Institutions supplies this desideratum in a manner so complete that it scarcely leaves any thing to be wished for. There is in the system a power of expansion which has no narrower limits than the ignorance and incapacity of its conductors. Even if the children are left to live with their parents, before they even are capable of being injured by the parents, it brings their minds under a new influence which shields them from harm; and while it calls forth and invigorates their intellectual powers, it sheds a softening and subduing influence over their dispositions and manners, and impresses upon the heart at the most favourable season those religious and moral lessons, which it is to be hoped will grow with their growth, and by this means give rise to a state of improvement in one generation, which it would require many generations to accomplish on the old system. I am not now theorizing on this subject without data. Short as the time has been that our Infant Schools have been in operation, the effects they have already produced, justify all that we anticipate from them. The children at our Infant Schools are remarked by every stranger for the gentleness of their manners, the intelligence which beams in their countenances, the delight they take in their school exercises, as exhibiting a contrast to their elders in the upper schools. They keep always by themselves; they can scarcely be brought to associate with the other children; they are even when at play out of doors engaged in their school exercises; at the same time children of three and four years of age are making more rapid progress in acquiring their letters, than boys and girls of nine and ten years of age do in the other schools. While with their parents their minds are so filled with their school exercises, that instead of listening to their parents they become their teachers. And while the pleasure they have in these schools draws them to them, (a matter of great importance among the heathen, the reluctance of the children to attend the schools being one of the greatest discouragements the missionaries have to contend against,) the happy effect these schools have upon the minds and tempers of the children, secures the ready co-operation of the parents, who (as is customary among savages or barbarians,) seldom cross the inclinations of their children. It is a singular fact, and it does not say much for the superiority of the white man, that the system

is much more cordially received, and much more highly appreciated by the Hottentots and other people of colour in this colony, than it is by the generality of the ruling class, and it has not been without a mixture of strong emotions, that I have often contrasted the enthusiastic feelings of the one, with the indifference of the other. We have no difficulty in introducing Infant Schools among any of the tribes of South Africa. Wherever they have been introduced they have been regarded by the natives as presenting the most attractive scenes; fathers and mothers, often crowd about the windows of our Infant Schools to hear and observe the children; and when the little things have been repeating that lesson,—"We love our sisters and brothers—we love our fathers and mothers," &c. I have often seen them turn away their heads to hide their tears.

My sentiments relating to the relative importance of the ministration of the word of God and the education of the rising generation, have been so distinctly expressed that I hope they cannot be mistaken. I do not place them in opposition to each other; and if I have enlarged more upon the importance of early education than upon the importance of preaching to the people, it is because too many good people, and too many missionaries regard the latter as every thing, and the former as of little importance; and because the duties of the one are more agreeable to the fancy, to the indolence, and to the vanity of the human mind, than the other. All men love to work upon large masses, and wish to see every thing done by mere speaking; but we have as yet found out no royal road to the result we labour to effect. The gospel never can have a permanent footing in a barbarous country, unless education and civilization go hand in hand with our religious instructions. On any other principle we may labour for centuries without getting a step nearer our object—the conversion of the world to God—than that which may have been attained in the first 10 or 12 years of our missions. And if your missionaries go to labour in any part of Africa with different views than those I have expressed, and persist in their error, they will probably die closing their days in regretting their mistake.

Long as this communication already is, I cannot conclude it without adverting to another most important feature of the subject, which has hitherto been too much overlooked in England—the qualifications necessary in missionaries designed for Africa. Down to a very late period, and even now, this error is very common among religious people in England, that missionaries unfit for India and other places, will do very well for Africa. To this part of the subject I cannot at present do justice, but i cannot avoid calling your attention to it, and marking it out to you as a delusion that the missionary societies in America must be on their guard against, at the very commencement of their missionary operations on this continent, if they would avoid in their course of proceeding, much useless waste of money and of time, and see their labours and their wishes crowned with success. I know of no situation upon earth that requires a greater knowledge of the world, and more of the philosophy of religion and human nature, than are required in the mind of the man who has to begin and conduct the affairs of an African mission. What Richard said,—"A kingdom for a horse," I am sometimes disposed to apply to a missionary. To render his labours efficient, he has, from the moment the first germ of civilization is imparted by the effects of the gospel on the hearts of the people, till the desert shall begin to blossom around him, and the blossoms to ripen into fruit,—one of the most difficult processes to conduct, that can occupy the attention of a human being. While his character and judgment must be such as to secure the full confidence of the society to which he belongs, and the ascendency of his mind such as to make those around him and engaged with him in the same work, look up to him, (for the mere ensign of authority is nothing, so far removed from the control of the parent society,) he must be able to perceive what the people want, and to supply a thousand influences to carry on

the civilizing process, which are not required in a minister of the gospel among a civilized people. Among a savage or barbarous people, who are without civil government, the missionary or missionaries have to supply this deficiency; and they have nothing to supply it but the confidence the people have in their wisdom, their integrity, and their disinterestedness. At our missionary institutions during the first stages of our missions, the missionaries have all the secular as well as the religious affairs of the people upon their hands; and at our missions beyond the colony the prevalence or prevention of domestic and foreign broils among neighbouring chiefs frequently depends upon the conduct of the missionaries.

The most critical of all periods in the history of missionary labours, is that when the people become ripe for civil government. If Providence has not provided a governing and master-mind among our missionaries at that period or stage of the process, all will be in imminent danger of being lost. I shall mention one fact to you,—but avoid names, because all the parties are alive to illustrate this sentiment. We had at one station beyond the Colony, a succession of excellent men, men of great piety, and who were useful among the people up to the point I have noticed. The first conducted the people from a savage state to the agricultural state, and among the old people, generally speaking, to whom he had been made useful in their conversion to God, he maintained his authority. Others at different periods entered with him into his labours, and the young people were generally taught to read, and some of them could write and cipher. The profession of christianity was now universal among them; every man had one wife only, and the children were baptized and taught the Christian faith. Something like a civil code was extracted from the New Testament, and when the society was in an infant state it was submitted to by the old people. As regulations for the government of a Christian church, all was proper, but all the people on the station, though they professed themselves Christians, were not Christians. Many joined them and conformed to their regulations, who were far from being religious men; and the young people grew up, and as few of them had tasted the grace of God, and had received but a very imperfect education, they became troublesome under the regulations which they considered too strict for them. Vexed with the troubles which now arose, and finding that they could not manage the people, they left the station, one after another in despair, abandoning all that had been done. In this distressing predicament, and when nothing but utter desolation was looked for, I turned my eyes to one missionary, who readily entered into my views, and immediately repaired to the deserted station. On his arriving among the people, he found them all divided among themselves. The first Sabbath he preached to them, he had not a dozen people to hear him; and so much injured had their minds been by their divisions, that the majority even of that small number, looked upon him with indifference. The fruit of the labours of many years seemed suspended upon a single hair; but that hair soon became a thousand; and the dozen with which he commenced his missionary labours at this station multiplied into hundreds; and there is not at this moment in Africa, a more flourishing missionary station, or one where love and union prevail more.

After all that can be said about the perfection of any one system, or the superiority of one system over another, our success must under the blessing of God depend upon the character of our agency. The missionary in a country like this, in addition to piety and disinterestedness, requires to be a man of resources. On my last visit to the Kat River settlement, I visited a party who had been till they came there all their lives in the bushes; and were what are called in South Africa wild Bushmen. When they were permitted to settle on the Kat River three years ago, they had literally nothing but the old sheep-skin karosses about their shoulders. They had not so much as one iron tool, they had no seed corn, they had nothing to give in exchange for any. With a borrowed hatchet they

made a wooden plough, which had not about it one iron pin. From one Hottentot they borrowed two oxen, with which they ploughed their ground: from another they borrowed seed corn. By the first crop they were enabled to repay their seed-corn, and purchase some bullocks and some iron. To get a more perfect plough they must use their iron; and to do this they substituted a skin for a bellows, which they worked with their hands. The second plough had an iron coulter; and is a very respectable instrument; and the second year's crop put them in easy circumstances. When I saw them on my late journey, they had not only made a wagon for themselves, but they were making and repairing wagons and ploughs for the neighbouring locations. From this little anecdote you may see what kind of men we need as missionaries in Africa. We do not want men that must have situations made to their minds, before they can work in them with pleasure or profit; but men who come here to make easy situations for their successors, men who know not what difficulties mean; of creative minds, and of governing minds; who by faith in God, and confidence in the efficacy of means, can subdue all things before them; men like your Beecher, who can believe practicable what all the world declares to be an impossibility. It is amazing what men of this description, by the divine blessing, can effect. Academical acquirements are desirable; learning is desirable; but these are nothing without mind. Give me a man deeply imbued with the spirit of the gospel, with the practical mind of your own Franklin, if he has never had a Latin book or a Greek Testament in his hand: and if that man be thrown on any part of the African Continent, with nothing but the Bible and his *common* sense to guide him, that man will do more as a missionary than ten feeble-minded men with all the learning of the schools. I have seen half a dozen of educated men despair and do nothing in a sphere in which they were succeeded by a man, under whose labours in the course of a short time the desert has become as the garden of the Lord.

Let it be remembered, that I do not speak against learning; it is desirable, and the superior mind is greatly elevated by it. I do not speak against a talent for languages: without this the languages of the natives are not to be acquired. But I wish to impress upon you the necessity of mind in an African missionary along with education; and the superiority of mind over education, when you are left to choose between the two. You will not suppose that I mean any reflection upon the missionaries who have gone from America to the heathen world. So far as I have had the means of judging, I believe, generally speaking, that the American missionaries are in some important points superior to our own. A remark of your Judson, at the commencement of the Burman mission, and before I thought of being a missionary, attached me to the man, and raised him still higher in my estimation, since I have seen its force more fully unfolded to me in this missionary field. The following is the remark to which I refer:—"Keep us from pious, well-meaning, wrong-headed men: for one man of this description will do more harm in a situation like this, than a missionary in his whole life will be able to remove." I would add to the above remark a prayer, that the Lord would keep our directors from sending us useless men; for if this evil is not guarded against, we shall soon have all the funds of our societies absorbed doing little or nothing.

What is emphatically designated the gospel of Christ must be the soul of all missionary operations; but with those that are the instruments of imparting the quickening spirit, there should be at all our missionary stations individuals who know the connexion between soul and body, and who know what must be done to the body to keep the soul healthy, and the body a fit habitation for the soul. When the principles of Christianity take possession of the heart, there is a principle of life: but the developement and direction of the powers and tendencies of this life, from its first germination among barbarians, till it pervades the surrounding mass, and gives rise to all the forms of civilization and government, is

an arduous process, and one that requires mind and devotedness to the cause to conduct. Till civil governments arise among the tribes of Africa, (and this can never be the case but by the labours of our missionaries,) there can be no public virtue; in other words, there will be no checks upon individual selfishness; and there can be no end to the desolating wars, which families and small tribes wage against each other.

Christianity has not yet put an end to the wars of civilized nations, on this simple principle, because it has not yet raised the common people by education to that elevation to which it is fast raising them, and from which they will see the folly as well as the wickedness of war. But the wars of civilized nations and those of barbarous tribes differ so much in their character and effects that they cannot be brought into comparison. The great object of the missionary is to impart to savages or barbarians the principle of a new life; and in doing this, and in doing what is necessary to cherish, strengthen, and propagate this principle, and aid it in the developement of its powers, and preserve those that receive it in peace and security against wicked and unreasonable men, he will during the first years of his labours have much to do; but if he or some one with him is not at hand to supply the want of the rising community, and to guide them in their civil affairs, it is vain to expect that his labours will be attended with any permanent fruits upon earth. Heaven may receive from his prayers and labours a few souls; but he will scarcely be removed from the sphere of his labours when the field he had cultivated will return to its former state. The traveller may pass over it in a few years without any one to tell him where the missionary lived; and instead of the captivating scene described (and faithfully described) in the pages of the Missionary Journal, he may find nothing but a moral desert. We have at this time before us in Africa examples of the evil we deprecate; and we have, through mercy, examples of a different description. By the blessing of God upon the labours of our missionaries, a new country has been brought within the pale of the Christian church; and at the general request of the people, we are now soliciting the government to receive it as a part of the colony. We have the prejudices of a powerful class against us, who would rather have the country than see the people recognized as forming part of the colony; but I do hope that God will ultimately secure to them the peaceable possession of their fountains and lands, and defeat the designs of their enemies. I am the more inclined to hope that this will be the case under one form or another, as the only objection which was made to the plan the other day, when I was urging it upon our present governor, Sir Lowry Cole, is not one that is insurmountable. When I had stated to the governor the intelligence and the civilization of the people, the great services they had rendered to the colony, having defended it upon its northern boundary along a line of 300 miles, without having cost the government any thing, and the evils that would arise were the defence removed;—he remarked, that the government at home was always suspicious of governors in colonies enlarging their boundaries; that it appeared to him that civilization would in this manner proceed into the interior of Africa: and that if the government were to take into the colony every new district civilized beyond its boundaries, he asked, where the limits of the colony would end?

The next question which occurs to me, and which I shall answer as briefly as possible, is as to the manner in which we may expect the gospel to proceed in its advances over this vast and benighted continent. Reasoning from the circumstances of this colony, from what is to be learned of the progress of Christianity from history, and from what has come under my own observation, my decided opinion is, that the progress of Christianity in Africa must be slow; that its light must radiate from certain well chosen positions; and that the districts in the neighbourhood of the first position chosen, should be enlightened; and that every new missionary establishment must keep what has been gained, while it is extending its conquests in the regions beyond it. The growth of Christianity

in such a country should be like that of an empire; which is enriched and strengthened by every inch of new territory, which extends the line of its frontier. What is gained is by this means secured; and out of the materials accumulated in this manner, the conquests still to be made, become easy and rapid. Every new village brought within the pale of the church increases her resources, and adds to the efficiency of her native agency. By this means, in going forth to fresh conquests she becomes to her enemies "bright as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners."

Every aid should be afforded by your missionary societies to your new and interesting settlement. By an efficient ministry and due attention to the schools of Liberia, the foundation of a future empire may be laid in that settlement, that may in a short time do much to evangelize the surrounding country to a great extent. When the government of that country has gained the confidence of the nations beyond it, multitudes of those nations will put themselves under its protection, and among such people you will find employment for a large body of missionaries.

My views on this subject cannot be more happily expressed than they have been by one of your own countrymen, the late Rev. Sam. J. Mills, in the following extract:—"If by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in a suitable time go out from that settlement, and form others, and prove the occasion of great good."

The memoirs of that interesting man did not come into my hands till a few days ago, and till I had written my own sentiments upon this subject. Mentioning to a friend that I was very anxious to see something respecting the settlement of Liberia, the memoir of Mr. Mills was put into my hands, and in perusing it I was very much struck with the largeness and comprehension of Mr. Mills' views.

There is so exact a correspondence between his views as to the best mode of evangelizing and civilizing Africa, and my own, that the one seemed to me as if it were a copy of the other. From the first notice I had of your settlement of Liberia I contemplated it under the same aspects as those under which Mr. Mills appeared to have viewed it, when he was sacrificing his health and *life* for its establishment. And I cannot help feeling surprised that Mr. Mills with his opportunities should have arrived so soon at the just conclusions to which he had come on this subject.

The whole of Mr. Mills' memoirs, (which I have perused at one sitting) convinces me that from your intercourse with the native tribes of America, or some other cause, that you have much more enlarged views on this subject, than are, generally speaking, to be found in England. But however far you may have got before my countrymen on this point, you will not be displeased to find that the fruit of 14 years experience which I have had in Africa, goes to confirm all the views of your own enlightened and lamented countryman.

The details I have already given of the history of the Griquas, while they illustrate the elevating power of Christian principles, and Christian education, confirm what I have said as to the manner in which you may expect the gospel to be propagated by means of your new and interesting colony on the African continent.

There is another lesson which is taught by them, that I must notice in this place. They point out to us the wisdom of making choice of proper sites on which to commence our missionary operations. A sea-port on the coast of Africa is preferable, if it can be obtained, to an inland situation. The only real danger that the Griquas are in at this moment, arises from their contiguity to the Cape Colony, and their entire dependence upon it for all the supplies to which their civilization has given rise, and without which they cannot now

maintain their civilization. Their services to the colony have been great; and their removal from their present situation would be the greatest misfortune that ever happened to this colony. And yet all those services and all their civilization, have not been able to eradicate the prejudices of the colonists against colour.

The following anecdote will illustrate to you my meaning. Some time ago the Griquas presented a petition to the colonial government, setting forth the injuries they received from the Boers coming over the river, and depasturing the country, &c., &c., and they requested that if this practice was to be continued, the Boers might be directed by the colonial government to make application to the local authorities among the Griquas, who would show them where they might pasture their herds and flocks, without trespassing on the property of individuals. In a newspaper in which this petition is recorded, and on the margin of the paper opposite to the humble request which concludes the above extract, some one has written, "Matchless impudence!"—Handing the paper to a gentleman standing by, and at the same time directing his attention to the request of the Griquas over against it, he remarked.—"The writer has expressed only the general feeling with which such a request from such a people must be regarded."—Had the Griquas been situated at Port Natal, or at any other place similarly situated; what might we not have expected?

I will not point out to you the difference to the continent of Africa between colonies of civilized white men and civilized black men. There appears to be existing in this day a prejudice in the breasts of white men against black men, which nothing short of a divine power can remove, and till black men are civilized, and till they rise to a level with us, we have no reason, in the present state of human nature, to expect white colonists will either regard or treat them as fellow creatures. Contempt, the parent of so much cruelty and injustice to the coloured people, appears to have arisen with the practice of making slaves of black men exclusively, and it gives us a frightful view of human nature, that the injuries we have done to that race of men should be the ground of our hatred against them: and that that hatred should be evident, in proportion to the cruelty and injustice they have suffered at our hands.

The evil is not, however, incurable. The first step to reconcile white men to men of colour is to endeavour to raise the latter above that degraded state to which our injustice has reduced them: and as our sons, it is to be hoped, will be more innocent with regard to crimes such as have been committed against Africa, than we are, it is to be hoped that they will cherish towards them a more kindly feeling than we do. There were no prejudices against colour when Egypt was the cradle of literature and science, nor even in the days when the Grecian and Roman republics were in their glory, and those prejudices will most certainly pass away, as the principles of the Gospel become more effective on the minds of white and black men.

If any man were to ask me the question. What is Christianity doing for the world that Infidelity is not doing? I would point to Mills & Burgess, and the friends and zealous supporters of the Liberian settlement; and ask another question in reply.—Whether there was any difference between the men I have named and the abettors of slavery, and the captains of slave ships? Africa, the present state of the continent of Africa, from one extremity to the other, furnishes the best answer to that question. On the one hand we see men agreeing in their hatred of vital religion, pouring their contempt and scorn upon every thing that bears the name *evangelical*, using the word *saint* as a term of bitter reproach; like so many birds of prey hovering over Africa, and ready to destroy all those that would throw a protecting shield over the victims they have marked out for destruction:—and on the other hand we see men of the same complexion, of the same nation, perhaps belonging to the same families, spending their means, sacrificing their health and comfort, enduring the con-

particularly in savage and barbarous countries. I could never reconcile in my own mind the difficulties which had in all ages attended any attempts to civilize barbarous tribes and the *slow* progress of society, with the ideas generally prevalent in Great Britain among many of the warmest and most intelligent friends of the missionary cause, as to the qualifications necessary in missionaries to human beings in this state of society. The notion which every where prevailed was, that provided men have piety, it was not of importance what the talents of missionaries were, designed for Africa. I was satisfied that if our missionary societies were labouring under an error on this subject, that that error might prove the prolific source of many other errors, which might ultimately occasion the failure of all our benevolent plans, and the destruction of all our prospects. My apprehensions on this subject were greatly strengthened by the occasion which called for the visit of the Deputation: and the consolation which supported me under the sacrifice I had to make in leaving an important and much loved sphere of usefulness at home, was the hope, that if I should do no more by visiting Africa than bring home correct views on this subject my labours and sufferings, and even the loss of life itself would be amply repaid by the evils I might be the means of preventing.

Were I at this moment in England or America, I should be most anxious to have this subject freely and fully discussed in all the public journals; and it is my decided opinion, that should your Society do no more than call the public attention to it, it will be the means of doing the greatest service to the cause of missions.

To heal the wounds of Africa—to remove the evils generated on this unhappy continent by the nefarious slave trade—to raise minds long embruted by the avarice and cruel selfishness of civilized nations—to cover Africa with Christian churches and Christian schools—and to conduct the process of civilization from the first germination of the seed in the mind of individuals, till it shall cover with its shade and enrich with its fruits the moral wastes of this desolated quarter of the globe—is an undertaking worthy of the zeal and benevolence of your churches. And as much of your future success will, under the blessing of God, depend on the character of the agency you may employ, and the wisdom of the measures you may adopt, you cannot do me a greater pleasure than to make any demands upon my experience you may choose to call for. Question me freely on every point on which you wish for additional illustration or information. Let me have all the objections which the intelligent friends of missions have to urge against my views. State fully all the difficulties you may suppose one in Africa alone or in company with other missionaries, would have to encounter in carrying my views into practice; and I pledge myself, if the Lord spare me and continue my health, to give you my sentiments upon all those subjects, and every other connected with missions, on which you may wish to have my opinions.

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,
Your unworthy, and much obliged fellow labourer in the work of the Lord,
JOHN PHILIP.

P. S. The present communication has been got up in great haste, and is, as I am sensible, susceptible of great improvement, particularly in the arrangement; but the opinions I have ventured to give you, have been adopted after much consideration and a course of experience, now not short. My views did not come to me by intuition; so long was I in Africa before I came to my present conclusions on many important points, respecting the difficulties attending our attempts to evangelize Africa, and what I conceive to be the best mode of conducting those attempts, that had I returned to England after having been two years here, as was my first intention; and had I on my return published any thing upon this subject, I feel certain that my voyage to this place, or what I might have

written, would have been of little or no use to the church of God. My only apology for the unwarrantable length of this letter, is, the paramount importance of the subjects and the cordial desires I feel to guard the American churches, against the evils which have resulted from the ignorance which prevails in England on the subject of missions to Africa, and which are not yet over with us in South Africa. It is matter of great thankfulness to see such men as Platt in the South Seas, who under God have been the means of preserving the cause among the islands in that quarter of the Globe; but it is humbling to think how little of it is due to our directors in sending out such men, and to see the vast sums of money thrown away to no purpose in this cause in other places, for want of an efficient and wise agency.

I beg you will remember me very affectionately to your Professors and to the dear young men whose hearts have been touched by the Grace of God, and who are desirous of the missionary work. Should any of your countrymen come to Port Natal, to De la Goa Bay, or to go to Mosalekatsi, and land at the Cape on the voyage, you will have the goodness to assure them, that it will give me the greatest pleasure to receive them under my roof, and to do all for them in my power.

J. P.

DEATH OF MR. WIRT.

The following Letter was written by the third daughter of the late Mr. Wirt, to a near relation of the family, soon after his decease. It is obviously to be regarded as a familiar, and confidential communication, not originally intended for the public eye.

Washington, Feb. 22, 1834.
Saturday morning.

My Dear Aunt,

This is the first time my pen has ever traced this endearing appellation in reference to yourself; but, believe me, it is not the first time, by very many, that my heart has felt drawn towards you, with the yearnings which it would naturally feel towards the only near surviving relative of my precious and sainted father; and now, there is a sacredness in this feeling, which no other tie can give, and which will be enshrined in my heart, until it shall cease to beat.

Your dear son, Judge C., who has indeed been to us the kindest of friends in this season of our deep affliction, interested us all very much, some few weeks ago, in an evening visit to my father, by narrating with how much care you treasured up every thing relating to your much-loved brother, particularly every thing which threw light on his religious views and sentiments—and it is in the hope of affording you gratification and comfort, under this irreparable loss, that I sit down to give you as minute and detailed an account of the last illness and death of our dear departed one, as the present confused and collapsed state of my mind will permit.

I cannot, dare not, dwell on the loss which his family has sustained in their head, husband, father, and household priest; for when my thoughts revert to this aspect of the case, I feel as if my heart would break; I press my hand on it to still its rebellious risings, and raise my eyes and soul to the

hills whence cometh all our help; and indeed, my dear aunt, this help has been extended to us almost miraculously; for had I been told two short weeks ago, that he who was the dearest and most absorbing object of our earthly affections, was so soon, so very soon, to be taken from us, methinks the sudden shock would have made us quit our hold of our Almighty Refuge, and driven us into wailing and despair. And yet, when the fiat came, and we knew it to be inevitable, and irrevocable, God held us up, and dried our tears, and hushed our lamentations, and enabled us to stand around the dying bed, to speak and to receive words of consolation.

He whom we loved, and whom *the Lord loved*—precious thought—was a picture of renovated health on the morning of Sunday, the 9th inst.—so much so, that dear mother, at the breakfast table, said to him playfully—"You are looking so much more like yourself, my dear husband, than I have seen you for years, that I really think you ought to have your picture taken." On the previous evening (Saturday) he had been preparing himself for an argument on the following Monday, in a very important case, and had been in the capitol library examining authorities, in addition to those of his own office; and altogether, expressed himself better satisfied with his preparations, than he had been for a long time; for in this, as in every thing else, his humility often made him undervalue himself so as to distress us.

Directly after breakfast Sabbath morning, 9th instant, he assembled us as usual in his chamber at family prayers; and never did I hear a more solemn and fervent outpouring of the soul at the footstool of the mercy-seat. He prayed "for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom with a holy earnestness; for his children, present and absent; for his enemies, if he had any; and for all his friends, every where; especially for those who had not yet been brought to know, and love, and serve the Saviour: finally, he prayed that his own soul, and that of those so dear to him, might be sprinkled afresh with pardoning blood, and that the ascended Saviour would, through the influence of his Holy Spirit, keep him and all of us, in his fear, and enable us to walk in his commandments through life; sustain and cheer us in the hour of death, and at last receive us to himself, a reunited and blessed family, to worship forever around his throne, to the glory of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

His heart being thus attuned to worship God in his public ordinances, he walked with my sister Ellen, Alexander Randall, of Annapolis—the brother of my brother-in-law, Judge Randall, of Florida—and myself, to the capitol, to hear the

chaplain, Mr. S****** preach. It was not actually raining, but so exceedingly damp that some persons had their umbrellas up, to turn the drizzling moisture. It is to this walk that the cold, which terminated in his death, is attributed. Yet he had sometimes walked in as bad and even worse weather before, without serious injury; and the physicians had urged upon dear mother, the absolute necessity of his taking exercise in all weather, except fast-falling; especially after breakfasting upon meats, instead of his usual diet of rice and milk, which was the case that morning. Therefore, although it was damp, yet, as the exercise seemed to be advisable, and he was anxious to go to church—the very inclement weather having prevented his doing so the three previous Sundays that we had been here—it was decided that he might venture. And, though bitter pangs of self-reproach for having been accessory to his fatal cold, gave my beloved mother one of the most violent and agonizing nervous paroxysms I ever witnessed, yet she and all of us have, I trust, been brought to feel, that this could not have happened, without the special design and interposition of God, who accomplishes the most mighty ends, by the instrumentality of means apparently totally inadequate to their fulfilment.

Mr. S——'s text that morning, was 1st Cor. 1st chapter 23d, 24th verses: "We preach *Christ crucified*, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, *Christ* the *power of God*, and the *wisdom of God*." And he did, indeed, prove most convincingly, that it was the *wisdom* of God, in falling upon the only plan which could, at the same time, satisfy and be concordant with his equal attributes of justice and mercy. And the *power* of God in accomplishing, by the instrumentality of One who was "despised and rejected of men," and of his few obscure and illiterate followers, the salvation of a world—a work which no earthly monarch, however universal his empire, could ever accomplish. The subject was a sublime one, and it was treated with a force of argument, and a pathos of eloquence, which I have rarely if ever heard equalled. My dear father sat immediately behind my chair, so as occasionally to rest himself upon it, and I heard him more than once sob, in a sort of convulsed *sotto voce*, as was his habit when deeply affected: he ejaculated several times, too, his approbation and admiration of parts of the discourse; and on rising, when the service was closed, said to the gentleman next him, "A most capital preacher, sir—one of nature's orators—he is a great favorite of mine, and goes straight to my heart." He stopped and shook hands with Mr. S—— as

he came out, making some kind inquiries about his health, which were reciprocated. He and Ellen walked fast, and got home before me; and I found, when I went to his chamber, that he had taken off his coat, and put on his wrapper, not feeling well. By Mr. Randall's desire, however, he came down to the parlor and shook hands with him, as he was to leave town the next day; and said, "God bless you, sir—farewell!" This was the last time he ever left his room.

On returning from church, he asked mother to "look if he had cut his ear in shaving, as it felt painful." Mother examined it and found no such mark, but a hard knot in the glands of the throat, just below the right ear—a swelling, as she presumed, from cold—and advised him to lie down and cover himself up warm, hoping that he would be relieved by perspiration. This was between two and three o'clock, and we then went down to dinner. A little before three o'clock, I came up, with my bonnet on, to go to church again, and kissed him. He said, "Tell your mother, my dear, that I feel very chilly, as if I were going to have an ague." She immediately ordered hot bricks to his feet, and additional covering, and sent for Dr. H——. When I came home, he had a fever, but talked cheerfully; when I gave him a description of Mr. S——'s evening discourse. After remaining silent a few moments, he said, "Wife, it will not do for me to expose myself in church as I do; I am a mere baby in the command of my sensibilities and nerves; I can scarcely refrain sometimes from tears, and indeed, I have frequently been obliged to relieve myself by giving way to them;" and, as he spoke, the same feeling seemed to overcome him. I said, what I think true, that "no christian ought to be ashamed of intense feeling at the review of his own unworthiness, and of the vivid emotion of gratitude and love to the Saviour, which caused tears."

"But it is so unmanly, and people around don't know what to make of it."

His fever continued to be higher and hotter, and seemed to be aggravated rather than relieved by the warm applications which were prescribed in the hope of forcing a perspiration—steaming his face, and bathing his feet in hot water, and, as a genuine vapor-bath could not be procured, laying hot bricks all along on both sides of him in his bed, from his feet upwards. His fever *raged* all night with an intensity which, mother says, she has never known with him; certainly for *fifteen years*, if ever. Next day, the whole right side of his face was much swollen.

On Thursday night I sat up with him: he rose twice in the

night, with the assistance of dear mother, and a servant, thinking it would make him feel more comfortable to change his posture a little while, and have his bed made ; in doing so he expressed his surprise at his extreme weakness, which was greater, he said, after those few days' illness, than after his long and exhausting attack at the springs last summer. The last time he rose, as he sat in the easy chair, he asked mother if she would "read the Bible to him ?" She did so ; and it was the 55th Psalm. In reading this, she omitted all those passages which relate more particularly to David's enemies, and read all the rest, which, you know, was particularly applicable to himself; he seemed to feel it deeply, and after she had finished reading, she saw his lips moving in prayer. This was the last time he was able to listen to this precious volume, or to rise from his bed. Towards morning he became slightly delirious, and it was deemed advisable to call in another physician ; and Dr. H——, a young physician here, who has great reputation for skill and talent in his profession, was sent for. Father, himself, said at first it was not worth while to consult another physician, but at last consented. That morning (Friday morning,) he called mother to his bedside, and, in the presence of my sister Ellen, gave certain directions "in case of his sudden death." He then seemed to speak with some difficulty, and in the course of that day, and throughout the next, talked wildly at intervals. His mind seemed chiefly to dwell on his law cases. He would call us to him by name, and then begin, as if he were addressing the judges of the supreme court, carrying on a continuous argument for several sentences together.

Dr. H—— and Dr. H—— consulted together, at 9 o'clock Monday morning, and decided to blister him around his right ear, which they did ; afterwards on both wrists and both limbs, from the ancles upwards ; and finally his head was shaved and blistered. Forty leeches, also, were applied, two or three different times, to the left temple, and behind the left ear ; yet these, and all other remedies, were of no avail.

On Sunday and Monday, he lay in a kind of lethargy, from which it was difficult to arouse him to swallow his medicine and food. Both eyes, too, were closed from the inflammation, and the right eye covered with a blister; but we continued bathing the left with warm milk and water, in hopes that it might possibly open.

When asked if he would swallow any thing, he always answered, "Yes, I'll try"—though it was with difficulty that he swallowed towards the last, from the swelling and soreness of the mouth, tongue, and mucous membrane. His sense of

hearing, however, never lost its acuteness until Monday evening. Dr. H——, thinking it must have done so, spoke to him in a loud tone of voice, and was gently rebuked by his saying, "Doctor, you are not speaking to a regiment of soldiers." He distinguished our voices easily, though his eyes were closed; and when one of his attached young friends and students, James C——, asked him, "Mr. Wirt, do you know James?" He replied, "To be sure, I do."

Ellen's twin sister, Rosa, (now Mrs. Robinson, of Baltimore) came down with her husband on Saturday, having been informed by letters from us, of his alarming illness. When she first kissed him, he said, "Why, my dear, how came you here?—High, high!" But, at that time, made no other remark. The next day, however, (Sunday, the 16th) he asked, with some difficulty, for "*his Rosa?*" And when she came to him, said, "My darling, God bless you!"

On Monday morning, we thought him dying: and, dear mother, unable any longer to control her pent-up feelings, retired to another room and gave vent to them. The thought that he was indeed to die without looking on his family any more, taking leave of them, and expressing his own resignation, was insupportably agonizing.

But, as if to show the power of God, while she was thus abandoning herself to grief, the eye that had been so long closed, opened suddenly, as I hung over him, and fixed itself on me with a kindling intelligence which I had not seen since his first wanderings. "My father, do you know your Catharine?" "Yes." "Do you trust in God?" (raising my own eyes to heaven to make the question more significant.) "Yes," with solemnity, and raising his own eye in the same direction. I flew into the next room to communicate the intelligence to dear mother, and she calmed herself and returned with me. She approached the bedside—he looked at her, and said, "*Wife, I am going before you!*" I feared this would overpower her; but God upheld her, and she answered meekly, "Yes, my beloved, you *are* going before me, and you will see our dear angels in heaven, sooner than I shall. There are five of our children in heaven now, waiting to receive you, and you leave five more on earth, under my care—it will only be for a little while, and we, too, shall come and join you. Do not fear for us, who are left behind—God will take care of your widowed wife and fatherless children." There was a struggle in his frame and heart, but he sought strength where he had never failed to find it, and it was given him. His eye next lighted on me—I kissed him, and asked—"My beloved father, is your soul at peace now, stayed on Jesus?" "Yes." "Do

you now feel the truth of the promise, 'When thou walkest through the valley of the shadow of death, fear not—God will be with thee, his rod and his staff, they shall comfort thee!' " "Yes; oh, yes!" raising his eyes to heaven, with a mingled expression of faith, gratitude, and submission. His eye then fell on Rosa. She kissed his hand, and bade "God bless you, my beloved father." Then on Ellen; and she did the same. He looked alternately once more on each of us as we stood around his bed, then raised his hands and eyes to heaven, as if invoking a farewell blessing.

During this solemn and affecting scene, all had left the room, except his own immediate family. At this crisis, however, our former pastor, when he lived here, Mr. P***, (a meek and holy man, to whom father always bore a strong attachment, and for whom I had despatched a hurried messenger at the first sign of returning intelligence,) arrived; and with him there entered several of father's friends, old and young, to the number of fifteen, including the family. Mr. P*** took his hand, and asked him, "if he was resigned to die now, if it pleased God to take him?" He answered, unhesitatingly, "Yes." "Then," said mother, "we resign you, my beloved, into the hands of God. He will take care of us in your absence, and not suffer us to want; and, at last, will reunite us all—all, I trust, in heaven." He struggled hard to speak, but the utterance was denied. Mr. P*** then asked him several other questions, as to "the composed and happy state of his soul,—his views of the plan of redemption through the Saviour,—his faith in the atoning merits of Jesus Christ for the pardon of all his sins, and for his salvation?" To all of which he replied in the affirmative. Mr. P*** then asked him, "if it would be agreeable to him, that we should unite in offering a prayer for him?" He replied with great vivacity, "Yes," and nodded his head affirmatively, three times, in quick succession, thereby signifying the great pleasure the proposition afforded him.

We all instantly knelt down, as with one impulse, while the solemn appeal ascended to the Throne of Grace. It was a spectacle so sublime, that angels might contemplate it with delight and awe. My father's eyes were raised to Heaven with prayer. At one time Mr. P*** prayed that, "if it was consistent with the intentions of the Almighty, his sick and suffering servant might be raised from that bed of languishing, to the enjoyment of health, to be a further blessing to his family and friends, and an honor to his country and to the cause of God on earth." Immediately the eye was withdrawn from its imploring gaze upwards, a shudder passed over his

frame, and he shook his head negatively, and, Mr. G******** insists, audibly said, "No." But when Mr. P*** closed with a prayer, that, "if God should take him now, he might be received into the mansions of glory, to dwell forever and ever at the right hand of his God and Saviour, and that his family might be sustained and comforted in his departure"—his hand and eyes were raised once more, and for the last time, to heaven; and thenceforth motionless and at rest. Mr. P*** pressed his hand in taking leave, saying, he "would not fatigue him further then, as the result of that interview was perfectly satisfactory to him; but would see him again."

It did seem as if God, at that very moment, unclosed his eyes, once more, to look for the last time on earth, upon his assembled family; to witness their resignation and to cheer them by his own; and that the pressure upon the brain was, during this blessed half hour, removed for the same benevolent purpose. The expression of his eye was not dim and wandering; but clear, firm, intelligent, beaming, heavenly. The voice too, distinct and full of feeling, and the motion of the head and of the hand, as it was raised with an effort from the bed, and then dropped, not lifelessly, but reverentially, spoke in a manner not to be mistaken by those who witnessed it—"Thy will, Oh God, thy holy will be done—Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Throughout this lingering and painful sickness, uncomfortable as he must have felt from the pressure of the disease, and the severe remedies, (for all the blisters drew,) he never uttered a repining word. Once, when his feet were immersed in hot poultices, he said, "Is not this enough to drive a man mad; to be between two fires, one at his head and the other at his feet?" Yet, when I asked him, not long afterwards, "how he felt?" he simply said, "Not well."

Such childlike submission I never witnessed, and such unmurmuring patience. On Monday morning, 17th, Dr. R*******, after some efforts, succeeded in making him understand, that he wished him to take another dose of medicine. His reply was, "*I am a child, you may do as you please with me.*" But the last time they teased him to swallow some nourishment, he gently and almost inaudibly whispered, "*Let me be.*" My mother says she has often heard him express the opinion, that "dying persons ought not to be disturbed, in their last moments, by the importunities of their friends to call them back to life; for that most probably the souls of such persons were then absorbed in the contemplations of eternity, and holding communion with the inhabitants of heaven." We know not but his half-emancipated soul was at that moment

thus engaged, and it seemed almost cruel to awaken his wrapt soul to consciousness.

When, with the restlessness of pain, he would throw the cover from his hands, and make an effort to reach far back with them, perhaps to indicate by this mute gesture the seat of pain, and dear mother would say, "For wife's sake, my beloved, try to keep your dear hands warm," he would patiently resign them to be covered; sometimes saying, "Well, if it must be so,"—but most generally in silence.

After the farewell interview with us, and with Mr. P***, which I have so minutely described, and which took place on Monday, the 17th, he did not again unclose his eyes or speak. Once, afterwards, that night, as I sat by him holding his hand, and moistening his mouth with wine and water, and watching his very regularly, but gradually diminishing breathing, he whispered, "*The door is open.*" I thought he might feel oppressed, (though there were not, at the time, more than two other persons besides myself in the room, which was large, airy, and cool,) and threw open the door to admit the air. But I think it highly probable that, at that moment, he had a glimpse of the heaven on which he was about to enter—the thought struck me at the time, that then he stood

> ————"Where Moses stood,
> And viewed the landscape o'er:
> Not Jordan's stream, nor death's cold flood,
> Could fright him from the shore."

All night we watched, expecting every breath to be the last; and yet, although his hands were cold and clammy, and his pulse almost and sometimes quite imperceptible; yet the hot bricks seemed to keep his feet warm to the last, and his breathing was as tranquil as that of a sleeping child.

It was not until eleven o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 18th inst. that the last breath was drawn. We all stood around him, and I held his left hand between both of my own. So faint and so interrupted was his breathing for the last five minutes, that it was difficult to know when it did actually cease. Once I held my breath, thinking it was all over; but, after a short interval, there came one more feeble, flickering respiration, and then ———— there was rest until the resurrection morn. At that instant, the sun, which had been all the morning veiled in clouds, burst into the room with full meridian splendor; and the same little bird, which had been, since the thrilling music of the preceding day, hanging silent and unobserved in his cage, struck up a requiem note, so subdued and so sweet, that it might well nigh be mistaken for the rustling of an angel's wing.

My poor dear mother threw herself into our arms, and exclaimed, "The seal of happiness to him, but of misery to us!"

SUNDAY MORNING, 23d Feb.

IN my father's little memorandum book are copied these two verses—the first in his own handwriting, and the last in that of dear Ellen, who wrote it, at his request, last summer, at the White Sulphur Springs, of Virginia, where he was lying sick on his bed:

First verse: "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth,
"Keep the door of my lips."—Ps. CXLI. v. 3.

Second verse: "Follow peace with all men and holiness—"
"Without which no man shall see the Lord."

His pocketbook also contains, instead of bank notes, many little pieces of paper on which he had, at different periods, written extracts from the sacred volume, of precept and of promise, which he always wore near his bosom as *his treasure*. And it was to him, and ever shall be, "a treasure laid up for him in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal," and this treasure may no man take from him.

It was often one of his Sabbath delights to put down on paper, the pious emotions of his soul; and these effusions do not fall very far short of those of his prototype, the sweet psalmist of Israel. These and all his other writings, as well those which have been published, as his letters of advice to his family and friends, his descriptive letters, (written at Niagara, Boston, the mountains of Virginia, &c., which are beautifully graphic and pictorial,) his essays, &c. &c., it is the purpose of my dear mother to collect together in some enduring form, which may, perhaps, by an extensive circulation, contribute to the benefit of present and future generations, and thus, even after death, redound to the glory of the God, whom, while on earth, it was his chief delight to honor and serve.

And now, my dear aunt, shall we mourn for this loved one as those who have no hope?—Shall we not rather rejoice that a spirit so lofty, and so pure and holy, that the breath of dishonor would have wounded mortally;—to whom the toils and cares of struggling for a subsistence for those who were dependent on his daily exertions, were onerous, because they distracted his thoughts from heaven;—the measure of whose earthly fame was full—and whose tender affections had been wrung by the death of his beloved children, and uprooted from this earth—shall we not rejoice that all sorrow and suffering for him is at an end, all tears forever wiped from his eyes, and

his delighted spirit, unfettered from this earth-born coil, is revelling in the beatitude of heaven; bathing in the pure stream which flows around the throne of the Lamb; and that the mighty intellect whose grasp imperfect human science could never satisfy, is now ranging among worlds and adamantine spheres, communing with the sages of classic days, and with the patriarchs, apostles, and the fathers of the church!

It is a striking coincidence, that the day of his death, the 18th of February, was also that of the great Luther.

There is a moral sublimity in his life, in his death, and in the assurance of where his spirit now is, that I pray God may sink deeply into the hearts of all he has left behind, and may we also be ready to join him when the summons shall come to us.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

WE are in the midst of the confusion of preparing to leave the city; the scene, once, of so much happiness, lately of so much anguish. It will now ever be a consecrated spot to us, for here rest the mortal remains of him who was our earthly idol; and those of my sister Agnes are to be brought from the vault in Baltimore, and placed by his side.

No doubt but Judge C***** has sent you all the papers containing accounts of the last honors paid him who was worthy of all honor.

The event has exhibited perhaps more strikingly than any thing else could, the deep and universal attachment which he had excited. Young and old, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, noble and humble—all, all crowded the house with kind and anxious inquiries, until the last answer was given, which seemed to clothe the whole city and country in mourning. Unobtrusive as was his piety, it was yet so consistent and so mingled with all the affairs of life, that it could not but be manifest to all associated with him. A little anecdote illustrating this, occurs to me at this moment, which I will repeat. When we first arrived here, 11th January, and took up our lodgings, we were prevented by an accident from having our private table, as had been stipulated; and we took our meals with the family with whom we boarded—a very genteel one, by-the-by;—they are not in the habit of *saying grace*, which father bore several days without comment; but after the second day, he consulted us what was to be done about it, and, though there was a considerable struggle in his mind, lest he should appear officious or over-scrupulous, he at length came to the conclusion, that it was his duty to bear this cross. On entering the breakfast room next morning, he

greeted the family with his usual winning smile—and they stood respectfully for him to be first seated—he then spoke, and said: "Before we sit down, I wish to ask you, master and mistress of the house, if you have any objection to my saying grace at our meals? It has always been my habit in my own family, and I feel as if I could not enjoy my meals without it." Of course, they gratefully acceeded to it: such an example, from one entitled to so much respect, I hope they will imitate. I see him now vividly before me, as his manly and majestic form bent lowly over the table, his eloquent hand spread in supplication, while his waving curls were thrown back, by the movement, from his intellectually beautiful forehead. Such a man in such an attitude, might well impress every beholder with veneration and love!

When the undertaker came to perform his duty, I am told my father's weeping servants were giving him an account of his peaceful and glorious exit: "When the angels came down from heaven to receive him," said one, "the sun shone out, and the bird began to sing." "Yes," said another, "I have been in his service these many, many years, and seen how he lived—the Bible and prayer were his daily food, and never was there a kinder master than I have had. It was right he should die the death of the righteous, and I only hope my last end may be like his."

My mother sends you a sister's love, with the enclosed profile likeness of my father, which, in our opinions, is infinitely better than any which has been taken. The features are exact, even to the last of his life, and it only wants the scintillation of genius and feeling to make the resemblance complete—he himself, thought it so good, that he left each of his children one from the same plate. When his works are completed, you, of course, my dear aunt, shall have the first copy.

We leave here, in a day or two, for Baltimore, to wind up our affairs there as speedy as possible, and then proceed with our uncle, Judge C*****, (who writes us word he will meet us in Baltimore) to our future home in Richmond.

If it will interest you, my dear aunt, I will continue to write you an account of our family and proceedings.

This is indeed a long letter, but the interest of the subject will justify it with you, I am sure.

Dear mother, Rosa, and Ellen unite in warm affection for you, together with,

Respectfully and affectionately,

Your young Niece,

CATHARINE G. WIRT.

Mrs. Eliza Carlton, Augusta, Ga.

THE HIEROPHANT;

OR

MONTHLY EXPOSITOR OF SACRED SYMBOLS AND PROPHECY.

No. I.—June, 1842.

INTRODUCTORY.

Under the above title the subscriber proposes to issue a periodical paper which shall be, in some measure, a response to the urgent demand breathed forth, at the present day, from so many quarters for a more thorough exposition of certain portions of the inspired Scriptures. The field which it is intended to occupy is one where, as we conceive, the harvest is plenteous, while hitherto the laborers have been few. In the various departments of Dogmatic and Ethical Theology, of General Commentary, of Biblical Antiquities, of Hermeneutics and Criticism, a quickened zeal is continually stimulating new researches and securing valuable results. In the mean time comparatively little attention has been paid to the department of *sacred Symbols and Prophecy*. Although of intrinsically surpassing interest, yet from numerous causes which might easily be specified, this class of themes has been studiously shunned by the sober-minded, and the whole province to which they pertain given up as a kind of waste ground of Revelation, where only thorns and thistles were expected to grow, and only spiritual Quixots would be found to wander. From this reproach we doubt not the time has come to endeavor to redeem this invaluable portion of the word of God, and to this object the present enterprise is devoted. Without offence to our fellow-laborers we may be permitted to sink a new shaft in these exhaustless mines of

scriptural wealth, while we shall be happy to make them sharers in whatever golden revenues of truth may accrue.

The title which we have selected—'Hierophant,' or *expounder of sacred mysteries*,—we trust may not be deemed unduly assuming. We are unconscious of any self-complacent promptings which could justly subject us to the charge of setting ourselves up as peculiarly qualified teachers of our christian brethren. We lay no claim to special revelations. We arrogate no gifts that lift us above the level of the mass of devout students of prophecy. But the course of our studies having been for several years conducted with a dominant reference to what are usually and perhaps justly considered the obscurer portions of holy writ, and having in the mean time accumulated some results by which others might possibly deem themselves enriched, we adventure in this way to put their value to the test. A long and almost exclusive devotion to the study of the Scriptures in the original tongues may perhaps constitute a slight claim to a heedful hearing of one who would humbly 'show his opinion;' although he has no doubt that there are many others in the midst of us who could impart richer treasures of biblical elucidation, did their situations and callings in life give them the requisite facilities. In the mean time we dare not leave our one talent unoccupied, because our neighbor has his five or ten in abeyance.

As intimated above, our plan embraces *mainly* the discussion of subjects of a *symbolical* and *prophetical* character. We shall aim to make intelligible certain portions of the inspired page, the obscurity of which arises from the mystic diction in which they are couched, and the explication of which may serve to heighten interest, to animate hope, and to nerve exertion, in the great work of the world's regeneration. At the same time, the editor, who projects the present work upon his sole responsibility, designs to give himself some latitude in the range of subjects treated. While the contents of his pages will be mostly of a *prophetical* character, yet occasional essays and dissertations of a more general nature, but still having a bearing exclusively *biblical*, will be inserted. Critical expositions of particular passages, apposite illustrations of the sacred text from oriental sources, and brief notices of books, especially when their topics are germane to our own, will minister a due variety to the subject-matter presented.

The object which we propose to ourselves in the present work,

is *the thorough-going and satisfactory exposition* of whatever portions of the sacred writings we may take in hand. But to this end the free and frequent citation of the *ipsissima verba* of the Hebrew and Greek originals is indispensable. Our pages must inevitably display a considerable admixture of the type peculiar to these ancient languages. No apology will be necessary to the scholar on this score. His favor would need rather to be conciliated for the *absence* of such a feature from the work. But the unlearned reader may require beforehand to be assured that he shall not be incommoded from this source. The matter will be so managed, by the accompaniment of exact translations, that his eye shall not be perpetually vexed with literal enigmas which he has no means of solving.

The present number is intended to afford a tolerably fair specimen of the general contents, mode of discussion, scope, and style of execution of the work as continued in the sequel of the series. The plan will be seen to be unique, and we cannot but feel the result to be somewhat dubious. The newly awakened interest, however, in prophetical inquiries inspires a confidence, which the consciousness of inherent inability to do full justice to the theme would otherwise tend to damp. The prevalent anxiety in the christian mind to know what the Scriptures actually teach respecting the grand futurities of the church and the world—the Millennium, the Second Coming and Personal Reign of Christ, the Prophetical Destiny of the Jews, the New Jerusalem, the Resurrection, the End of the World, &c., encourages the belief, that the temperate discussion of these momentous topics may meet a reception at this moment which would at other times be solicited in vain. Whether the presentation of the views on these points of one who stands pledged to no party, sect, school, or symbol, but who comes to the investigation under the sole prompting of the love of Truth for the Truth's sake, and with the full determination to follow whithersoever its guidance shall lead, shall command attention or enlist sympathy, remains to be seen. He has no desire to secure either, any farther than the intrinsic soundness of his principles and reasonings may entitle him to them. Let his conclusions be approved or condemned according to the evidence, or want of evidence, by which they shall be marked.

The project of the work now undertaken does not exclude the aid which may be voluntarily tendered by our *collaborateurs* in the

field of biblical science, but our dependence will be mainly on our own resources, such as they are, for sustaining the regular issues of our paper. This reliance will be more safe, as our contemplated limits are narrow, in order that our terms may be low. These will be found stated on the outside cover, and if they should prove acceptable to the public, and the enterprise meet with sufficient encouragement, we shall proceed in our labors with the hope of eventually enlarging our plan, and making the work still more worthy that liberal support which, next to the Divine blessing, is the object of our earnest aspirations.

New-York, June 1st. GEO. BUSH.

THE MILLENNIUM AND THE NEW JERUSALEM.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE APOCALYPSE. *By Geo. Bush. Second Edition. Salem: John P. Jewett.* 1842. 12*mo. pp.* 206.

WE have no intention of reviewing the work, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. Our readers would doubtless entertain a very just distrust of any judgment that we might pronounce upon it, however stern and Brutus-like our features in the act, and however black and ominous the sentence-cap which we might assume. We fear we should but remind them of the lines of the great dramatist:—

> How angerly I taught my brow to frown,
> When inward joy enforced my heart to smile.

Still our modesty, however exemplary, cannot persuade us to forego the opportunity of announcing the recent republication of this work, in the very choicest style of typography, by Mr. Jewett of Salem. We do this the more readily from the fact, that we had purposed, at any rate, to insert an article on the chronological relation of the Millennium to the New Jerusalem, which would have involved a brief sketch of the line of argument pursued in the volume before us. This may perhaps afford some interest to those to whom it is new, and, in connection with what follows, it will not, we presume, prove unacceptable to those to whom it is *not* new.

The grand position assumed, and, after a sort, maintained, in the book is, *that the Millennium, strictly so called, is past.* The term Millennium itself, as is evident from the elements which enter into its composition, is simply a *designation of time.* It denotes

the period of *a thousand years*, and that without involving any implication whatever as to the *character* of the period. It is only popular usage, founded upon a peculiar theory, and that we think a wrong one, that has associated with the term the idea of a pre-eminently happy and prosperous condition of the church and the world, during the era which it occupies. This long established association of ideas it is the whole scope of the present treatise to break up, inasmuch as the author contends that it is founded upon the gratuitous assumption of the identity of two periods essentially and radically distinct, to wit, the Millennial period of the Apocalypse, and the period of what is familiarly termed 'the latter day glory,' so splendidly depicted in the visions of Isaiah and other prophets of the Old Testament. These distinct periods, he maintains, have been, while they should not be, confounded. The one is past, the other yet future. His object is to *dissociate* them in the public mind of christendom; and the following is an outline of the train of argument by which he endeavors to accomplish this.

The only explicit mention which the whole Scriptures make of the Millennium is to be found in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, and even there is couched in language in the highest degree figurative and symbolical:--"And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season."

Here we find the Millennial period characterized by the binding and incarceration of the Dragon. But this, in consistency with the peculiar machinery of the book, is to be viewed entirely as a symbolical action, performed by a symbolical agent, and put forth upon a symbolical subject; for that the Dragon or Satan, in the visions of the Apocalypse, is a symbol is evident from the fact of his being represented with seven heads and ten horns, the well known emblem of civil or ecclesiastical dominion. In attempting, therefore, to unfold the genuine import of this transaction, it is indispensably requisite to determine, in the first place, the significancy of the Dragon himself considered as a symbol; for how can we define the *binding*, unless we first know who or what is to be *bound?* In the attempt to solve this problem on clear and satisfactory grounds, the writer enters into an extended investigation of the nature of prophetic symbols in general, and of that of the Dragon in particular, of which the grand result is, that *the Dragon is but the mystic name of Paganism in its leading character of idolatry and despotism combined.* The binding, therefore, of the Dragon or Satan for the space of a thousand years, is but the figurative mode

of announcing *the suppression of Paganism for a definite term of years;* not indeed its *universal* suppression, but its banishment from the bounds of the ancient Roman empire, which constitutes mainly the territory embraced in the Apocalypse.

The question now occurs as to the *time* to which this announcement refers. It was certainly future to John, but is it future to *us?* Having the range of at least eighteen hundred years over which to expatiate, it is but fair to inquire, whether any thing has taken place during that period corresponding at all to the bearing of the symbols. In other words, has there occurred in the annals of the Christian world an extended tract of time, during which the system of Pagan delusions was suppressed, and the fabric of civil and ecclesiastical oppression, represented by the Beast and the False Prophet, prevailed in its stead? But this is a question which the veriest tyro in the history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire is at once prepared to answer. No event in the annals of the past is more notorious than that Paganism, under Constantine and his successors, did, after a desperate struggle, shadowed out under the mystic imagery of the war in heaven between Michael and the Dragon, succumb to Christianity in its triumphant progress; and that the religion of the Gospel, after subsisting for a time in a state of comparative purity, did gradually become corrupt in doctrine, carnal and secular in spirit, and arrogant in its claims, till finally allying itself to the civil power, it assumed the form of the ecclesiastico-political dominion of the Roman Pontificate, so long the paramount scourge of Europe. As then the Paganism of the Roman Empire was succeeded by Anti-Christianism, denoted by the Beast's succeeding the Dragon, so we are to consider the binding of the Dragon, i. e. the suppression of Paganism, as commencing about the time of the rise of the Beast, or somewhere between A. D. 395 and A. D. 450, and, coinciding with the first thousand years of his reign, to have terminated not far from the date of the capture of Constantinople, A. D. 1453, by the Turks, who are called upon the prophetic arena by the summoning blast of the Sixth Trumpet and banished from off it by the Sixth Vial.

Such is a rapid sketch of the train of reasoning by which the author aims to establish what he conceives to be the genuine theory of the Apocalyptic Millennium. Of course a great variety of connected and collateral points enters into the details of the discussion, upon which we cannot even touch in this brief survey of the argument.

It only remains to observe, that the predicted era of the church's triumph on earth is left by our hypothesis *as still future*, and differing only from the commonly anticipated period *by the removal of the specific limitation of a thousand years.* Such a limitation we conceive to be wholly at variance with other predictions relative to the same halcyon period, particularly that of Daniel:—"And the

saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom *forever, even forever and ever.*" This indefinitely enduring kingdom of the saints is but another name for the universally triumphant reign of truth and righteousness,—a period, however, which, as we understand it, there is no propriety in denominating the Millennium.

On this point we propose to dwell a little in the sequel of the present article, and especially by attempting to show that not *the Millennium*, but *the New Jerusalem*, is the proper designation of that august era of grace and glory to which the instructed expectancy of all good men looks forward. In this attempt we shall doubtless succeed, if a single point—and a point which we have never seen questioned—be admitted in the outset, to wit, that the glowing descriptions contained in the closing chapters of Isaiah refer to a state of things yet future, or, in other words, to what is *usually understood* to be the Millennial state. If we can make out to the satisfaction of the reader that these passages do in fact point to a period *subsequent* to the Millennium, and that too the period of the New Jerusalem, it will follow of course that the current impressions of christendom do really confound certain prophetical eras, which are utterly and essentially distinct from each other. But this we have no doubt of being able to do.

That the New Jerusalem state is chronologically posterior to the Millennium of the Apocalypse, no one can doubt who looks at the order of the visions. In the same chapter which contains the account of the Millennium, the inspired Seer goes on to say: "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, *from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away;* and there was found no place for them." This is doubtless the passing away of the old heavens and the old earth, whatever may be meant by that language, which precedes and ushers in the event described in the immediately ensuing chapter:—"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." We beg it may be observed, that we are not at present explaining the meaning of the symbols or unfolding the *character* of this blissful period, but simply determining the *order of events*. We are merely saying, that this coming New Jerusalem state is really *posterior* to the Millennial state previously described; and that it is generally so regarded is evident from the fact, that in the estimation of the mass of christians it is but another name for *the state of heavenly happiness in another world*, set forth under imagery drawn from the appearance of a magnificent city, with gates of pearl, and foundations of precious stones, and illuminated by the light of the 'glory of God.' As to the truth and soundness of this impression, however prevalent, we

shall have more to say in the sequel, but at present we content ourselves with the position, that the period of the New Jerusalem state, considered in its chronological relations, is subsequent to the Millennium of the Apocalypse.

Assuming this then as a point unquestioned, we advance to another position equally certain, as we conceive, and fraught with the most momentous consequences to the whole scheme of prophetic interpretation. We affirm that the beatific state of things announced in the above-mentioned predictions of Isaiah—when the desert shall bud and blossom as the rose—when the valleys shall be exalted and the mountains and hills made low—when the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain—when the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together—when the gentiles shall come to the light of Zion, and kings to the brightness of her rising—when instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier the myrtle-tree—when for brass shall be brought gold, for iron silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron—when Jerusalem shall be created a rejoicing and her people a joy—when the voice of weeping shall no more be heard in her, nor the voice of crying—when the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock, and they shall no more hurt nor destroy in all the Lord's holy mountain—that this state is *identical* with the New Jerusalem of John. The proof of this can only be made palpable by a tabellated display of the parallelisms occurring in the two prophets, which we now present to the reader, with intervening remarks.

John 21: 1, 2.	Isaiah 65: 17, 18.
And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.	For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.
And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.	But be ye glad and rejoice for ever *in that* which I create: for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy.

In all our studies and explications of the Scripture prophecies, we are to bear in mind, that the Old Testament seers were equally inspired with those of the New. God alone could make known the future to either, and we see no good reason for ascribing to John or Peter a higher grade of foresight or infallibility than to Isaiah, Ezekiel, or Daniel; nor, if the one is to be interpreted by the other, do we know any grounds on which we should be required to interpret Isaiah by John rather than John by Isaiah. Indeed, if that necessity should be supposed, we should, for ourselves, feel warranted of the two to give the preference to the former, inasmuch as both Christ and the Apostles continually refer to the Old Testament annunciations as *fulfilled* in their doctrines and disclosures, and

inasmuch as the very title of John's predictions, 'Apocalypse,' implies the *unveiling* or *revelation* of the mystic and hidden sense of the prophetic oracles, previously uttered by his inspired predecessors. The Old Testament predictions are plainly regarded as the most *original* of the two, and in all professed paraphrases, explanations, and expansions of the sense of *original documents* we feel at liberty to compare for ourselves the pure originals with the avowed expositions, even though these expositions come to us bearing the stamp of divine inspiration. If both are actually inspired, it is possible that the former may in some points reflect light upon the latter, as well as the latter upon the former. Now in turning to the present announcement of Isaiah, respecting the creation of a new heaven and new earth, and the conversion of Jerusalem to a joy and rejoicing, and comparing it with the context, we should certainly conclude that it implied a *moral* and not a *physical* renovation; for he says, in continuation, ver. 20–25, 'There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old: but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed. And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD, and their offspring with them. And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.'

This most assuredly is the picture of a *mundane* state of things, and it is only by a downright violence done to the text that it can be *spiritualized* into a prediction of the purely celestial blessedness. But if the new creation of John is *identical* with this of Isaiah—and on what principle of exegesis can it be shown to be different?—then John also describes a *terrestrial* economy, and his mystic city can only be said to come down out of heaven from God, on the ground of its being developed into existence in *execution of the divine purposes.* God is emphatically and pre-eminently the author of this anticipated dispensation; he has given in his word a divine programme of it; he has signally ordered his providence so that it shall result in it; and though it is to be realized through human agency, yet the influences by which it is prompted, and the processes by which it is conducted, are of a nature so high, so holy, so heavenly, so infinitely superior to all the ordinary operations of his providence, that it is said to come down from

him out of heaven. In like manner it might be said of the Tabernacle constructed by Moses in the wilderness, that it came down from God, because the exact *pattern* of it was shown him by God in the holy mount, in conformity to which every item in the edifice was made by its human architects. We infer, therefore, that nothing can be argued against the identity of these prophetic states on the ground that John represents his New Jerusalem as descending from heaven, while that of Isaiah is rather portrayed as springing from the earth. Let the true genius of the dispensation be rightly apprehended, and no discrepancy between the two prophets will appear.

JOHN 21 : 19, 20.

And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

ISAIAH 54 : 11, 12.

O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted! behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires.

And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.

The description in John is amplified, it will be seen, into more minute detail, but the identity of the subject discloses itself at once. Whether this graphic scenery is to find its accomplishment in a *literal city*, as well as in a *spiritual polity*, is wholly immaterial to the point which we have especially in hand, although for ourselves inclined to the opinion that *it will*.

JOHN 21 : 23.

And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

REV. 22 : 5.

And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

ISAIAH 60 : 19, 20.

The sun shall be no more thy light by day: neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the LORD shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.

Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.

We are not, perhaps, required from this to suppose that at the period to which the spirit of prophecy points, either the natural sun or the natural moon will have ceased to shine. The import doubtless is, that in that favored age the transcendant brightness and glory of the divine presence, which shall be then enjoyed, will,

as it were, supersede and eclipse the light of the luminaries of heaven, though they may continue to shine on as usual. There can be no doubt that there is, in the lustrous 'glory' which is here predicted, an allusion to the Shekinah which rested over the tabernacle in the wilderness.

John 21 : 24, 25, 26.	Isaiah 60 : 3, 11.
And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.	And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.
And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.	Therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought.
And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.	

We have here, if we mistake not, the most indubitable evidence that the blissful state shadowed out under the denomination of the New Jerusalem, is still an *earthly* state; for how are the kings of the earth, *as such*, to bring their honor and their glory into the Paradise above? Clearly it is the preintimation of that surpassing peace, plenty, prosperity, dignity, grandeur, and supremacy which shall distinguish the kingdom of Christ in the latter day, and which shall exact the willing homage and the ready tributes of all earthly kings and potentates. The tokens of fealty and subjection which were paid by the neighboring nations to Solomon in the palmy days of his dominion, which was a type of Christ's, shall be more abundantly evinced in this coming period of Zion's exaltation; 'And all the earth sought to Solomon; and they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and garments, and armor, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year.' 1 Kings 10: 24, 25.—By the 'nations of the saved' is to be understood, according to a common idiom of the original, which often puts a present participle for the future, 'the nations (i. e. gentiles) *to be* saved' or which are now brought within the pale of saving influences; unless indeed we give up the genuineness of the reading σωζομενων, as is done by Knapp, Lachman, and all the later critics of Germany, from whose text of the Greek Testament the word is entirely rejected, as an interpolation. The 'honor and glory' of the kings (i. e. kingdoms) of the one prophet is perfectly tantamount to the 'forces of the gentiles' of the other. The original word for 'forces' (חֵיל) is often used for 'wealth,' 'riches,' 'resources,' or whatever tends to impart distinguished *strength*, *sway*, *honor*, and *renown*. The very apposite note of Mr. Barnes on these words of the O. T. prophet may be properly cited in this connection:—'The margin has undoubtedly the correct interpretation (wealth). The sense is, that the wealth of the heathen world

should yet be consecrated to the service of the church. To some extent this has (already) been the case. No small part of the great wealth of the Roman empire was consecrated to the service of the Christian Church; and the wealth of what was then Pagan Europe, and the wealth of what was then Pagan and unknown America, has been to a considerable extent devoted to the Redeemer. The time will come when the wealth of India, of China, and of Africa, and of the entire world, shall be devoted to the service of God, in a manner far more decided than has yet occurred in the most favored christian lands.' If this be—as we doubt not it is—the correct exposition of the language of Isaiah, how vain must be the attempt to seek in the perfectly parallel language of John for a sense utterly diverse from this, and make it an intimation of something to be done in heaven! The whole drift of the predictions of the respective prophets points to a fulfilment *in this world*, and in some coming age. We close our array of parallelisms with the following:—

John 21: 4.	Isaiah 65: 19, 20.
And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.	And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old: but the sinner, being an hundred years old, shall be accursed.

It would doubtless appear, at the first blush, that these passages, though containing some expressions in common, were yet irreconcilably at variance on the grand point of *mortality*, in the state which they are designed to depict to us. We see, it is said, in one the unequivocal assurance that 'there shall be no more death' there, and in the other an equally clear intimation that there *shall be* death, though its stroke may, in the general, be deferred to extreme old age. So far as the *letter* is concerned, this appears indeed a very formidable objection to the *identity* of the states described by the two writers. But we have no doubt the objection is entirely superable, and we proceed to show that a simple reference to the prevailing *usus loquendi* in regard to the word 'death' (θανατος) will solve the enigma without the least difficulty.

The remark is well nigh superfluous to scholars, that the prevailing diction of the New Testament is strikingly governed by and conformed to that of the Septuagint or Greek Version of the Hebrew Scriptures. But in no point is this fact more palpably illustrated than in the usage that obtains in regard to the word θανατος,

usually translated *death*. In a multitude of instances, this word occurs as the rendering of the Heb. דֶּבֶר *deber, pestilence*, or in a sense nearly tantamount to *mortality from extraordinary causes*, such as diseases and the various casualties that prematurely extinguish life. It is therefore in strict propriety opposed to *longevity*, and not to *immortality*. But conclusive evidence of this can be afforded only by an actual exhibition of the usage alluded to, which we present with the assurance, that quite as many cases remain behind uncited as are now adduced. Ex. 5: 3, 'Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God, lest he fall upon us with *pestilence* (דֶּבֶר) or with the sword.' Gr. *μη ποτε συναντηση ἡμιν θανατος η φονος, lest death or slaughter meet us.* Ex. 9: 3, 'Behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very *grievous murrain* (דֶּבֶר כָּבֵד *deber kâbĕd*).' Gr. *θανατος μεγας, a great death*, i. e mortality. Lev. 26: 25, 'I will send the *pestilence* (דֶּבֶר) among you.' Gr. *θανατος, the death.* Deut. 28: 21, 'The Lord shall make the *pestilence* (דֶּבֶר) cleave unto thee.' Gr. *θανατος, the death.* Ezek. 33: 27, 'They that be in the forts and in the caves shall die of the *pestilence* (דֶּבֶר).' Gr. *of the death.* This usage, which occurs also in the Chaldee and the Syriac, is obviously transferred into the New Testament, and affords the true clew to the interpretation of the following passages. Rev. 2: 23, 'And I will kill her children *with death* (*ἐν θανάτῳ*),' i. e. with pestilence or some kind of sudden and violent death, with death out of the common course of nature. Rev. 6: 8, 'And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger (i. e. famine), and *with death* (*ἐν θανάτῳ*), and with the beasts of the earth.' That the 'death' here threatened is in fact a *deadly pestilence* will be evident by comparing the passage with Ezek. 14: 21, from which it is taken; 'How much more when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, *and the pestilence* (דֶּבֶר Gr. *θανατον*), to cut off from it man and beast.' Indeed this phraseology is not unknown in our own language, as it is common to denominate the wasting pestilence which ravaged Europe in the middle ages 'the Black Death.'

With this array, then, of the *usus loquendi* before us, and which we might expect to find more characteristic of the Apocalypse than of any other portion of the New Testament, from its dominantly Hebraic idiom, can we hesitate to admit that the meaning of *θανατος, death*, in the passages before us, is that which we have assigned to it? 'There shall be no more death,' is merely affirming, that in that blessed period there shall be an exemption from all those evil influences, physical and moral, which now go to curtail the duration of human life, and hurry thousands, in all

generations, to a premature grave. Universal temperance in eating and drinking, regulated passions, sobriety of aim, moderation of pursuit, and vigilance of precaution, in all the businesses of life, combined with strong hereditary vital stamina, great salubrity of climate, and unknown improvements in the arts of physical well-being, will then no doubt secure to men a term of longevity vastly transcending the highest hopes which they would now dare to indulge. This view of the subject brings the two prophets to a perfect tally in their description of the visioned future. The 'no death' of John is entirely equivalent to the 'no premature death' of Isaiah, as we have found this to be the legitimate sense of the terms; and it would certainly be strange, if when they agree so precisely in every other item, there were no mode of bringing them into harmony in this. The solution given we have no doubt is the true one, and we commend it to the most unsparing scrutiny of the biblical scholar.

And now we are prepared to revert again, in concluding, to the main position with which we set out, in regard to the true collocation of the Millennium. We have shown, if we mistake not, that a large class of O. T. predictions which are usually applied with unquestioning confidence to the Millennium, do in fact pertain to the state of the New Jerusalem, a state entirely different from the Millennium. If there be any certainty attainable in respect to the chronological structure of the Apocalypse and the corresponding historical order of events, we see not from what quarter the view which we have now presented can be successfully assailed. Will it be said that these two dispensations are *not* different—that they are one and the same period only called by different names? But what and where is the proof of this assertion? How can a period of indefinite duration properly receive its title from a period that merely measures an inconsiderable fraction of its whole extent? Is it *after* the New Jerusalem state that Satan is to be let loose from his prison, and stir up the countless hosts of Gog and Magog to make their grand assault upon the camp of the saints and the beloved city, the issue of which is their utter destruction by fire from heaven? Yet this must follow as an inevitable sequence, if the Millennium and the New Jerusalem be identical; and that too notwithstanding Satan is said to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone *prior* to the ushering in of the New Jerusalem. How it is possible to retain any semblance of *consistency* in the arrangement of these grand futurities on this scheme, we are utterly at a loss to perceive; and equally so, if it be maintained that the Millennium, is merely a *part* of the undefined duration of the New Jerusalem. But for a hypothesis of this nature, which rests on bare assumptions without proof, we have no other reply than a simple denial without argument. Let us know the *reasons* for such a construction of the prophetic announcements, and we shall know on what grounds to

encounter it. We conclude therefore with added assurance, that the Millennium of the Apocalypse embraces a tract of time entirely diverse from that of the New Jerusalem, and as the splendid predictions of Isaiah have been proved to receive their fulfilment in the latter state, they cannot of course refer to the former. An extensive class of passages, then, commonly understood to refer to the Millennium *as a future event*, are at once swept away from its support and transferred in allusion to another period which is confessedly future. Still we have not as yet, by any thing we have advanced, positively shown the necessity of throwing the Apocalyptic Millennium back into the past periods of the world's history. The proof of this we reserve to our next number, when we shall resume the discussion of the subject in a variety of new aspects.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

PROPHECY INTELLIGIBLE.

THE desire of extending our knowledge by acquainting ourselves with the future as well as the past, is one of the strongest instincts of the human bosom. From the conviction that such knowledge is often unattainable, reason may moderate and restrain the impulse, but it can never eradicate it. It is immovably fixed among the elementary promptings and appetencies of our mental constitution, and to disown or to disregard it is virtually to cast a reflection on the wisdom that shines forth in the high endowments of our nature. But this is seldom done. The value of the principle is acknowledged, and it may justly be questioned whether a considerable portion of mankind, if it had been left to them to choose between the possession of Foreknowledge and of Memory, would not at once have decided in favor of the former. Considering the ends for which we are made, and the vast importance of being able to adapt our plans and operations to the wants of the future, it might appear upon a superficial view that the power of Prescience would conduce far more to the leading objects of existence than the faculty of Memory. But a little reflection will serve to show the fallacy of such a conclusion, and, in the comparative estimate of the two endowments, to throw the balance altogether on the side of Memory.

In the first place, it is to be remarked, that the objects or materials of Memory are constantly increasing, while those of Foreknowledge, if we possessed it, would be constantly decreasing. As the term of our existence in this world is limited, so we must set some limits to the extent of our attainments. Vast as our intelligence is, we cannot know every thing. Suppose then that a definite

number of future events, no matter how large, is all that is actually *knowable* by us in this world, is it not evident that the more an individual knows to-day, the less remains to be known to-morrow?—and so the stock of information before him is incessantly growing less as he advances in life, just as the remaining distance of a journey is diminished by the every day's progress of the traveller. But with Memory the case is directly the reverse. Here is no diminution, but constant accumulation; and the peculiar *manner* in which we are enriched by this wonderful faculty may be made more evident by an illustration. If the mariner in navigating the ocean on a dark and stormy night, and on a course that was fraught with danger, whether from icebergs or breakers, were to affix his lamp to the stern of his vessel instead of the prow, it would not require the slightest nautical experience to prompt the exclamation that the man was bereft of his senses. In common circumstances such would be the spontaneous impression, and it would be a *reasonable* impression. But suppose that the lamp were possessed of such peculiar properties, that when placed in that position its light would be continually acquiring a greater intensity and shedding abroad a wider and brighter irradiation; whereas if placed in front of the vessel it would be continually growing dimmer and dimmer, shedding but little light before and none behind. It is obvious that in the former position it would gradually increase to such an intensity of glow, as to illuminate the watery waste before as well as behind, and finally envelope the ship's way with a flood of splendor.

So with the faculty of Memory. Although more immediately and legitimately conversant with the *past*, yet its issues and effects reach forward to the *future*.

Such is the constitution of things in this world under the providence of God—such the uniform relations of cause and effect—such the established order of antecedents and consequents—that the more we know of the past the more accurately we can judge of the future. We all know that the decisions of an enlightened *experience* are well nigh oracular. But what is experience but the accumulated results of the informations of Memory? He who has lived longest, seen most, and remembered most of the ways of God and of Man has the largest stock of experience, and is best qualified to pronounce judgments pertaining to the future. The lamp of *his* barque shines before. To such a man, for all the practical purposes of life, experience serves in the place of prophecy, and thus is approved the verity of the couplet of Milton:

> That old experience doth attain
> To something of prophetic strain.

This view of the subject will appear still more obvious, if it be borne in mind, that we are enabled to avail ourselves of the memories of others as well as our own, and thus may in effect increase

the amount of our own experience, and render the judgments founded upon it still more unerring in their prophetic scope.

From these considerations it will doubtless appear that beings blessed, like man, with the faculty of treasuring up the lessons of the past, are far more highly gifted of the Creator than if crowned only with the more imposing but less useful endowment of foreseeing or foretelling the future. As it is, he has the virtual advantages of the one in the exercise of the other; and if we were to denominate the divine faculty of Memory by its most appropriate epithet, we should term it the *prophetico-reminiscent* faculty, and should say that it was to the power of prescience as the full vintage of Abi-ezer to the scanty gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim.

But while we speak thus highly of Memory, it is no part of our object to undervalue or disparage the innate desire for the knowledge of the future,—the instinctive prompting to lift the curtain that shrouds that unknown world from our gaze. While we freely concede that in respect to the great mass of human affairs it is by reasoning from the past that we are to anticipate what is to come, at the same time we feel equally assured that this is not the *only* source upon which we are to draw for light. We are not absolutely shut up to the revelations of experience. The desire of penetrating the hidden recesses of futurity is one of the native impulses of our being, and doubtless ordained by the Creator, when properly regulated, not only as a source of lawful but of dignified enjoyment. This is inferred by the most legitimate *a priori* deductions of reason, and confirmed by the unquestionable fact, that the wisdom of Jehovah has made express provision in his word for the gratification of this implanted longing in the human soul.

A multiplicity of leading facts in the history of the past goes to convince us, that there exists in the bosom of God an inherent willingness and a definite purpose to impart to his devoted servants a knowledge of future events—not perhaps to the extent that our short-sighted or prurient hankerings might desire, but so far as infinite wisdom sees would redound to our best good, and to the soundest interests of his kingdom on earth. We advert to this truth in order to remove, if possible, the vague impression of idle yearning, of presumption, of impiety, of sacrilegious intrusion upon forbidden ground, that is so apt to connect itself with every attempt to unravel the mysteries of revelation, and to honor God by ascertaining the sense of what he has himself spoken. For nothing is more certain than that the opprobrium which is due only to the most marked and contemptuous neglect of the divine oracles has, from many quarters, fallen upon the humble and reverential study of their entire contents.

Our position is, that God is willing that man should come to the possession of the knowledge of futurity, not indeed in unlimited measure, but to such extent as will be for his good; and what

more unquestionable evidence can we adduce of this than his own express declaration? Hear then his voice in respect to the Father of the faithful:—'Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?' Can language be more unambiguous? Now the value of this averment depends upon its being an expression, not of his purpose in reference to a particular individual or a particular event only, but of a general principle in the conduct of his providence. Does any latent doubt linger in the mind of the reader, whether this *is* a principle of the divine administration?—let us then make assurance doubly sure by citing the same declaration in more general terms as uttered by the mouth of the prophet Amos:—'Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secrets unto his servants the prophets.' With this testimony before us, we presume we hazard nothing in saying, that from the primeval epochs of his church all along through the whole line of her annals, the Most High has never projected any great and important movement without making some portion of our race privy to his counsels. It *may* be said of the petty potentates of the earth, that 'it is the glory of a king to conceal a matter,' but the Universal Sovereign, who has no enemies that can take advantage of a premature disclosure, can afford to adopt a more liberal, or if you please, a less cautious policy. He can consistently bring his servants into his cabinet, and freely advise them of those intended measures which he originates for their good, and carries into execution by their agency.

But it will be asked, 'Is there not some exclusiveness—some favoritism—in regard to these disclosures? Are they free and open to all? Are they not restricted to a chosen few? Is it not intimated that prophecy is for prophets, while the great mass of men are debarred from this kind of information?' We answer, prophecy is for prophets, just as holy things are for holy men. 'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.' It is to a certain form of character—to spirits of a certain mould—that he unveils the arcana of his bosom. It is mainly the *good man*—he whose soul is in sympathy with the will of his Maker—that he deigns to make the depositary of his designs. And yet at the present day, under the existing dispensation, there is no other interdict standing in the way of any man's attainment of a knowledge of his prophetic purposes, than there is as to the attainment of a true knowledge of the mercies of the Gospel. There is no other than a moral impediment existing in either case. The record of eternal life—the charter of immortal hope—is not a sealed book to any one who is desirous to have its precious purport laid open for the rejoicing of his heart. He need not utter the invocation,

"Angels, roll the rock away,"

in order to look into the Saviour's vacated sepulchre, and see there the pledge and assurance of his own resurrection in bliss and

triumph. The humble, the yielding, the believing mind is the great requisite, and yet the apostle's words make it clear that there is a mystery in the believer's salvation, which can never be understood but by a certain state of heart. And so we repeat there are certain moral prerequisites which we believe God has always insisted on in those whom he would make the 'men of his counsel.' This will appear plainer as we proceed.

We have spoken of the attainment of prophetic knowledge under the present dispensation, and we may further remark upon the distinct characteristics of the Jewish and Christian economies in regard to prophecy, that the disclosures made by God to his ancient people were *immediate;* i. e. they were made without the intervention of a *written revelation.* The Scriptures were not yet indited. In fact it was the embodying of these very disclosures that constituted a large part of the Scriptures themselves. But at present, when the canon is complete, we have no evidence, we believe, that any original and independent prediction is ever imparted to men. Whatever supernatural influence is now exercised upon the human faculties in regard to future events, it is not with a view to impart to them *new* revelations, but simply to enable them to understand what is already revealed. And in this we suppose there is nothing any more miraculous than there would have been or was in God's hearing and answering David's prayer when he said, 'Open thou mine eyes that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law.' The things were actually *in* the law, and the whole drift of the Psalmist's prayer was that he might be enabled to *see* them. So in looking upon a far distant landscape with a telescope, the objects of vision are not created by the telescope. They were there before, and the telescope only enables us to discern them. In like manner in regard to divine revelations, no new and original facts are communicated to any man, but supernatural influence may put the telescope to the mental eye, and enable it to behold things that would not otherwise come within its most extended range of vision. This influence, however, we suppose to be no more miraculous than any other spiritual illumination granted to the humble and teachable mind in answer to prayer, and as a blessing upon its own diligent and sedulous use of all appointed means. For the language of prophecy is a distinct study, as much so as the language of mathematics or astronomy, and without the most assiduous investigation of the peculiar dialect of prophecy—without earnest endeavors to put ourselves in possession of the key to the sacred cipher—it will be the height of presumption to hope to be initiated into the scriptural disclosures of future things. Imagine the case of an individual utterly unable to read, whose heart was yet touched with the love of God, and who earnestly longed to be made acquainted with the contents of the word of life. Should we expect, however ardent might be the aspirations of the soul for a knowledge of

the Scriptures, that that person would be taught the contents of the Bible by a miracle? Would he not be under the necessity of submitting to the same process with the youngest child, and of first learning to read before he could fully understand the word of inspired truth? And yet you will not hesitate to admit that there may be a special divine influence quickening the faculties of such an individual, and enabling him more readily to seize the rudiments of learning and compass the object of his pursuit. Just so in the attainment of prophetical science. God does not enlighten the student of prophecy by a miracle, but he simply puts his blessing upon the use of the appropriate means. He aids his faculties in the attempt to make himself master of the key of prophecy, precisely as he might have aided Sir Isaac Newton in the attainment of those mathematical media which were necessary to the solution of the problem of the universe. This cuts off all claim to any direct supernatural illumination, and strikes at the root of all extravagance of pretension in unriddling the hallowed mysteries of revelation. And to charge such efforts, when humbly conducted, with fanaticism, enthusiasm, folly or presumption, is in a high degree unreasonable and unjust. B.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

"COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS."

THE Editor, several years since, commenced the periodical publication of a work with this title, but owing to the little encouragement it received, only the first number, comprising the first three Psalms, was issued from the press. He had proceeded much farther in the preparation of the matter, the stock of which, owing to the suspension of the work, has since remained dormant on his hands. This he proposes now to make available, by devoting to the publication of it a few pages in each successive number of the Hierophant. He begins where the work abovementioned left off, with the Fourth Psalm, and will hereafter occupy from four to six pages with prefaces and annotations similar to the present. As each of the Psalms forms an independent composition, they will better admit of this piecemeal mode of publication than most other parts of the Scriptures.

PSALM IV.

Of this Psalm we learn nothing more from the title than that it was composed by David, and by him delivered to the Master of Music, to be sung to the stringed instruments in the public worship of the Tabernacle. On what occasion it was written we have no means of ascertaining, at least with certainty. Judging from internal evidence, most of the Jewish, and many Christian commentators, have attributed it to the same date

and the same occasion with the preceding. Several of the expressions occurring in the Psalm, it is supposed, have a more natural reference to the rebellion of Absalom than to any other event in David's life. If this conjecture be well founded, the burden of the Psalm is addressed to the leaders and chiefs of the conspiracy, who had madly embarked with Absalom, and whom, by a severe but kind rebuke, he would endeavor to reclaim from their iniquitous fellowship. It was evidently penned when the Psalmist was in distress; but to him the language of affliction and sorrow was so familiar; he was so often sunk in the deep waters; and strains of a plaintive tone flow so spontaneously from his lips, that it is extremely difficult, when no specific data exist on which to found an opinion, to point to one period or event of his history more than another as its probable occasion. Nor is it in fact important so to do. We are expressly assured that many of the Psalms are of a prophetic character, in which the writer sustains the person of the suffering Saviour, or the persecuted church, and where this is the case it is of comparatively little moment to connect the composition with any particular historical event. Whether the present Psalm be one of this description, it may not be easy to affirm. We perceive no difficulty in referring all the attributes of the Psalm to David, and understanding them of him alone; at the same time the general latitude of application, so peculiar to all the practical portions of the Scriptures, abundantly authorizes its appropriation by the individual believer or the church at large, whenever the circumstances of either are such as to render it a fitting expression of their prayers or complaints.

TITLE.

לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹת מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד To the chief Musician on Neginoth. A Psalm of David.

To the chief musician. Heb. לַמְנַצֵּחַ, *to the master, director, or overseer.* As this word occurs as the title of fifty-three of the Psalms, or about one third of the whole collection, it is important, if possible, to fix its genuine sense. Its root is נָצַח, of which the general import is that of *superiority, presidence, overseeing.* It denotes an *urging* or *pressing to the performance of a task*, in which sense it is properly predicated of the *ἐργοδιωκτης*, *overseer* or *superintendent* of a company of workmen. Thus 1 Chron. 23: 4, 'Of which twenty and four thousand were *to set forward the work* (לְנַצֵּחַ עַל מְלָאכָה *to be urgent upon the business*) of the house of the Lord.' Ez. 3: 9, 'Then stood up Joshua with his sons and his brethren *to set forward the workmen* (לְנַצֵּחַ עַל־עֹשֵׂה הַמְּלָאכָה) in the house of the Lord.' The Piel participle מְנַצֵּחַ occurs 2 Chron. 2: 1, 'And Solomon told out three thousand and six hundred (men) *to oversee them* (מְנַצְּחִים עֲלֵיהֶם *urging upon them*). Ver. 18, 'And three thousand and six hundred *overseers to set the people a-work* (מְנַצְּחִים לְהַעֲבִיד אֶת הָעָם).' And those who in 2 Chron. 2: 18, are

called מְנַצְּחִים *overseers*, are in 1 Kings 5: 16, called נִצָּבִים *rulers*. The relation of *superintendency*, therefore, is plainly expressed by the term. But this relation, as sustained to a company of musicians as well as of any other subordinates, might be expressed by the same term, and accordingly we find it thus used, 1 Chron. 15: 19, 21, 'So the singers, Haman, Asaph, and Ethan were appointed to sound with cymbals of brass, and Mattithiah and Elipheleh, &c., with harps on the Sheminith *to excel* (לְנַצֵּחַ lit. *to preside over, to urge on, to carry forward*, the service).' In Neh. 12: 42, the same officer is termed הַפָּקִיד *visitor* or *overseer* of the singers. There is no room to question, therefore, that the true import of the term in this connection is *overseer*, *master*, *prefect*, or, technically, *precentor*, of the musicians. From the predominant sense, however, of the verb נָצַח as now explained arose a secondary use of it, to signify *the finishing or carrying a work to an end*, and thence by an easy and natural transition, *to triumph over*, properly spoken of one who overcomes arduous difficulties in prosecuting and bringing to a successful close a given undertaking. To these two latter senses of the word are doubtless to be traced the rendering εἰς το τέλος, *to the end*, of the Sept. and the '*Victori*,' *to the Conqueror*, of Jerome, neither of which is duly supported by common usage.—The particle ל *to* indicates the giving of the Psalm by David to the prefect of the choir; an act implying that it ceased to be any longer a mere private composure, indited and retained for the personal pleasure or behoof of the author, but that it was now formally made over as a public possession of the church, incorporated as a standing portion of the inspired Psalmody of Zion, and thus dedicated to the spiritual benefit of the pious in all coming ages. This its great end is answered by its being adopted as a constituent part of the sacred canon.—*On Neginoth.* בִּנְגִינוֹת. *in, with, or on Neginoth.* This term is a derivative from נָגַן *to play upon the strings of a musical instrument*, as, 1 Sam. 16: 23, 'And it came to pass when the evil spirit was upon Saul that David took a harp, and *played with his hand* (וְנִגֵּן בְּיָדוֹ).' 2 Kings 3: 15, 'But now bring me a *minstrel* (מְנַגֵּן). And it came to pass, when the *minstrel played* (כְּנַגֵּן הַמְנַגֵּן), that the hand of the Lord came upon him.' Ps. 68: 25, 'The singers went before, the *players on harps* (נֹגְנִים) followed after.' The application of the noun, therefore, is natural and obvious to all kinds of *stringed instruments* in contradistinction to *wind instruments*, as Is. 38: 20, 'Therefore we will sing my songs to

the *stringed instruments* (וּנְגִינוֹתַי נְגַגֵן) all the days of our life, in the house of the Lord.'—As to the grammatical construction, Grier supposes that notwithstanding the interposition of the particle ב the phrase לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹת is of the construct kind, in which the first noun is in regimen to the second, so as properly to demand the rendering, 'To the master of the stringed instruments,' parallel to which may be cited Judg. 8: 11, שׁוֹכְנֵי בָאֳהָלִים *inhabitants in tents*, instead of שֹׁכְנֵי אָהָלִים *inhabitants of tents*. We prefer, however, to understand a word between them, as (נוֹגְנִים) לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹת *to the master (of the players) upon the stringed instruments*. As to the precise form of these instruments we know nothing certain. The matter is involved in the thickest shades of that darkness which envelopes so many of the subjects of antiquity.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Novum Testamentum Graece. Post Ioh. Aug. Henr. Tittmannum, olim Prof. Lips. ad fidem optimorum Librorum secundis curis recognovit lectionumque varietatem notavit Augustus Hahn, in Acad. Vratisl. Prof. Editio Americana stereotypa, curante Edvardo Robinson, S. T. D. Neo-Eboraci: Sumtibus et typis Leavitt et Trow. Bostoniae: Apud Crocker et Brewster. 1842. 12*mo. pp.* 508.

The progress of the typographic art in our country is rapidly doing away that *desiderating* feeling, of which every scholar has often been conscious upon taking up an elegantly printed book from a European press, and contrasting it with the same work executed in the style which has heretofore been common among ourselves. Mr. Trow has shown, in the specimen before us, that we are not always to be distanced in this matter by our English, or French, or German rivals. The Leipsic edition of the Greek Testament, which is the basis of this, is a very beautiful book, but the edition before us is *in every respect equal to it*, and for clearness of type, snowy whiteness of paper, and general distinctness and finish of impression, we can scarcely imagine any thing more perfect.

But we have in this volume not only a very handsome, but also a very useful book. Titman's edition of the Greek Testament, revised by Hahn,

contains the results of all the later and more valuable criticism expended upon the text since the days of Griesbach. Its readings are of the highest authority, and the name of the American editor is a sufficient guaranty for the utmost accuracy of the printed page. The Prolegomena afford to the Biblical student a compend of the most desirable information relative to the manuscripts, versions, and other helps to the critical study of the New Testament; and for general convenience they have been translated by the editor into English. The work is on the whole invaluable, and to theological students indispensable. If for any thing we are grateful, it is for having lived to see this and several kindred works in Biblical literature put so widely within the reach of the students of revelation. We rejoice in it as an infallible presage for good to the cause of sacred letters, and consequently to the triumphs of inspired and saving truth among men.

English Reprints.—Among the literary enterprises of the present day we have watched none with more interest than that which is now in progress in London, consisting of the reprints, in elegant form, of the choice works of the old English divines, many of which had become exceedingly rare and could only be obtained at enormous prices. Of these the series undertaken by the Rev. J. Sherman stands pre-eminent. The new editions of *Adams on Second Peter*, *Greenhill on Ezekiel*, *Jenkyns on Jude*, and *Manton on James*, revised by Mr. S. and issued under his immediate eye, have laid the Christian public, and particularly the Christian ministry, under a debt of gratitude not easily to be cancelled. The depression of business in England, which has been severely felt by the book trade as well as every other, has occasioned some delay in the continuation of the series, but we are happy to learn that the volume, including *Burroughs on Hosea*, is now about being issued, to the reception of which we are looking forward with eager expectation. It is a work with which we have long been acquainted, and of which we seldom speak in very measured terms of commendation. We shall notice it more particularly when it appears. In addition to the above, the Biblical student will be pleased to learn that *Pool's Annotations*, and Ainsworth's invaluable *Commentary on the Pentateuch* have also been recently republished under other auspices, in the same neat and convenient form.

The circumstances in which the following pages originated are presented in the following communication:

Newton Falls, August, 1845.

Rev'd & Dear Sir:—

At the close of your last Lecture in defence of the Am. Bible Society and the common English version, delivered on the evening of the 27th July, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Dr. Henry A. Du Bois, and Messrs. William Earle, Uri N. Merwin, John Campeell, H. C. Soule, and L. F. Lyman, be a Committee to express the thanks of this community to the Rev'd Harvey Blodgett, for his able and interesting defence of the American Bible Society, and of the common English version of the Bible; and for successfully and triumphantly answering and refuting all charges and aspersions, which have recently been brought against, and cast upon, this noble institution, and this incomparable version of the Holy Scriptures, by the agent of the Baptist Society: And that the Committee communicate to Mr. Blodgett our entire satisfaction and gratitude, for the unexceptionable manner in which *his* part of this controversy has been conducted, exhibiting kindness, courtesy, and candor, amidst the most exciting and provoking circumstances; and the Committee are farther instructed to request Mr. Blodgett to publish the substance of the Lectures which he has recently delivered upon this subject.

In presenting to you the above expression of the sentiments of the audience who attcuded your last address, the Committee, (composed principally of members of denominations diffirent from your own,) feel that they are authorized to add a few words which they consider not only declarative of their own individual opinions, but also of those entertained by a large number of the numerous auditors, who attended your previous lectures.

They would accordingly bear witness to the *cause.* which brought you into this field of controversy. You entered it not willingly, but called to it by the vain-glorious invitation of the aggressive party, and forced by the alternative of a silent acquiescence, or else of open denial, to repel gross and calumnious misrepresentations, directed particularly against the communion to which you belong.

They further desire to give evidence to the *spirit* which you manifested during this controversy. In correcting falsehood, you impugned no motives; in refuting calumnious charges, you covered the utterer of them with the cloak of charity; and when you were forced to expose gross ignorance in your opponent, you did it with forbearance and tenderness.

With regard to the *character* of the attack which has called you into the arena of controversy, the Committee have a word to say. Had

the agent of the Baptist Bible Society been content to present the claims of this Institution to the support of the benevolent, he might reasonably have expected encouragement from some, and he certainly would not have met with opposition from any liberal and enlightened Christian. Had he gone farther than this, and aimed to promote the growth of his own sect and spread its peculiar tenets by proclaiming his conviction that the physical act of *immersion* was the true and Scriptural Baptism of Christ, and that this *precise* mode of 'washing the filth of the flesh,' was *prescriptive* and essential to the Gospel; (whatever objections might have been raised to such carnal and grovelling sentiments with regard to the *only true* and "*one baptism*' by which the soul is renewed and cleansed from its stain of guilt,) he would still have been pardonable in view of the lengths to which a misguided zeal will conduct a devoted partisan, or at most he would but have excited contempt for advancing a theological question so manifestly interested and puerile.

But when under pretext of advocating one institution an attempt is made to cast infamy upon another, and that one the noblest of our land; when under color of supporting the *external righteousness* of one sect, the *intrinsic* worth of all others is assailed; when under guise of advocating God's Holy Word, *that Bible* in which the great mass of the Christian world have hitherto sought, and are still seeking the bread of life, is denounced as spurious and not to be depended upon; when, lastly, under the mask of religion, a fire-brand is cast into a peaceful community, a stumbling block and an offence is placed in the way of all other Christian brethren, a scoff and a weapon is furnished to the infidel; *then indeed* we deem that every Christian who has zeal for God, or the good of his fellow at heart, is bound to feel a virtuous indignation and to frown with severity upon an attempt which is so destitute of every element of love to God or love to man—and which in its *sectarian selfishness* savors so entirely of the spirit of Antichrist.

HENRY A. DU BOIS,
WM. EARLE,
URI N. MERWIN,
JOHN CAMPBELL,
H. C. SOULE,
L. F. LYMAN.

Rev. H. Blodgett.

Defence of the American Bible Society

AND

THE COMMON ENGLISH VERSION.

Sectarianism pervades the religious world. No department of Christian enterprise is free from its disturbing influences. Those most ardently engaged in the labors of benevolence, are seldom permitted to prosecute them long, uninterrupted. They must often pause to vindicate their measures and their motives. And the assaults that thus break in upon their time, and derange their plans, frequently come from those aiming at the same results, which they are toiling to effect. Pious attainments are rarely so high as to banish all undue preferences from the breast of their possessor. Christian principle is seldom so powerful and uniform in its operation, as to suffer no feeling of this sort to embody itself in action. Even in the little band of our Lord's selected personal attendants, were found those whose well meant, but misguided zeal impelled them to forbid the labors of one whom they saw casting out devils in their Master's name, because he followed not with them. And well would it have been for the church and the world if Christians had always shewn themselves as ready to heed the instructions addressed to those honest but erring disciples, as they have been to imitate their example. Had the feelings which the history of that transaction was doubtless intended to inspire, predominated in the breasts of all in this community, much unprofitable excitement would have been spared, and time and money might have been appropriated to some more grateful purpose, than the production of these pages. The charges which they are intended to repel, are made against an institution which the great body of American Christians, have been accustomed to regard as the honor of their country, the glory of the age, and the blessing of the world. If true, these charges must divest the American Bible Society of every attribute of loveliness, and render it the object of universal scorn. For they virtually convict it of sectarianism the most narrow and bigotted, selfishness the most cold and calculating, duplicity the deepest and most designing, and dishonesty the most heartless and persevering. And for the truth of these charges against the Am. Bib. Soc. and its patrons, the Am. For.(Bap)Bib.Soc.and its supporters have made themselves responsible. They have wrought them into the fabric of their organization. Their officers embody them in their official communications; their orators declaim over them at their anniversaries; their agents publish them abroad, wherever they can gain access to the public ear. The contest lies between two great national institutions. Its issue must be to prove one or the other unworthy the confidence and support which both claim at the hands of the Christian public. For if these charges can

not be sustained, they who have originated and propagated them, must stand before the public as the convicted slanderers of their brethren. Either grievous wrongs have been inflicted, or base falsehoods have been fabricated. There is no room for the charitable supposition that an honest misunderstanding lies at the bottom of this controversy, or that erroneous action, has originated in upright intention. Such a field of controversy is therefore peculiarly uninviting. The individual who enters it, can hardly fail to offend the personal pride of some, to arouse the partisan zeal of others, and to awaken the denominational prejudices of all who sympathise in the religious views of those whose aggressions he attempts to repel. And it is more, perhaps, than I have reason to hope for myself, that my feelings shall be so fully under the control of a right spirit, and all my words so fitly chosen as to afford no cause for offence; more than I have a right to ask from others, that they will listen to all that I may have to say, without any feelings of displeasure. Be this however as it may, it shall be my purpose to utter the words of truth; to treat the feelings of those whom I oppose with tenderness; and to exercise the largest measure of charity for the motives of those with whom I am brought in collision.—But whatever may be the influence of this discussion, I wish to disclaim the responsibility of its origin. That rests wholly upon the agent of the Am. and For. Baptist Bib. Soc., *Rev. J. Gould.* In time of profound denominational peace, he sounded the tocsin of theological warefare. When each of the religious denominations in the place, was quietly pursuing its own way, and all were supposed to be harmoniously cooperating in efforts to supply the neighborhood with the word of God, and to aid the American Bib. Soc. in the accomplishment of its benevolent designs; he summoned them together to hear a detail of the causes which led to the formation of the Am. and For.(Bap)Bib. Society,and its claims to public patronage. And though but one short month before, he had led in the devotional exercises of the anniversary of the Newton Falls auxiliary, and advocated a resolution declaring the Am. Bib. Soc. entitled to the confidence and cooperations of Christians of every denomination; he *then* undertook to convict it of unfaithfulness in the work of translation; injustice in the disposition of its income; dishonesty in the acquisition of its funds; and a popish spirit in the prosecution of its schemes. A pamphlet around which the shades of forgetfulness were quietly gathering, was the stagnant source from which he transplanted to his own page, the proofs of the delinquency of the Am. Bib. Soc. Almost the only new things about the address, were the paper and ink. All else was the mere echo of what had been delivered in Glasgow more than five years before. The agent, however, affectionately adopted this foreign bantling as his own, and when its accuracy was questioned, confidently asserted his ability to make its positions good. Undoubtedly he believed their truth, and thought them unanswerable. Nevertheless I pronounce those charges, implicating the character of the Am. Bib. Soc. and its patrons, unfounded in fact, and unsupported by evidence. In demonstrating the falsehood of these charges, I shall follow

the course marked out by the agent, though I shall not confine my remarks exclusively to the statements which *he* has made. I may not in every case give the precise language employed by the agent, though it will be my purpose to retain his precise expressions. His meaning it is my intention to express as accurately as my knowledge of language will enable me to do.

The first statement of the Agent, to which I would invite attention is] that which intimates that "*the translators of King James' version were not at liberty to render the bible in accordance with their views of truth.*" In this opinion the Agent does not stand alone. Mr. Woolsey, a late baptist writer, says that "*King James of England, and not King Jesus, of Zion, is by our Pedobaptist brethren, made to control the translation of the word of life.*" In the preamble to the constitution of the American and For. (Bap)Bib. Soc., it is said that"Whereas the Council of Trent, in 1563, declared that a Latin translation called the Vulgate was authentic, and to be refused of none; which decree was confirmed by Pope Pius IV. in a solemn consistory the following year; and the Rhemish Testament was translated from the Vulgate into English in 1582—the translators declaring that the Vulgate is not only better than all other translations, but than the Greek text itself, where they disagree, which assumptions have been generally repudiated by all christians not in the Romish Church; And Whereas the American Bible Society in 1836 approved the following resolution, viz: Resolved, that in appropriating money for the translating, printing, or distributing the sacred scriptures in foreign languages, the Managers feel at liberty to encourage such versions only as conform in the principles of their translation to the common English version, at least so far that all the religious denominations represented in the society, can consistently use and circulate said versions, in their several schools and communions :

The remonstrants against this resolution, believing it to be a virtual abandonment of the great principle of protestantism and the adoption of that of the Council of Trent, were constrained, &c." It is not easy to evolve the import of all this verbiage. It strongly suggests the idea of an insinuation, which its author meant to leave himself at liberty to disavow, if it should prove too monstrous for popular credulity. It states that in their resolutions of 1836, the Am. Bib. Soc. adopted the *principle* of the Council of Trent. *That principle* gave precedence to the Vulgate. The Rhemish Testament was translated from the Vulgate into English under its operation. The conclusion then follows, that the publications of the American Bible Society are based on the *Vulgate*, and conformed to the character of the Rhemish Testament. In other words, the common bible is placed on the same level with Romish versions. When the agents of the Am. and For. Baptist Bible Society disclaim the design to be so understood, it is to be hoped that they will give an explanation of their meaning, that common minds can comprehend. The examination of a few facts will show the nature and extent of the restraints imposed by James upon his translators. The first rule which he prescribed was this: "*The ordinary bible read*

in the church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible to be followed, and as little altered as the originals will permit." In the 14th rule he says: "*These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishop's Bible, viz: Tindal's, Coverdale's, Matthews', Whitchurch's, Geneva.*" Tindal's Bible was translated from the original Hebrew and Greek. The new Testament was published in 1526, and a part of the old Testament was published in 1530. He transferred *baptise*, without translating it. He was strangled and burnt by the Catholics in 1536.

Coverdale's Bible was published in 1535. It was translated from the German and Latin. He says that he followed five interpreters. It was published in Switzerland, whither he had fled from papal persecution.

Matthews' Bible was a reprint of Tindal, with the addition of some portions from Coverdale. It was published by Coverdale in 1537.

Whitchurch's Bible is probably the same with Cranmer's Bible.—Whitchurch was one of the Publishers, Cranmer wrote the preface. The publishers say that it was translated after the "*veryte of the Hebrewe and Greke texts.*"

The Geneva Bible was the work of fugitives from the persecutions of Queen Mary. It was published in 1560.

The Bishop's Bible was published under the patronage and supervision of Archbishop Parker in 1568. He employed various persons skilled in Hebrew and Greek to compare the old translation with the original text, and also with the other translations, (Horne's Introduction, Vol. 2, pp. 34—36 of Appen & Biblical Repository. Vol. 6 p. 473.) Now not *one of these translations*, was made by those in the interest of the papacy. Not *one* of these, refers to the Vulgate as authority. By his 3d rule, the king required that "*The old ecclesiastical words be kept, as the word church not to be translated congregation.*" Of these old ecclesiastical words, we were told, *Baptise* was one. *This* they were not at liberty to translate. They transferred it, as Mr. Woolsey intimates, so as not to interfere with the object of the kings ambition, nor subject him and his bishops, in "their arrogant importance to the humility and fancied inconvenience of being immersed." If it is intended to convey the idea that this was the *origin* of the use of *baptise* in the English language it is quite a mistake. Tisdal used the same word more than a century before. And Wickiffe, whose translation was the second that was made in the English language, sometimes used *baptise* and sometimes *wash or christen.* This translation was made about 1378 or 1380, (Debate between Campbell & Rice p.111.) It was so offensive to those, who were opposed to the circulation of the Bible in the English language, that a bill for its suppression was brought before the house of Lords in 1390. This bill failed, through the opposition of the Duke of Lancaster.—But in 1408, a convention was held at Oxford by Archbishop Arundel, at which it was decreed "that no one should thereafter translate any text of Holy Scriptures in English, by way of a book, or tract,& that no book of this kind shonld be read." From all these facts, it is clear

that the early translators rendered the words according to "their conviction of their import." And it is worthy of remark that not ONE of these translates baptize, by *immerse*. That word had been transferred to the English language, more than two hundred years before the time of King James' translation. And the transfer was made by those, who had no interest in "covering up" the meaning of the word. Whatever may have been the feelings of the King, it is certain that the translators did not depart from the practice, that had prevailed for more than two centuries. Are not these facts sufficient to vindicate them from "guarding and moulding" the scriptures, so as not to interfere with "the darling object of the cunning sovereign's aspiring ambition?" So far as the subject of *baptism* is concerned, there is not a particle of proof that they were influenced by the sectarian selfishness, and time serving policy, charged upon them by the Agent.

In striking contrast with the unfaithfulness charged upon the King's translations, the Agent exhibits the fidelity of his own denomination. "*The Baptists*," *he says*, "*felt themselves bound to translate faithfully, and have so translated every word in the Bible, into* 27 *versions, which were received and in use in* 1815." *(Maclay's address p.* 12.)— Those unacquainted with the facts, will be surprised to learn that at the time above named, the baptists *had not completed one single version*, of the entire scriptures. Translations were commenced as early as 1806, and portions of the Bible were published at different times.— But the first translation of the entire Bible was not completed till 1818. Not above six or eight versions of *parts* of the Bible, were "*received and in use*" previous to 1816. This statement was, doubtless, intended to show that the Am. Bib. Soc. were bound to patronize these 27 versions, in view of its being "leagued in the *dissemination of the scriptures in the received versions*," where they existed at the time of its organisation. But almost the entire amount of modern translations, is of later date, there the formation of the Am. Bib. Soc. (Hornes' Int. Vol. 2, pp. 48—52 Appen, also Table 2, p. 32.)

Neither is it true that the Baptists "*have translated every word in the bible*," in any version that they have made. The thing is absurd, if not impossible. Such is the barrenness of most languages, that they do not contain words to express many of the ideas conveyed by the sacred writers. How would the baptists translate the story of Christ healing the leper, into the language of a people who never saw a case of the leprosy? How would they render the account of Elijah's ascention into the language of the South Sea Islanders, who never saw a horse or carriage? In all such cases, they must borrow from other languages, or coin new terms. But it will, perhaps, be said that this statement is made only in reference to "*baptidzo, baptisma, and their cognates.*" It is not true, in respect to *that* class of words. In Matthew 26: 23, our Savior says, he that dippeth (original, *baptizing*) his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me. All the circumstances of the case forbid the idea of immersion here. The original of dish is a diminutive. It signifies small. It probably contained the charoseth, a substance formed from dates, raisins, and other ingredi-

ents, beaten into a paste, and designed to represent the clay in which the Jews wrought while in bondags to the Egyptians. Into this they dipped the fragments of a cake of unleavened bread. (Horne, vol. 2, pp. 124, 125.) But they did not, would not, could not, immerse the hand in such a substance, on such an occasion. Dip does not necessasarily imply immersion; and it may be confinently asserted, that the time is far distant, when any one will venture to translate this passage by the use of any term that unequivocally signifies immersion. So in regard to Luke 11: 38. It is said that "the Pharisee, when he saw it, marvelled that he had not first washed (literally, *been baptised*) before dinner." Do baptists translate this passage into any language so as to convey the idea that the Pharisee marvelled that Jesus had not been *immersed* before dinner? A few among them may be found bold enough to march up directly to this point. But most of them will adopt some other mode of interpretation. It may not be amiss to give a specimen or two of the straits, to which the advocates of a "*faithful translation of every word in the bible*," find themselves driven. Mr. Woolsey explains the passage now under consideration thus: "The Savior being invited to dine with a Pharisee, took his seat, without having *plunged his hands into water*." (Hall's Baptist Errors, p. 20.) Again Mark 7: 4, it is said of the Pharisees that when they came from the market, except they wash, (original, *are baptised*,) they eat not. Geo. Campbell, an immersionist, though not otherwise a baptist, gives the following rendering of this passage: "The Pharisees, and indeed all the Jews, who observe the tradition of the elders, eat not, except they have washed their hands *by pouring a little water upon them;* and when they come from the market, *by dipping them.*" Alex. Campbell adopts the same views. (Bap. Fr. p. 30. Deb. pp. 199, 200, 205.)—This will hardly pass for decent commentary, much less for "faithful translation." The truth is, there are cases in which baptidzo and its cognates *cannot* be translated by words which signify *immerse*; and there are still more, in which the transfer of words is unavoidable.—Even the copious resources of the English tongue are not sufficient to obviate this necessity. Even granting to baptidzo, the sense of immerse, there is not a single word of pure Anglo Saxon origin, which will uniformly, invariably, and unequivocally, convey that meaning. Dip, dive, duck, and plunge, all convey other ideas than that of burial under water. And immerse, for which our baptist brethren so earnestly contend, is a word of Latin origin. And it is hard to discover a reason for borrowing a term from the *Latin*, a language which the sacred writers *never* employed, in preference to the transfer of one from the Greek, in which the New Testament was written. It is a recorded fact, that King James' translators carefully adhered to the idiom of the original, and scrupulously avoided all words of Latin derivation. When any man, or set of men, will produce a version to which the piety and learning of centuries will concede the preference over the common version, then, and not till then, let sentence of reprobation be passed upon the conduct of King James' translators. Till that time comes, we may be permitted to regard all this talk about superior faithfulness and independence in translating, as empty declamation.

These faithful versions for a time as the Agent informed us, received the aid of the various Bible societies. But it was at length discovered that they were an obstacle to the Pedobaptists, in making and keeping converts among the heathen. Patronage was, consequently, withdrawn. In the language of Dr. Cone, "*The Calcutta, the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies, after cooperating with us for many years, in giving the lively oracles to the heathen, changed their policy, and determined to withhold future aid to all versions made by Baptist missionaries, in which baptiso and its cognates were translated.*" This change of policy was strongly emphasized by the Agent. With the Calcutta, and the British and Foreign Bible Societies, we have no connexion, and no concern. That the American Bible Society has ever changed its policy, is confidently denied. We may appeal to the public announcement of their policy in the address of the convention by which the Society was formed. "Local feeling, party prejudice, sectarian jealousies, are excluded by its very nature. Its members are leagued in that, and that alone, which calls up every hallowed, and puts down every unhallowed principle—the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required. In such a work, whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true, has ample scope, while sectarian littleness and virulence, can find no avenue of admission." From this language, it is clear as light, that those noble hearted men were determined to give no denominational preferences; to indulge in no denominational feelings. And how men could ask, in the face of such an avowal, that the society should patronise a version purely denominational, in its origin and character—a version approved by but *one* denomination in the Society, and disapproved by *all* the rest, is strange indeed. And it is still more strange that the members of a communion, closed in by impenetrable walls, from all access to any other, should indignantly disclaim the imputation of sectarianism in such a request, and retort the charge upon those, who refused to yield to their demands.

But Baptists justify their claim on the ground that their versions are "*most faithful*," and therefore, embraced in the principles laid down by the society. A majority of the Bible Society, however, deny that their versions are the "*most faithful*." Their superior fidelity is, everywhere, a disputed point. Few indeed, will concede that immersion is the uniform import of Baptiazo and its cognates. Even Baptists themselves are compelled to make exceptions, as we have seen already. The decision of a majority of the Bible Society must be admitted, or no decision could be made. If Baptists, as a denomination, have a right to decide upon the fidelity of *their* version, and to demand patronage for it as "*most faithful*," so have the Unitarians a right to adopt the same course in relation to theirs. This view is very forcibly presented, by a writer in the American Baptist, in 1836. He says, "To procure support for Baptist versions, we must establish a principle of cooperation, that is to admit Unitarianism into like rights for its versions. * * * We have fallen upon evil times, if our plans

in the Am. Bib. Soc. can only be carried, by selling the great central fact of the Gospel, the union of the Godhead and manhood, in the Mediator Christ. Yet this. is by one of the ablest opponents of the present course of the Am. Bib. Soc., expressly avowed, as a foreseen and unavoidable result, of the principles of cooperation which he and his brethren would fain establish." The same writer also remarks, "We formed the compact with the Unitarian, not only because he agreed with us in using the English version, and it was thus *non-sectarian*, but also because the version he thus agreed in using, was *true*. Foreign versions, formed on the principles of this version, combining its non-sectarianism and its truth, we will sustain and no others."— The principle, stated in the preceding paragraph, had been adopted and acted upon from the commencement of the operations of the Bible Society. They had incorporated it with the first article of their constitution. For 20 years they had acted upon it, harmoniously.— When a difficulty arose, therefore, they wisely fell back upon this well settled principle, this long established precedent, and resolved to conform their foreign versions to the common one "so far that all the religious denominations represented in the Society could consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communions." So far from changing their policy, and violating the constitution in this, there was no other course that they could have taken, without resolving the society into its original elements. They remained steadfast to their principles. And for ten years the blessing of God, and the confidence of the churches, has proved the wisdom of their decisions, and the purity of their intentions. In spite of all the reproaches heaped upon it, the Society stands spotless and lovely, like Bunyan's white robed saint, purified rather than soiled, by the mud balls of malice.

But it has been said that "*the Board made no objection to Baptist versions, till they found them operating to their disadvantage.*" Now there is not one particle of proof that the board knew anything of the operation, or even the existence of these versions previous to 1835.— Up to 1833, their efforts had been almost exclusively directed to the supply of our own country. Till about that time, they had not paid off the debt incurred in that undertaking. In 1832, they owed 22,000 dollars. Consequently there was little occasion for them to inform themselves in regard to foreign versions. In a communication made to the public in 1841, the Managers say in relation to the application of Rev. Mr. Pearce, in July 1835, "It was further stated that the new Bengalee translation was made on the same principles, as those that obtained in the Burmese version, which it was understood that the Am. Bib. Soc. patronised. *Here was a new and startling announcement.* The Board had indeed granted at different times, many thousand dollars towards the publication of this Burmese version, but *without information from any quarter, or the* LEAST SUSPICION that it was of the character described by Mr. Pearce." It is of no avail to say that the Board *might* have known, or to talk of the probability that they *did* know the character of the Burmese version, in the face of their posi-

tive affirmation to the contrary. Their character for veracity, must be impeached, before their testimony can be set aside. On that task the boldest of their traducers will probably be in no haste to enter.—The fact of their ignorance of the character of this version, proves the disinterested benevolence that animated their movements. The watchfulness of sectarian jealousy, would doubtless have made the discovery at an earlier date. They seem to have been raised above the chilling damps and blinding mists of denominational strife, and to have breathed the pure and bracing atmosphere of universal charity. They appear to have felt the sentiment of the address of the founders of the Society that "all voices, affections and hands were joined in the grand design of promoting peace on earth, and good will to man."—And there is no reason to doubt, but that their final decision of this matter, was controlled by the same exalted principle, that blended the affections, and combined the energies of the founders of one of the noblest institutions, that ever gladdened human hearts, or kindled joys in heaven.

The Agent next enters the broad field of theological controversy, and from every corner gathers up materials with which, like the mountains piled on Milton's devils, to overwhelm the Board. He begins, by telling us that "*The Board attempted to pass a resolution, declaring the Baptist versions incorrect; but they were obliged to drop it, under the conviction that the Baptists would triumphantly sustain themselves.*" If such a resolution was ever before the Board, it was never dropped through fear of encountering the Baptists on the arena of debate.—That they have talent and learning, will not be denied. But for that portion of them concerned in this case, to talk of overawing such a body of men as the managers of the American Bible Society, is hardly less ridiculous, than the notion of the fly, that he should weary the ox by sitting on his horn. A better reason for the withdrawal of such a resolution, is found in the fact that the principles of their organization, forbade the idea of allowing their meetings to become the scenes of theological controversy. The Agent has occasion to apologize for the indecorum of those who intruded those interdicted topics, rather than to reproach theBoard with timidity in declining to take them up.

But it seems that the withdrawal of the resolution could not save the Board. The Baptists "triumphantly" exhibited their arguments. The Board were first told that "*Every Greek Lexicon gives Baptidzo the sense of immerse, and many of the best of them, that sense only.*" Not *one* of the best of them gives that sense *only*. Some of them do not give that meaning at all. Robinson,Parkhurst, Suidas, Greenfield Bretschnader, Donnegan and Schrevilius give other meanings besides immerse.

Robinson says that Baptidzo in N. T. means to wash, to cleanse by washing, to wash ons's self.

Greenfield says in N. T., Baptidzo signifies to wash, to perform ablution, to cleanse, to immerse.

Wahl defines it, to wash, to perform ablution, to cleanse.

Gases, to wet, to moisten, to bedew, to wash, to bathe, to draw, to pump water.

To carry such an assertion through "triumphantly," it is incumon those who make it, to show by what rule we are shut up to *immersion* as the sense of baptidzo, when the Lexicons give us such a variety of definitions, from which to make a selection. Mr. Carson in his work on baptism, admits that he has all the Lexicons against him, in his attempts to prove that baptidzo always means to dip, and probably every candid man who makes the examination, will come to the same conclusion. (Deb. p. 103.)

The Board were next told that "*All Greek literature proves that Baptidzo means immerse only. In all the Greek classics, it cannot be found to mean otherwise. Their Poets, Orators, and Philosophers use it in this sense only.*" (Maclay.) The author of this assertion must have calculated largely on the ignorance of his auditors, or he must have been prodigal of his own. A very limited examination of Greek literature will be sufficient to prove the inaccuracy of this statement. Lucian uses the word in the sense of *drown*, when he represents a man as *baptizing* his enemy to death. Aristotle uses it in the sense of *overflow*, in describing a coast that is not *baptized* at ebb.—Hippocrates employs it to signify to *moisten*, in his direction to *baptize* a blister with milk, or Egyptian ointment. The Response of the Sybil to the Athenians uses it in the sense of wet:

Askos baptdize, dunai de toi ou themis esti.

Thou like a bladder, mayest be wet (baptized) but never sink.—*Potter.*

Mr. Campbell, in his debate with Mr. Rice, attempted to press this passage, into his service. He renders it, "Thou mayest be dipped, O bladder, but thou art not fated to sink." But this is a rendering which the laws of interpretation will not sustain. Mr. Campbell is a great stickler for the primary meaning of words. The primary meaning of the term (dunai) with which baptize (baptidze) is contrasted, is "to go into" or "under. The literal rendering of the passage is therefore this:

"*A bladder you may be baptized, but truly it is not right for you to go into, or under the water.*" The rendering quoted above from Potter, expresses the true sense. This explanation is confirmed by the language of the Delphian Oracle to Theseus, of which the response of the Sybil was only a repetition in an expanded form, "*A bladder, you shall navigate the seas, upon the swelling surge.*" It may be safely said of this passage, that the sense of immersion is impossible. It would be easy to multiply proofs of a similar character, but it is needless; for classic Greek can never determine the scriptural sense af baptidzo. In the words of Prof. Robinson, "the language of the N. T. exhibits in many points, a departure from the idiom of the Attic Greek." Prof. Stuart says, "classic usage can never be very certain, in respect to the meaning of a word in the new Testament. Who does not know that a multitude of Greek words here receive their coloring and particular meaning from the Hebrew and not from the Greek classics?" Do theos (God,) ouranos (Heaven,) saix (flesh,) pistis (faith,) and

other words almost without number, exhibit meanings which conform to the Greek classics; or which in several respects can even be illustrated by them? Not at all." For this there are obvious reasons.—Classic Greek was the language of heathenism. There was nothing in the belief or ceremonies of paganism, that corresponded, in the slightest degree; to the doctrines and ordinances of Christianity. The Greeks themselves, therefore, in exhibiting the principles and describing the usages of the Christian system, must attach a meaning to words, which they did possess in the language of their religion and literature. Nor is this all. The New Testament writers were Hebrews by birth. They employed the Greek language to convey Jewish ideas. The language must have contracted something of the Hebrew idiom. The most common observer knows that the language of one people can never be adopted by another, without being subjected to important modifications. This view may be illustrated by the conversation between Christ and Nicodemus. In classic Greek, the primary meaning of the word Pneuma, there rendered spirit, is wind, air or breath. It was never employed to describe a divine existence. Following classic authority, we must read, "except a man be born of water and of wind, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of flesh is flesh; and that which is born of wind is wind." The N. T. writers, therefore, certainly did not use Pneuma in its classic sense. And the same is true of a multitude of other words. It is plain, therefore, that the sense of Baptidzo and its cognates, must be ascertained by an acquaintance with the usage of those who spoke and wrote in the language, in presenting the doctrines, prescribing the duties, and defining the rites of the Christian system. And it is confidently believed that such a reference to the sacred writers and the Christian Fathers, would clearly prove that the religious sense of Baptidzo, is to purify. An illustration of this view occurs in John 3: 25, 26: "Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews, about purifying. And they came to John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest witness, behold the same baptiseth, and all men come to him." Evidently, the point in dispute was, the right of Christ to baptise. And yet the inspired writer says, it was "a question about purifying." So it was understood by many of the Christian Fathers. "Chrysostem, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, expressly testify that the question concerning purification was simply, and only, a question of baptism." Theophylact says of the disciples of John and the Jews, that "disputing concerning purification, that is baptism, they came to their master." (Bib. Rep. Ap. 1843, p. 450.) Those who wish a full and clear developement of this argument, will find it in the articles of Pres. Beecher, published in the Bib. Repository, in 1840, '41, and '43. Enough has been said to prove that neither the Lexicons nor classic Greek, determine *immerse* to be the import of Baptidzo.

But we have not yet done with bold assertion. The Agent says that the Board were told that "*John Calvin, and all ecclesiastical writers, used baptidzo in the sense of immerse.*" If Calvin favored the practice of

immersion, it is certain that he did not regard it as the mode of baptism specifically enjoined by divine authority, For he says expressly, "Whether a person be wholly immersed, or whether thrice, or once, or whether water be only poured or sprinkled upon him, is of no importance." (Hall's Bap. Er. p. 55.)

Wickliffe says, "It matters not whether persons are dipped once, or three times, or whether water be poured on their heads."

Beza says, "they are rightly baptised, who are baptised by sprinkling."

Wall says, "The word baptizo, in scripture, signifies to wash in general."

Owen says "It is any kind of washing, whether by dipping or sprinkling." (Pond on Baptism, p. 23.)

Basil, in commenting on Isa. 4: 4, uses Baptidzo in the sense of purify.

Athanasius gives the same sense, in his remarks on the passage "He shall baptise you with the Holy Spirit." He says this expression means, "He shall purify you."

Clement of Alexandria, employs it in the sense of wash, when he says that it was the custom of the Jews, that they also should be often baptized upon their couch.

Origin calls the pouring of water upon the wood by Elijah, a baptism.

Jerome also uses it in the sense of purify.

But it is needless to multiply examples. No man possessing the slightest claim to candor or intelligence, will attempt to sustain the proposition that all ecclesiastical writers use baptidzo in the sense of immerse, in the presence of "such a cloud of witnesses" to the contrary.

Another equally untenable position is presented in the statement that "*Baptise was understood to mean immerse, and the practice was aecordingly, till the Council of Ravenna in* 1311, *when sprinkling was first tolerated.*" How a well informed man could utter such a declaration is inconceivable. The proofs of its incorrectness are scattered over all the pages of ecclesiastical history, and theological controversy. As early as A. D. 250, Cyprian in council with sixty Bishops, declared sprinkling valid baptism. He says "*sprinkling is of like value with the salutary bath.*" (Hall on Baptism, p. 96, Deb. p. 134. Bib. Rep. p. 39.) The Council of Neocesarea, not far from 330, made a similar decision. (Deb. p. 266.) Jerome and Augustine describe a mode of baptism common in the ancient church, which consisted in *dipping the head only*, three times in water. (Pond on Bap. p. 46.) Constantine was baptized by sprinkling in 337. Clodovius was baptized by affusion in 499. Gennatius of Marseilles, in 490, says that the baptized person is either sprinkled, or immersed. The ability to sustain the assertion that sprinkling was first tolerated in 1311, in the face of such facts, must be equal to any emergency.—The truth is that though immersion might have been the common mode, other modes were not only tolerated, but held valid.

But the agent informs us thet the Board were told that "*immersion was general in England, till the Westminster Assembly in* 1643, *when sprinkling was substituted for immersion by a vote of* 25 *to* 24." Mr. Campbell in his debate with Rice, p. 62, tells us, however, that "immersion was being repudiated to make way for affusion in both England and Scotland at the time of the publication of the Bishop's Bible" in 1568. The pilgrim fathers of New England, came to this country in 1620. Nineteen years afterwards, when Roger Williams turned Baptist, he could find no immersed person to administer the rite, and was obliged to receive it at the hands of an unbaptized person. The settlers of N. England, therefore, neither received, nor practiced immersion. And when Richard Blount wished to be immersed in England, soon after the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, he was obliged to go over to Holland, before he could find a person qualified to perform the service. These historical facts are a strange commentary on the text, which the agent has given us. They make it certain that other modes of baptism than immersion, were common in England long before the period that he indicates. Sprinkling was common at least three quarters of a century before the meeting of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. So far from substituting sprinkling for immersion, that question was never before them. The point in debate was, "*whether sprinkling being granted, dipping should be tolerated with it.*" Lightfoot says that "every one granted the lawfulness of sprinkling. As for the dispute about dipping, it was thought best to let it alone." They acted accordingly, and in their Directory declared that sprinkling, or pouring is lawful, and sufficient, and most expedient. The mode was, therefore, designedly submitted to the choice of those interested. (Hall on Baptism, p. 27.) In view of such facts, it is strange that such a statement should ever have been made; and stranger still that it should have been followed by the declaration that "*Presbyterians enjoin sprinkling exclusively.*" There is not *now*, nor was there *ever*, a book or writer of authority among Presbyterians, containing such an injunction. Every minister, and every private Christian, in that church, feels at perfect liberty to act according to his own convictions of propriety and duty. Cases innumerable, might be cited, in which Presbyterian ministers have administered, and Presbyterian members received the ordinance of baptism, by immersion. A more palpable falsehood never saw the face of day, than the assertion respecting the action of the Westminster Assembly, and the rules of Presbyterianism. Nor is that which states that *Episcopalians enjoin to the present period, in their rubric, immersion, except in cases of sickness or weakness*, a whit better. In almost every instance where the Rubric speaks of baptism, dipping and pouring are both specified as proper modes, and its uniform language is such, as to leave the mode to the option of the parties.

But the end of unanswerable arguments laid before the Board, is not yet. They were also told that "*all the important ancient, and many of the most important modern Eastern versions, translate baptizo*

by a word signifying immerse." Happily the biblical researches of modern times, have furnished even the common reader, with the means of satisfactorily testing the truth of this assertion. Mr. Campbell undertook to sustain a similar position in his debate with Mr. Rice. He quoted Mr. Gotch, a late Baptist writer, in support of his opinions, (p. 131.) *His* language is as follows: "With regard to the ancient versions, in all of them with three exceptions, (the Latin of the 3d century, the Sahidic and the Basmuric) the word baptizo is translated by a word purely native. Those three adopted the Greek word (baptizo.) Of native words employed the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic and earliest Latin, all signify *to immerse.* The Anglo Saxon signifies both to immerse and to cleanse, the Persic to wash, and the Slavic to cross." Of the thirteen versions, here enumerated, *six*, by the writer's own shewing, do *not* translate baptidzo by a word signifying immerse. To these may be added the Syriac and the Arabic. For Mr. Gotch admits (p.) that the word employed to translate baptidzo into Syriac, "was synonymous with baptidzo in all the senses in which that word is used in the New Testament, and not as simply expressive of the Christian rite; that it is used in reference to Jewish ablutions as in Luke 11: 38, and that in the times of the Syriac translator it had acquired the meaning, *he washed himself.*" He also says that the Armenian used a word which sometimes signifies to bathe. He makes the same admission in regard to the Ethiopic. Here then are four versions more, in which baptidzo is translated by words which do not necessarily signify immerse. To these may be added the old Italian and the Vulgate, making twelve versions in all in which baptizo is *not* translated by words that clearly mean immersion. Mr. Rice extends the list to nineteen.

But it is time to pause. The assertion respecting the translations, may be branded with the same mark, and turned into the same black flock with the rest. And yet it was said that the Board could not answer these statements. If reckless assertions could produce speechless astonishment, it is not strange that the Board were silent. There is not the semblance of truth about them. No well informed and candid man would either utter or endorse such extravagancies. If they were ever made in the presence of the Board they were made for effect elsewhere. And it is not strange that the Board disdained to reply to such a tissue of falsehood and absurdity. The plea of ignorance, however indignantly it may be disclaimed, is the only honorable one that can be made by the retailer of such charges. And in the case of the agent it is undoubtedly a valid one. He unquestionably thought these statements true and incontrovertible.

But graver charges claim consideration. "*The Society excluded the Baptists in penury, where its treasury was full.*" The act of exclusion is the resolution already quoted on page 5. That resolution has already been shown to be in perfect accordance with the original plan and constitution of the Society. It only extended to foreign versions, a principle which all had agreed to, and acted upon at home, for 20 years. It refused to give precedence to the baptists over other denom-

inations, and that was all. It left them, just as it found them, on a footing of perfect equality with the rest. The course of the Board ought to have satisfied every liberal minded man. It *did* satisfy a large portion of the very denomination, that we are told was "*excluded*" by it. The resolution met the approval of "some of the most intelligent and worthy Baptist clergymen, in America." Those who left the Am. Bib. Soc., left it because they could not make it subservient to their denominational preferences. The action of the Bible Society invaded no right, deprived them of no privilege. It proposed to aid no version, that Baptists could "not consistently use and circulate in their schools, and communion." It is in vain for them to say that they cannot consistently use versions which transfer Baptidzo and its cognates, without translating them. They have used such a version; and as a denomination, they have used it without complaint.—The discovery that King James' version "*covers up and conceals*" the real meaning of Baptidzo, and its cognates, is quite a recent one To a man, baptists have always insisted that the common English Bible makes the *mode* of baptism *clear*. From that version, they argue, not the *probability*, but the absolute *certainty*,that immersion is the *only* baptism. They claimed that such expressions as "going down into the water," and "coming up out of the water," and "being buried with Christ in baptism," with other of kindred character, makes it plain as sunbeams, that immersion is the precise mode adopted by Christ, and enjoined upon his followers. Now if this version teaches Baptist doctrines so clearly at home, why will not one conformed to the same principles of translation, exhibit those doctrines with equal clearness abroad? There is something very unaccountable in the fact that of two versions, translated on the same principles, one should present the ordinances of the gospel, in a flood of light, and the other should wrap them up, in pitchy darkness. It may be confidently asserted that there is no single reason for the translation of Baptizo and its cognates in a foreign tongue, which does not demand, just as imperatively, the translation of the same terms in the English language. And had the Board yielded to the claims of the Baptist in reference to foreign versions, a twelvemonth would not have passed before these claims would have been extended to the common version. And the concession of the first, *must* have been followed by the last. There would have been no stopping point, till the principle had been applied in all its iron rigor to every version under heaven, over which the Bible Society have any control or influence. And one can hardly avoid the suspicion, that this was a foreseen and intended result, on the part of the leaders in this movement. All that seemed necessary to establish their peculiar views on an immovable foundation, and confer upon them the entire, and permanent ascendancy over all other denominations, was the concession of all, that *to immerse* is the true, and only scriptural import of Baptidzo. And the outpost of foreign versions once carried, the citadel itself must soon fall. That the resolution of the Board defeated this darling object, is undoubtedly true. But that it inflicted upon the baptists the slightest injury, is undeniably false. It prevented them

from gaining the ascendancy, but it did not degrade them to a position of inferiority. So far from designedly "CUTTING *them off*," or in any sense "*excluding them*," the Board continued to treat them, after the passage of the resolution of 1836, just as it had done before. Besides appropriating 5000 dollars for the use of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, which that Society declined, the Board furnished to Baptist Missionaries in Greece, scriptures to the value of 5000 dollars, within two years after the passage of these resolutions. And during the last year, another appropriation to the amount of some hundreds of dollars was made for the same purpose. These facts show conclusively that no act of "*exclusion*" was intended. The Board made these appropriations, freely, unconditionally. They did not require the Baptist, as it has been asserted that they did, to change the character of their versions, but it left them entirely free to "print, publish, and circulate, *at their own expense*," as many of their versions as they pleased. No attempt was made to bribe or force the Baptists into the suppression of any version, that they ever made. The charge of exclusion, has not a syllable of truth, to sustain it.

But the Baptists were excluded in *penury, where the Treasury was full.* The Bible Society had proceeded from the outset, upon the principle of applying all its income to the dissemination of the scriptures. It accumulated, and aimed to accumulate, no funds of a permanent character. A house in which to conduct its operations, its printing apparatus, and the amount of books on hand constituted all its property. It depended upon the patronage of the benevolent public for the means to carry on its operations. For several years previous to 1836, its expenditures exceeded its income. In consequence of the receipt of a large legacy near the close of that year, there was a surplus of a few thousand dollars, unappropriated at the time of the annual meeting in 1836. Without that legacy there would have been no surplus; and to that legacy, Baptists had certainly no claim. There was nothing in the treasury, therefore, to which they were entitled. Their claim to the buildings, plates, and books of the Society will appear from facts that will be exhibited in connexion with another charge alledged against the Board.

It is said that "*Baptists had furnished their full proportion of funds, and were entitled, in law and equity, to their share, which was withheld.*" Though it is not practicable to shew the exact amount that has been contributed by the Baptists, to the funds of the Bible Society, there are facts which will enable us to make some near approximation to the truth. From the organization of the American Bible Society, up to May 1835, its receipts amounted to $1,535,654 41. Of this sum, $202,030 were made up of Life Member and Life Directorships, and contributions to the Society's house in New York. The Baptists gave as follows :

For Life Directors,	$600 00
" Life Members,	4,500 00
" Society's House,	30 00
Total,	5,130 00

In the same ways there were received from other denominations,

For Life Directors,	59,400
" Life Members,	115,500
" Society's House,	22,000
Total,	196,900

Deducting these sums from 1,535,654 41, there remains 1,338,624 41, received from other sources. Contributing to this, as to Directorships, &c., the Baptists gave 28,788 50, a sum considerably less than they have received for their use *alone*, besides an equal share in the home supply. But Mr. Wyckoff (Am Bib. Soc. and Baptists, p. 143.) claims $100,000, as the amount of baptist contributions. According to the Am. Almanac for 1832, all classes of baptists in the U. States amounted to about 387;000. All other denominations, except Catholics, amounted to nearly 938,000. Had the baptists contributed in proportion to their numbers, instead of $100,000, they ought to have given *four times* that sum. But again: In the home supply, the Am. Bib. Soc. expended nearly a million of dollars. Of this, the Baptists must have received nearly $300,000, or three times as much as they claim ever to have contributed to the funds of the Society. In addition to all this, they received, between 1831 and 1838, from 30 to 35,000 dollars, in money and books, for the exclusiv benefit of that denomination.

But it is said that "*Legacies, to the amount of perhaps* 45,000 *dollars, were withheld.*" The Board state that but 18,000 dollars in legacies, have ever been received from the Baptists. And these were received in 1830 & 1831, and were wholly expended in the home supply. The foreign distribution had not then been undertaken. These legacies were therefore given for home distribution, and applied to that purpose. And the Board did more. They borrowed above 30,000 dollars to accomplish that work. So far as the legacies are concerned, there was a large debt for baptists to aid in paying, instead of a surplus for them to share. It is averred, however, "that a simple legal process is alone necessary, to transfer to the Society's coffers" legacies that have been made, but not paid. This statement probably refers to the will of the late J. F. Marsh. A few facts will shew, how simple a process would be necessary, to give the Society the control of that money.—The Am. Bible Society is a residuary legatee, for a balance of that estate, together with the grand children, and the great grand children, of the eight uncles of the Testator. About a hundred of these have been ascertained, and there are supposed to be at least as many more. They are scattered over England. The estate can only be settled by a decree of the Court of Chancery, and the Executor states that he is advised that he cannot safely pay any of the legatees, till he can have "them all, in some way, brought into court, so as to be bound by a decree, in order to a final settlement of the estate." Besides all this, the legacy in question was given by the same individual who gave 10 of the 18,000 dollars legacies already mentioned. The bequest was made before the Am. and For. (Baptist) Bible Society was ever dream-

ed of. It was evidently made for the home supply, and if the Am. Bib. Soc. ever get the money, they will accomplish the object of the donor by appropriating it to the supply of the population of our own country. It will be quite early enough, for baptists to set up their claim, when the money reaches the coffers of the Am. Bib Soc., and there is no destitution in our land, in the supply of which it can be expended. All these facts serve to demonstrate the correctness of the statement of the board, that aside from the 18,000 dollars of legacies, (used at home, and not to be counted,) there is no evidence of their ever having contributed to the treasury one half of the amount which they have received from it. Let the agents of the Baptist Bible Society abandon these claims, or furnish the items. If they honestly believe that they are entitled in law and equity, to any funds in the possession of the Am. Bible Society, let them employ the means that law provides, to enforce their rights; and disturb the public mind no more, with their complaints.

But the Am. Bib. Soc. is charged with "malignantly" opposing the Baptists in their efforts to obtain a charter, for the Am. and For. Bib. Soc. "Our applications to the Legislature," says Dr. Cone, "for an act of incorporation, have been defeated again, and again, by the friends of the Am. Bib. Soc. What advantage to their institution, they hope to obtain by this bitter and persevering hostility to ours, it is difficult to imagine." In a letter dated July, 1844, and published in the N. Y. Evangelist, Dr. Cone professes to give the history of this matter:

"Three years ago last winter, the American and Foreign Bible Society applied for a charter. To say nothing of the unkind newspaper articles which appeared against us, *an anonymous communication*, (Mr. Brigham perhaps can state, if he pleases, who wrote it,) expressing to some of the prominent members of the Legislature, the objections of the friends of the American Bible Society, found its way to Albany; *and our application was thereby defeated.*

"The very next winter, the American Bible Society * * applied, and several Baptist members of the Legislature and other friends, remembering how we had been treated, wrote to me to know whether it would not be an act of justice to defeat the application, which they could easily do, as it required a two-thirds vote? I wrote to our friends in Albany without delay, urging them to aid the American Bible Society to obtain a charter, and by no means to throw the least obstacle in their way; if they need the facilities of a charter, by all means let them have it.

"Last winter we made our second application. It was met, as the former had been, by anonymous opposition. A long written document, (Mr. B. knows from whose hand,) without any signature, and for whose writer, when it was met by Dr. Babcock, Corresponding Secretary of our Society, before the Committee of the Legislature, it was impossible to get a responsible endorser;—drawn up with not a little art, and imbued with frequent appeals to sectarian feeling against our claims, was the honorable form which this Christian opposition assumed. Though this document embraced all the reasons Mr. B. now urges for the change

of our name, a high-minded Committee, four-fifths Pedobaptists, after considering them all, unanimously reported the bill as we desired. No sooner was this known in Nassau street, than a special convocation of certain managers of the American Bible Society was held; and in rapid succession, one amiable and excellent Secretary of that Society, (not Mr. B.) and an agent—a Rev. Dr. quite celebrated for his adroitness in managing difficult cases—made their appearance in Albany, with printed circulars and other helps, to move all hearts and hands against our bill. By these, and other influences, the delay and ultimate defeat of our application were compassed.

"Just before the end af the session, the mutilated, altered charter, with a new, objectionable name, was passed."

This charter the Am. and For. (Bap.) Bib. Society refused to receive, and renewed their application the next winter. Their application failed. The facts, as set forth by Dr. Brigham, in his reply to Dr. Cone, dated, August, 1844,are these: The Am. Bib. Soc. was incorporated three years ago, last winter. *One year after*, the Baptists made their *first* application for an act of incorporation under the name of The American and Foreign Bible Society. But this name was often applied to the Am. Bib.Soc. Its officers, therefore, were unwilling that another society should be chartered with a *title* frequently applied to their own, under the conviction that it must subject them to confusion and losses in the transaction of their business. They communicated their objections to members of the Legislature. No bill was reported. Two years afterwards the Baptists renewed their application for a charter bearing the same title. To this title, and to *nothing else*, the officers of the Am. Bib. Soc. again objected. These objections were sent to a member of the Legislature enclosed in a sheet bearing the official signature of the Secretary, with the request that they should be laid before the Com.having charge of the application, as an official document. But in consequence of the objections being written on one sheet, and the signature on the other, only the former was laid before theCom. This, Dr. Babcock pronounced anonymous. No explanation being given the Com.reported a bill with the title asked for. Ascertaining these factsDrs.Brigham and Janes repaired to Albany, explained the circumstances to the Com.,held a conference with two Baptist gentlemen, one of them an officer of the Society, who agreed to procure the insertion of the word *Baptist* in the title. Dr. Babcock also assented to its insertion. (Minority Rep. of Com. 1845.) This charter the Baptists refused, and renewed their application, under the same title, in the session of 1844—5. The officers of the Am. Bib. Soc. then addressed a memorial to the Legislature in opposition to the *title*, and the title *only*, of the desired charter. In this memorial, the managers say expressly, "*they would offer no objection to the incorporation of the Society. They would ask or desire no more than that this new organization shall be required by a charter, if granted, to take a title that shall not mislead the benevolent public.*" The attempt has been made to shew that these objections were groundless. Dr. Cone says, "the pecuniary interests of the Am. Bib. Soc. have

never suffered one cent. For more than eight years the two societies, under their present names, have held on their way side by side, and have received no detriment. But the managers say in their memorial that owing to the similarity of names, letters and documents intended for one society find their way to the other. And money, in two instances at least, intended for the Am. Bib. Soc., has been paid to the Am. and For. (Bap.) Bib. Soc. and refunded. The minority of the Com. of the Legislature, in 1845, state a similar fact. The Committee say that "mistakes occur at the N. York Post-office, in regard to these societies (*because of the similarity of names,*) on an average, once a week." A bequest of 1000 dollars was, not long since, announced for the Am. and For. Bib. Soc. But the will was dated two years before that society was formed; and this showed that the Am. Bib. Soc. was meant. Had it been dated two years later, the money must have been paid to the Baptists' Society. And I have now before me a letter from an officer of the Am. Bib. Soc. stating that quite recently, an Episcopalian, who never had any thing to do with the Bib. Soc. of the Baptists, but had spoken decidedly against it, left a legacy of 500 dolls. for the Am. and For. Bible Soc. The circumstances of the case, shew clearly that it was intended for the Am. Bib. Soc. but the mistaken phraseology of the will, sends it irrecoverably to the coffers of the other. Such facts will show whether Dr. Cone's assertions or the Society's apprehensions are founded in truth. And they will show how far the charter which was granted to the Baptists, was "*mutilated*" and "*altered.*" The Com. of the Legislature say that the petitioners for a charter in 1844, asked to be called the Am. and For. Bib. Soc. and the Legislature in their wisdom saw fit to name them "The Am. and For. Baptist Bible Society." Not a word of complaint is made of anything besides that single word. No evidence is presented that the legislature changed one syllable of the provisions of the charter, or abated an iota of its powers. All they did was to insert the word "*Baptist,*" in the title. This might have made the *name* objectionable, but it is not easy to see how it could have "*mutilated*" and "*altered*" the charter. And it is very strange that the insertion of a single word in the title, (and that word a name in which the denomination glories,) should render the charter so offensive, that it could not be received, when for want of one, "*they have lost thousands of dollars bequeathed by Baptists, and thousands more are in jeopardy.*" And it is still more strange, that they should entertain so strong a preference for the names, belonging to those whose practice and principles they so loudly condemn. It would be naturally supposed that they would choose to be known by such names, that there would be no possibility of their being identified, in the public mind, in any way with the Am. Bib. Society or its auxiliaries. Yet they not only insist on taking a name very often applied to the Am. Soc. but they give to their auxiliaries the identical names of the auxiliaries of the Am. Bib. Soc. previously formed in the same places. Thus we have two Berkshire Co. Bible Societies, two Fall River Bible Societies, two Onondaga Co. Bible Societies, &c.—(N. Y. Evan. July 25, 1844.)

There *may be sound seasons*, for the adoption of this course, but it requires more than ordinary penetration to discover them. It is a tax too great for charity, to assign *good motives* for such measures. They cannot fail to operate injuriously to the Am. Bib. Soc. and its auxiliaries; and if they had been planned for that specific object, there could hardly have been a wiser adjustment of means to ends.

It may now be safely affirmed, that the inaccuracy of every allegation of the Agent implicating the honesty and integrity of the Am. Bib. Soc. has been fully demonstrated. Many of his statements do not contain a single element of truth, and those which do, present it distorted and disguised to all the purposes of falsehood. However firmly he may himself believe the charges he has made, he can never substantiate them in the estimation of any unprejudiced mind, cognizant of all the facts. Neither he, nor any other man can convert falsehood into truth.

And here we might leave "him alone in his glory," but there is one topic which requires a more extended notice than has been bestowed udon it in the preceeding remarks. I refer to the insinuations against the accuracy and fidelity of the common English version. The Agents and advocates of the Am. and For. (Bap.) Bib. Soc. have indulged in expressions respecting this version, that however intended, cannot fail to exert a disastrous influence upon the minds of those who confide in the correctnsss of their representations, A few of these expressions are here presented. Mr. Woolsey says that "a bible with the Greek words baptizo, baptisma, and their cognates, untranslated, *is a bible mutilated and disguised.*" In their Report for 1840, the Am. and For. (Bap.) Bib. Soc. speak of "*versions in which the real meaning is kept out of sight.*" The British and For. Bib. Soc., and the Am. Bib. Soc. are charged with combining *to obscure at least a portion* of the word of God." It is said that they circulate vsrsions *unfaithful*, at least so far as the subject of baptism is concerned. They say that baptists *cannot circulate faithful versions*, unless they print them at their own expense. And they intimate that the common version, imperfect as it is, is becoming still further corrupted by the Managers of the Am. Bib. Soc. Says Mr. Wyckoff, (p. 70,) "the patrons of that institution are probably little prepared to learn what liberties its Managers are taking with that which conveys 'the true divine meaning.' We might point to several *thousand* instances in which they have varied from the authorized editions of the English scriptures." It may be said that these are detached expressions, and do not afford a fair view of the meaning of their authors. If they can be placed in any connexion so as to imply respect and confidence in the common version, it may be said that those who have uttered them have been misrepresented. These statements are made to alienate confidence from the common English version, and to create a public sentiment that shall sanction the translation of Baptidzo and its cognates by immerse, in the English tongue. It can be intended for nothing else. And it is a melancholy instance of the rashness of sectarian zeal, that it will sooner subject the whole system of Christianity to suspicion, than fail of sustaining a favorite

dogma. The following facts derived from the 22d Report of the Am. Bib. Soc. will show "*what liberties*" the Managers have taken with the common version :

The printers of Oxford University published a fac simile of the 1st edition issued 1611. The Board procured one of these copies for the purpose of comparing it with the standard copy of the Soc'y. They appointed a supervising Com. of one from each denomination connected with the Society. A skilful proof reader was directed to compare the early and the modern copy word for word and note down all the discrepancies. Prof. Bush, editor of the Soc. publications was requested then to go through with the same, and learn when and where the changes commenced. The Com. then, each with a copy of some age in hand, carefully followed the editor and examined his investigations. The whole subject was then laid before the entire Board for their adjudication. While this laborious process has shewn that numerous variations between the early and present copies of the Eng. Bible do exist, it is also found that they pertain only to unimportant matters, such as capital letters, italics, punctuation, &c., in no case affecting the sense. Some slight changes only were made in consequence of this investigation.

The extent to which the common version covers up the meaning of words pertaining to baptism, may be learned from Alex. Campbell.— In his debate with Mr. Rice, (p. 62,) he says "so far as my peculiar tenets are involved, the common version and common sense are all sufficient. I ask no other earthly auxiliaries. If Mr. Rice dare risk his cause on that version of the scriptures read in his own church, I will meet him on that book alone, and from its grammatical construction, sustain not only the proposition before us, but every other doctrine I believe or teach."

Dr. Adam Clarke says those who have compared most of the European translations with the original have not scrupled to say that the Eng. translation of the Bible, made under direction of Jas. I, is the most accurate and faithful of the whole. The translators have seized the very spirit and soul of the original, and expressed this almost everywhere with pathos and energy." Our translators have not only made a standard translation, but they have made their translation the standard of our language. The English tongue in their day was not equal to such a work, but God enabled them to stand as upon Mt. Sinai, and crane up their country's language to the dignity of the originals, so that after a lapse of 200 years, the English Bible is with very few exceptions, the standard of the purity and excellence of the English tongue. The original from which it was taken is alone superior to the Bible translated by the authority of King James.

Prof. Stuart says "Ours, on the whole, is a most noble production, for the time in which it was made. The Divines of that day were very different Hebrew scholars from what most of their successors have been in England and Scotland. With the exception of Bp. Lowth's classic work on Isaiah, no other effort at translating, among the English Divines, will compare either in respect to taste, judgment, or sound under-

standing of Hebrew, with the authorised version.—See Horne's Int. vol. 2, pp. 38, 39, of Appendix.

In a speech delivered May 1837, by Rev. Th: Curtis, an English baptist, before the Am. Bib. Soc., he uses the following language:—

"That venerable body of 47 good and learned men, in the days of King James, who were the authors of this production, have had no successors. Not only has there been no combination of 47 such men since their day; there has been none of 10 men, notwithstanding all the conversation we have heard about alterations in the version. I have hunted the fact through all the books I could obtain in England, and by inquiries of all her clergy up to the archbishop of Canterbury, where is the record of ten learned men having ever met together for the purpose of revising the English translation of the Bible? Such a thing has never happened. While none say that it is perfect, or claim for it the authority of inspiration, this we will say, and say loudly, *let the version alone*, till men equally competent to the task, possessing not only equal learning but equal leisure, shall meet to review the labors of their forefathers. I repeat the monition, Let it alone, on the peril of your consistency and credit, and on the higher peril of a frown from the Lord of the church; I entreat you, *let it alone.*

I have paid some attention to the transmission of this version; I mean, by reprinting; having personally compared all the discrepancies in all the printed editions for the first fifty years. My intimate acquaintance with the errors of this transmission, as well as with the competency of less scholars than those who made it, emboldens me to say that we have had no three men in England, within the last 200 years, who would venture publicly on the task of revision. With the state of scholarship in this country, I do not pretend to be so well acquainted. I have but one more word to say. In the name of common sense and of Christian sense, to you, Sir, I say it humbly, but earnestly, LET IT ALONE.

A writer in the Baptist Christian Review remarks as follows:

"We shall rid ourselves of the suspicion of designing to occupy any middle ground, by proclaiming, *in limine*, our sincere and unchanged attachment to the good old English version made by the order of King James I. It is our heart's desire and prayer to God, that this venerable monument of learning, of truth, of piety, and of unequalled purity of style and diction, may be perpetuated to the end of time, just as we now have it. Let no daring genius meditate either change or amendment in its structure and composition; neither let any learned impertinence presume to disturb the happy confidence of the tens of thousands who now regard it as—next to the original languages—the purest vehicle through which the mind of the Holy Spirit was ever conveyed to mortals. Under God, and with God, we feel prepared to stand or fall with this consecrated instrument, known, and quoted, and familiarized, as the common standard version. Its errors and defects—fewer than those of any translation ever yet made—we impute to human imperfection- Its unrivalled excellence and accuracy we ascribe to the care and direction of divine Providence. We are not anxious to divest ourselves of the idea, that the translators, whatever their character

and motives may have been, were under the promptings and counsels of the Holy Spirit, in achieving the work which they gave to the world. By this, we mean not to intimate, that the gift of inspiration, in any peculiar sense, was their's; nor yet that they were so directed in choosing a form of words, as that the only expressive and suitable ones were in every case suggested; but this we do mean and insist upon, namely, that they were eminently fitted and qualified, by the unction of theDivine Spirit, for the performance of a work destined to exert a mightier influence over rational nature, than was ever before exerted by any human composition. We trust that its destiny is only yet in the incipiency of developement—that its past success and beneficial results are but the earnest of that widely diffused blessing which mankind are yet to receive through the medium of its luminous pages."

But a point has now been reached, at which an ungrateful task may be dismissed. It was undertaken from a sense of duty, and has been conducted with an honest purpose to elicit truth. If those whose aggressions created the necessity for this discussion, feel disposed to prosecute their own business, and enjoy their own opinions in peace, the Am. Bib. Soc. and its supporters will surely offer them no molestation. To them we accord freely, the same measure of religious liberty that we claim for ourselves. But every attempt to build up their Institutions on the ruins of ours we assuredly will repel. And still more firmly will we resist the attempt to destroy public confidence in *that version* of God's word, which we and our fathers have received and believed, as a most faithful communication of the mind and will of God's Holy Spirit. To all assailants of *that*, whether ranged under infidelity's black banner, or standing in the ranks of blind sectarianism, we will present, *now* and *ever*, unbending opposition. To all such we say, assail whatever else you please, but lay not rash hands upon the Bible. Rob us of whatever you choose, but take not from us the lamp of life. Break up all the foundations of civil society, dissolve all the bonds of social order, plunge the whole family of man in headless anarchy or heartless despotism; invade *nature's* dominions, and cast from her throne the Queen of night, and drag from his chariot the god of day, make earth dark and desolate as it was at the beginning; but leave the Bible, *unaltered and undoubted* till the last of Adam's race shall die.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

PEACE SOCIETY

OF HARTFORD COUNTY,

AT THEIR SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING

IN WEST-HARTFORD,

SEPT. 2, 1829.

BY REV. JOAB BRACE.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

HARTFORD,

PRINTED BY PHILEMON CANFIELD.

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1829.

ADDRESS.

ASSEMBLED in the house dedicated to the Prince of peace, we are now to unite in considering and cherishing the spirit of peace. Let us ascribe glory to God for our living in an age of the world, when so much is doing to promote the peace and happiness of man. The Bible is sent by hundreds of thousands, as the light of salvation shining in a dark place. Millions of Tracts are distributed to carry warning and consolation in their flight—the living teacher goes to invite the attention of men to the counsels of eternal truth—one association is calling to a greater sanctification of the Sabbath—another is endeavoring to prevent men from poisoning the fountains of life by intoxicating liquors—another is devising a method of liberating the miserable slaves, and all these institutions with their innumerable auxiliaries are producing a happy effect. Here we contemplate the Association for the promotion of peace leading to the abandonment of the implements of destruction, and urging mankind to learn war no more. From my soul I can wish you success, and pray God to bless your exertions, until man shall cease to butcher his brother.

Standing, as I now do, in this consecrated place, and recollecting the work to which I am devoted, I shall treat this subject, not as a worldly politician, although I would advance nothing but the principle of *true* policy for our nation, and the world—but I would discuss this matter, as a minister of the Gospel of Christ.

To accomplish this it will be my object in the following remarks, to expose the spirit of war, that by contrast you may feel the value of peace.

The fact that man ever contends with man is enough to strike a being governed by reason, with horror. But we are obliged to contemplate him, although originally formed in the

image of his Creator, capable of reasoning, feeling, and sympathising, descended from the same common parents, bound by the ties of brotherhood, yet *full of malice and envy, hateful and hating one another,* engaged in *wars and fightings, biting and devouring one another.* Ever since the club of Cain was raised to shed the blood of his brother, this world has been but little better than an Aceldama—a field of blood. Man has been so savage to man, that the ties of brotherhood and affection have been cut asunder, and the nations of the earth have successively appeared like demons of blood, whitening their fields with their bones, fattening them with carnage, and reddening the ocean with gore. The fires of the pit have raged in the bosom of man till the history of this world is little else than the history of one vast hospital of woe. In the wars of Europe during the eleven years previous to 1813, it is estimated that five millions and eight hundred thousand human beings were hurried into eternity, by this awful scourge in the hand of an angry God. Add to these, two hundred thousand, the expense of the American Revolution, and at least five hundred thousand, from 1813 to the general peace of Europe, the uncounted thousands which have fallen in the recent struggle of Greece, and the many thousands more which are adding in the present conflict between Russia and Turkey, and we have an amount of loss, misery and death, which can be calculated only, when the scroll of eternity shall be unrolled.

My brethren, I cannot this afternoon lead you over the field of Waterloo, through roads so choked with dead bodies as to be almost impassable, where are thousands of the wounded who cannot be received into any house, but must perish in a helpless condition, their features swollen by the sun and rain, their faces livid and bloated, dashed and trampled upon by wounded and maddened horses, whose riders are among the slain ; some blind, some crushed, some gasping for breath, and crying for water to assuage their fevered agony, without a hand to administer it ; blooming and vigorous youth thus swept away from wives, children, and parents, far from home, by this besom of destruction ! Some whose sensibility and humanity are dead, are stripping the slain, and chiseling out their teeth for mercenary purposes, others are throwing them

by heaps into holes and pits where they are only partially covered with earth, while the hands and feet of some are still seen above the surface of the ground. I say I cannot now lead you over this field, where war hath collected his victims of misery, and death has been so busy in shoveling mortality into the grave; and if I could do so, you would see but a slight specimen of the horrors of war.

It is the opinion of those who have most thoroughly examined the subject, that more have been slain in war than now dwell on all the face of the earth, that is, more than eight hundred millions murdered by their brethren. But no numbers can compute, and no language can describe the miseries of war; and if this spirit is to grow with the growing population of this Republic, the scenes of Smolensko, and Berezina, and Moscow, and Waterloo, will be reacted with augmented horrors amid the peaceful villages, and beautiful hills and vallies of our own country. Happy indeed is the influence which you are exerting to cause these evils to be anticipated, and to awaken that benevolence which shall forever remove the scourge of war from the earth.

There is no calamity so afflictive and desolating in this miserable world, as war. When three most terrible evils were proposed to David, one of which he must inevitably suffer, he chose pestilence at the hand of God rather than vengeance from man, although he had himself been one of the most courageous and successful commanders the world ever saw. War is itself the offspring of iniquity, and the father of crimes. It is an evil of man's voluntary choice—a favourite occupation, full of glory and triumph, exceedingly gratifying to his unsanctified ambition. Search the whole history of mankind, and bring together all the causes of war which have ever been assigned, allowing the facts as they have been stated, and you shall not find one in a hundred, and perhaps not one in a thousand, that will bear a vindication before the bar of common justice.

What is the disposition which excites the admiration of generals in the men whom they command? Is it gentleness and benevolence of soul? No: it is a hardened contempt of death—the fury of the blood-hound and the tiger—a passion which he can chafe to deeds of savageness and murder.

These are "the dogs of war" trained for the cruel purpose of hunting and tearing the prey, which the chief can madden and let loose upon the victims of his wrath. The spirit of war is the demon raging from the bottomless pit, breathing his venom into the heart of man, and is surrounded by a legion of minor spirits, such as selfishness, hatred, malice, cruelty, and revenge, all of whom warm and thrive under his banners. I am speaking of the spirit which leads and manages, in this work of death, rather than of the disposition of those who are dragged into combat by dire necessity and the arm of power. The monster has his claims written on his lofty brow—You possess that which I want. I have superior force, and therefore have right; for power and right are synonymous terms, in my vocabulary, and I will write my claim in blood. I covet your place and power, and hate your person. If you send your children, your friends, and allies for defence, my legions shall lay them dead at my feet. I should rejoice to see your whole race extinguished, and I feel myself authorized to do it. If by stratagem and lying I can destroy, I shall glory in my skill. There is not a wish in my heart for your prosperity, or your existence, and be assured I have no pity for your sufferings. It would afford satisfaction to my soul to see all the blood of your millions flowing in warm rivers upon the earth. My success in the execution of my schemes depends on my triumphing over you; and my glory will be advanced in proportion as I can defeat your power, and obtain your property, and crush your nation. I should rejoice to see the very elements contending against you, and to have God himself pour out his vengeance upon you.

The leaders in war trample without hesitation upon all the laws of God, cherish impiety and profaneness, lay waste the privileges and occupations of the holy Sabbath, shame the face of wisdom and age, and pour blasting and mildew upon the family circle. Instead of regarding the precept, *Thou shalt not kill*, their order is, "kill as many as you can." Instead of preventing false witness, and robbery, and impurity, they invite the deep laid plot of deception, that they may kill and destroy at unawares. They sanction, and even enjoin the utmost extent of rapine and plunder, and overwhelm

communities with pollution and the most horrible crimes. Their taste is to be sought in the fountains of all evil. *From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?*

Human depravity is never so clearly illustrated, nor so awfully exhibited as by war. Poetry is not fiction when it says,

> "There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart;
> "It does not feel for man."

I might present innumerable facts to shew that it quenches every kindling of pity, but will select only a few. "Col. Kirke, in the reign of James II. after Monmouth's invasion, Kirke, who had contracted an inhumanity, at which the heart recoils, on his first entry into Bridgewater, hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. Again, for mere sport he ordered a number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of chief justice Jefferies. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he exclaimed, I will give you music to your dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound." On another occasion, by way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung three times, questioning him in the intervals concerning his motives, and his purposes, and finding him unmoved, he at last fastened him up in chains. You may see his consummate treachery, added to his barbarity, in the following case. "A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence bathed in tears could bestow upon her. He promised to grant her request, on certain conditions; but notwithstanding the sacrifice of what was more valuable than life itself, the wanton savage next morning shewed her from the window her brother hanging in a gibbet, which he had caused to be secretly erected for the purpose of this execution. Rage, and despair, and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her forever of her senses." Hu. 8. ch. 70. 1685. p. 232.

While the military hand butchered by multitudes, chief justice Jefferies, in the most arbitrary manner, condemned to

execution two hundred and fifty persons, and some of them even women. This is only as one drop to the ocean.

In the Journal of the Count De Las Cases, Napoleon says of himself, "I will mention one circumstance, to shew for what trivial causes men sometimes abuse the authority on which the fate of their fellow creatures depends; for I am no worse than the rest. I was walking one day with the Representative's wife inspecting our positions in the neighborhood of the Col de Tende, when I suddenly took into my head to give her an idea of an engagement; and for this purpose ordered the attack of an advanced post. We were the conquerors it is true; but the affair could be attended by no advantage. The attack was a mere whim, and yet it cost the lives of several men. I have never failed to reproach myself whenever I look back on this affair." V. 1: p. 37. 1815.

In the civil wars of France, usually denominated the Revolution, the spirit of war seemed to draw the sword of cruelty, and throw away the scabbard. Within four days, four thousand men and women were brought from the prisons, where they had been just gathered for this purpose, and without judge or jury, murdered by male and female butchers. The streets ran with blood, and artificial drains were dug to carry it off. Mobs of both sexes paraded the streets with the heads of victims on their pikes, wearing human ears on their hats for cockades, while the children catching the murderous spirit followed, having their pikes loaded with the heads of cats.

It matters not what religion the warrior professes. He has the same deadness of sensibility in all circumstances. In 1756, a warrior chief confined one hundred and forty-six English prisoners, most of whom had been wounded in battle, in a room only eighteen feet square, and surrounded by thick walls, and though under a burning sun, having scarcely a place where the air could enter. The cries of these poor men melted the stony hearts of the soldiers, and induced them to go and implore the compassion of the chief. But he was asleep, and according to his laws of war, it was death to awake him. The consequence was, that one hundred and twenty three of these unfortunate men perished in the Black

Hole, and not a tear was shed over them till the tidings reached England.

Poor human reason once sat down on the throne of France amid the groans of millions, and as she looked abroad over the land, she saw the whole nation weltering in blood, with not a ray of comfort for this life, and not a hope for the next. This was a general effect of cherishing the spirit of war; but if the description is too general, and too indistinct, take a single example. A part of the army of infidels was led by Bonaparte into Egypt. It was after one of the battles fought on the plains of Egypt, that an officer walked over the field of death. In his walk he found one of these infidel soldiers lying beside a dying Arab. They were both mortally wounded. The French soldier was raised on one knee, and had seized the dying Arab by the throat, and was strangling him with his hand. Why, says the officer, why are you, who are just dying yourself—why are you strangling that dying man? Ah! says the soldier, looking up without letting go his deadly grasp, you who are to live can take much comfort in killing them; but for me, this is the last sweet work I shall ever do. With these words he fell in death, still holding the dying man by the throat, who also expired at the same moment, and their souls went together before the Great God in judgment!

But it is time for me to shew how this spirit appears when viewed in the light of the Gospel. Consider first of all, the character of the great Captain of our salvation. He came as a King upon the holy hill of Zion, and his business was to establish an empire on earth which should be everlasting; but this was not to be effected by fire and sword. *My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight—but now is my kingdom not from hence.* When James and John were inclined to command fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans for their prejudice and inhospitality, *Jesus turned and rebuked them, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save.* And when Peter in his zeal drew his sword and began to smite in

defence of his Master, *Jesus said, put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.*

Examine the genius of the Saviour's religion, and you find it altogether contrary to that of war, and *if any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.* I confess my surprise that this contrariety has not been more distinctly seen, and more deeply felt among christians ! Why is not a fighting christian as absurd a character as a drunken christian ? Did Christ ever pronounce a blessing upon anger, and wrath, and malice ? He said, *Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth* Did he ever tell his followers to harden their hearts with scenes of blood and cruelty ? He declared, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* Did he enjoin it upon his friends to be haughty, to love strife, and be ready to avenge themselves ? He proclaimed, *Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.* An excellent motto, my brethren, for the Peace Society. Act according to this rule, and you have the blessing of Jesus Christ, and you shall be a blessing to the world. The Gospel requires a disposition directly contrary to the avenging temper of the world. Human nature cries, "revenge is sweet," I will have satisfaction, I will render to the man according to his desert. The Lord Jesus replies, *love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.* These directions carried into effect would soon fulfil the predictions of the prophets who foretold that *nation shall no more lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* They would deter us from educating our sons to be manslayers, and cause them all to speak in the language of a pious youth, "I had rather be an angel than a general, and I fear there is but little chance of being both, and I had rather save life than take it away; for Jesus Christ said to his disciples that *he came into the world, not to destroy men's lives, but to save ;* and I had rather be like Christ than like Alexander the great, and I am sure I cannot be like both."

Let us look for a moment at the monstrous incongruity between the passion for war and the christian temper. If we must have wars, between whom shall they be waged? Shall christian nations under the banner of Jesus Christ, the same Master and Lord, take up the weapons of violence, and slaughter each other, each praying to the same Head for success against the other? *Is Christ divided?* Are we to prove our love by asking him to aid us in the destruction of his friends? Or shall christian nations lift up the sword against the uncivilized, and the unchristianized, and cut them off from time and all the means of salvation, instead of sending to them the word of eternal life? Is this the way to shew how much we love their souls, and how earnestly we are engaged to promote their temporal and eternal well-being? Where is the pity, or compassion, or benevolence in the disposition which leads us to destroy the property and life of our fellow men? *Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret: unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel.*

I will suppose you are a meek and peaceful christian, and are preparing to fight an unconverted enemy. Can you enter your closet and pray for the divine blessing upon *him*, and yet ask God to espouse *your* cause against him? Are you taking measures to *convert the sinner from the error of his way, to save his soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins?* You go forward with your weapon of destruction and strike him to the heart, and this, to retrieve the wounded honour of your country, or to recover lost property, or to execute vengeance for national wrongs. He falls under the weight of your indignation, and thus you make his wife a widow, and his children fatherless—you cut him off from the privilege of ever opening the Bible again—you prevent his calling upon God for mercy—you send him down to everlasting torment and despair—you are the immediate occasion of his perishing in his sins, under wailing and gnashing of teeth, to eternity! Will the recollection of this exploit add comfort to your life? Will the destruction of your fellow crea-

ture, sweeten your own dying hour? Will your bosom swell with more thrilling joy in heaven because you have sunk that wretched soul into the deeps of hell?

But often, since the Prince of Peace began his reign, have nations receiving his religion engaged in bloody combat, with a fury threatening absolute extermination. Here then, according to the supposition, you have the christian warring against the christian--a brother in Christ of one nation lifting up his destroying hand against the brother in the other nation. What a spectacle! Men whose supreme affections are placed on the same Master--men who are renewed by the same Holy Spirit--men who rejoice to come to the same sacramental table--actuated by the same spirit of brotherly love--praying for the same objects--and yet meeting on the deadly field and butchering each other, then going to appear before the judgment seat of Christ, to hear him say, *well done, good and faithful servants, enter into the joy of your Lord*, and engage in the everlasting song! Alas, brethren, it is not such that have the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and that shall carry the palms of victory in the triumph of the Messiah.

Let a Marius, or a Cæsar draw up an army composed entirely of such men as Richard Baxter, Jonathan Edwards, and David Brainerd, men of their deep humility, of their compassion for souls, of their regard for the happiness of mankind, of their sense of eternity, of their heavenly feeling; and then let the proud chieftain address them in the common martial harrangue, promising victory, revenge and plunder. What would be the effect upon those holy minds? The leader endeavours to rouse them to vengeance for insults and indignities; but they are ready to forgive. He labours to fire their ambition by the expectation of treading their opponents in the dust; but they are meekly and humbly praying for the salvation of their souls. He talks to them of renown in future ages; but they are thinking on the day where *all must appear before the judgment seat of Christ*, and on *the honour which cometh from God only*. How great would be his mortification to perceive that these men are governed by another spirit, that the usual excitements of military eloquence reach not their hearts, and the strings do not vibrate to this earthly

touch. There is a remarkable illustration of this diversity of feeling, in the case of the celebrated warrior, Prince Eugene, and Blackader, a prayerful christian in his army. Eugene exulted in his own glory—Blackader lamented over the desolations as exhibiting the wrath of God against sin—Eugene without commiseration for human suffering, rejoiced in his laurels—Blackader retired in agonizing prayer to the God of mercy.

The Christian Observer, which as a whole, has certainly maintained the christian spirit, shews us how lamentably unlike the Gospel have been the feelings even of christians. During our last war, they gravely speak of rejoicing at the capture of our ships, and of having their high joy damped, when the tidings came that we had conquered one of their ships, when at the same time they were undoubtedly praying for this christian land, and for all their enemies!

Observe too how a christian nation regards the mere conqueror. They announce him coming surrounded by a wreath of glory, with the shout, the bells, and the cannon's roar. He is caressed, honoured, rewarded, and is the nation's idol the remainder of his life. He has sacked towns, burned cities, desolated countries, caused thousands of thousands of bosoms to ache; and for this he lives like a god, and when he dies, a kingdom exhausts itself in admiration and praise. A proud monument tells of his glory, and not only so, but the historian, the poet, and the orator, find no difficulty in sending him directly to heaven. Angels are represented as hovering over him to carry his soul to glory, all the heavenly hosts bend in adoration, as the hero enters the gates of the New Jerusalem. His nod may be the passport to greatness, and he may be recollected among men as divine. But does God thus view this character? Open the word of God and how does he there appear when dying! *Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming. The kings of the nations speak and say, Art thou also become weak as we? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee. How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground that didst weaken the nations! Is this the man that made the earth to*

tremble, that did shake kingdoms? that made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the house of his prisoners? But thou art cast out like an abominable branch, as a carcase trodden under feet. There shall not enter the New Jerusalem any thing that defileth; for without are dogs, and sorcerers, and murderers, and all liars, and they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire for ever and ever.

To place the hero in a true light I would exhibit him in comparison with the apostle Paul. The conqueror thought his own glory advanced, in proportion as he poured destruction over those whom he styled his enemies. Paul gloried in the cross of Christ, employing all his talents in saving souls from death. The conqueror exults over his ten thousands slain. Paul in humble adoration rejoices with the millions of millions brought home to glory by means of his preaching and his writings. The honour of all the worldly conquerors that have lived on the globe will not, in eternity, compare with the value of a single sentence in the Epistles of this holy man. It will probably appear, in the future retribution, that God had made Paul a greater benefactor of the human family than any other man that had an existence. How much more desirable to be a good soldier of Jesus Christ, contending against sin, and leading souls to heaven, than a servant of war to enlarge the dominions of temporal ruin and eternal death.

My Brethren, what effect do these considerations produce in your minds? Can you not feelingly say, O that man might no longer be an enemy to man, and that wars might never be heard of any more. But, do you ask, what can we do? Can we use any influence to advance so desireable a consummation? I wish I had time to say what I had proposed concerning the remedy for war, but I may not ask your attention, at this time, except to a hasty glance.

You may say it is needless thus to dwell on the nature of war; for all are ready to acknowledge the evil. I suspect the evil has been continued by not being sufficiently known; and if so, the more its awfulness is displayed, the greater will be the fear and opposition of the common mass of people who always suffer the weight of distress which war brings, and who alone have the power of preventing wars. This sub-

ject has not been sufficiently examined, and I hope it is reserved for Peace Societies to enlighten the mind, to gain the attention, and to change the feelings and practice of men, by the gospel of Christ. This great calamity is not altogether beyond our reach, either to promote, or to restrain.

I will indicate the way in which you can exert your influence to good effect. Resist the beginnings. We sow poison in the earliest years, by leading our children to admire generals, and battles, and heroes, filling their souls with martial ardour, and leading them to burn with ambition for the splendour and glory of a military life. We array our son in warlike dress, arm his hands with weapons, teach him to swell and boast, and praise him by saying, "You are a brave fellow, and will make a bold soldier." We name to him the great conquerors of past times, shew their pictures and monuments, talk of their achievments, and make him feel what a glory, to be brave and fight like them. Fired with unrelenting ambition, he heeds not the wounds, and blood, and death which these heroes have caused, he overlooks the tears of the orphan, the poverty and groans of the widow, the fruit of such brave deeds. At the music and the glare of the martial parade, his heart leaps with a joy which the voice of eternal salvation never gave him. He feels the general passion for military titles, and considers years of toil and large amounts of property well compensated in having his ears daily saluted by some honorary and cheering appellation. In the history of man, which, alas, is little but the history of fightings, he contemplates the warrior as most admired, and here he dwells on the successes and praises of the conqueror, rather than on the miseries which follow in his train. He even wishes that a war might be enkindled and two nations overwhelmed in woe, for the laudable purpose of affording him the chance of gathering laurels in the field of honour.

Nothing more effectually produces the passion for war than those festivals, and celebrations in honour of conquerors, those processions, triumphal arches, wreaths, ladies waving their white handkerchiefs, the cannon roaring, the multitude shouting—all tending to inspire the youthful breast with insatiable ardour for fighting and warlike renown. The character involved in learning, in political wisdom, and even in re-

ligion itself is lighter than air, when weighed with the single appellation of hero! It is stated by a traveller of undoubted veracity, that the accidental passing of Lord Nelson through the streets of London drew a greater crowd of admiring spectators, than the progress of the chariot of Royalty itself, and so highly was he venerated by the nation as to cause even the throne to tremble.

This popular admiration of the principal actors in scenes of blood, and these applauses of the wise, and the fair, form an enticement absolutely irresistable, to the ambitious disposition of man. These enchanting praises render the aspiring youth eager for sieges and battles, without stopping to inquire whether war be right or wrong, and without regarding the temporal and eternal misery which it brings. *They love the praise of men more than the praise of God.* While they are "seeking the bubble reputation even in the cannon's mouth", and for renown exposing themselves "in the imminent deadly breach", they are spurred on and sustained in those deeds of daring, by the expectation of being covered with glory, and of having their names descend with eclat to the latest generations. The wheels of national governments move as if for the very purpose of raising a host of young warriors, and public feeling is directed to the fostering of this diabolical ambition. Senates, and Parliaments, and Congresses give the largest treasures and the highest honours to the warrior, and the public sentiment supports these measures. Now if this popular feeling can be turned, by the influence of Peace Societies, and can be made to roll its mighty tide against the passion for war, it will sweep away those monuments and inscriptions of antiquity which blazon the glory of the destroyer, and it will bless the world with a new era of peace. No contagion is so easily spread, or so sure as ambition, and this poison has received power and pungency from the labours of poets and orators, who, having selected their own subjects, and having lived in distant ages and countries, have chosen to employ their brightest talents in giving fame to the destroyers of mankind. How many writers of his own exploits, says Cicero, had that great Alexander about him, and even this conqueror himself standing in Sigeum at the tomb of Achilles, exclaimed, "But for that Iliad of Homer, the same sepulchre

which covered the body of the hero, would eternally have overwhelmed his name." It is thought that Alexander himself formed his character from the representation of Achilles; and it is not improbable that Pompey, and Cæsar, and Napoleon, derived their talents, and their celebrity, from the same school. For this "ambition", according to the Roman orator, "seeks no other reward of its deeds than commendation and glory; and this being taken away, what is there which can excite us to noble undertakings?" It is easy therefore to see that our fault lies in bestowing a wrong education upon our children, and encouraging a wrong and corrupt sentiment in the bosom of men.

An effectual remedy for all wars is proposed by the Association, in behalf of which, I am this day speaking. This remedy is nothing less than the benevolence which the Gospel breathes. The Peace Society calls upon all persons under the light of Christianity to treat war as Jesus Christ treated it, and if their voice is heard and answered, the work is done. This Society has for its object the promotion of permanent and universal peace; and it wishes to be the means of exciting inquiry, and of rousing all Christians to act according to the rule which their Master has given. This benevolent object, and the operations which have been commenced, promise unspeakable good, and they may well encourage all who love the happiness of mankind to add their influence. There is a Peace Society in England, whose object is to shew that war is inconsistent with Christianity and the true interests of mankind, and whose operations are to be extended to the whole human race. The twelfth Report of that Society exhibits a multitude of auxiliaries, throughout the kingdom, and has between thirty and forty pages filled with names of subscribers. There is also the Hibernian Peace Society, and the Peace Society in France. There is a national Peace Society in the United States, strengthened by auxiliaries in various states, and a large number of counties in the several states. These Societies are patronized by men of great weight of character, and by some who stand near the thrones of kings. Let this regard for peace prevail in these countries among all those who profess to act on christian principle, and it will prevent the dreadful spectacle of

christian nations waging war with each other. These Societies are rapidly exciting and augmenting this feeling, and who will not bid them God-speed?

Enlighten the public mind on this subject, and every Church will at once feel that by the very constitution of the Gospel it is itself a Peace Society, and ought to act accordingly. To bring wars to a perpetual end, let our families and schools be instructed to consider them as contrary to the doctrine of Christ. Begin at the nursery, and follow the child to the graduation of college, and at every step shew him the enormity of war, lest he be deceived by the false glare of its triumphs and glories. Train your children in the principles of Christ, and they will possess the peaceable temper of the Millennium. Abhorrence of war must begin with the common population and go up to the halls of legislation, and then it will no longer be said—

> "Earth is sick,
> And heaven is weary of the hollow words
> Which states and kingdoms utter, when they speak
> Of truth and justice."

History ought to be searched, and the records of revenge and ambition, and crime, drawn out and circulated in pamphlets, that the utter inconsistency between the feelings of war and the religion of Christ may be seen and felt. The Newspapers and periodicals of our land, and the press universally ought to raise their voices, and breathe the temper of the Gospel of the blessed God. I could wish suitable works might be prepared for Sabbath Schools, and the whole population of christian countries so enlightened on this subject, that rulers, if they would fight, must fight alone.

You are aware that our age is distinguished for religious charities. Many look upon these with a cold eye, who profess to be the friends of peace. For myself, I believe, if a tenth part of the money heretofore expended in wars were to be applied to the spreading of the Gospel, *the dark places of the earth now full of the habitations of cruelty* and blood, would become *like the garden of the Lord*, and the blessings of peace would fill the world. I trust I have said enough to shew that those who carry the Bible to the heathen, must and will carry the antidote to wars. Already has the red warri-

or of the wilderness laid down his hatchet and tomahawk, and exchanged the war-whoop for the song,—*Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace!* The isles of the ocean have waited for his law, and received it, and the war-club is laid aside for the book of salvation, and the arts and comforts of civilized life. No weapon of death must be found in the hand of the Missionary—no deceit of the Jesuit must be in the heart of the messenger of truth and mercy. The kingdoms of the earth must, and will turn their eyes towards our country, and bless and revere our name—not because they fear the thunder of our cannon, but because our warriors fight only against sin, under the standard of peace and salvation. I cannot forbear to give my decided testimony against any system of operations to spread the Gospel, which will require the heralds of the cross to gird on the panoply of war, and to be placed in such circumstances as were Lott Carey and his companions, when the hand of death hurried them into eternity. The treaty of William Penn, which convinced the Indians that fighting and violence made no part of his system, was the policy of true wisdom, in this respect, and would be equally successful with all our Missionaries to heathen nations. Let them go forth in the confidence of Ezra, who under the dim light of the Jewish dispensation *was ashamed to require a band of soldiers*, in visiting Jerusalem, and rebuilding the temple of the Lord.

How can wars be avoided when differences arise between nations which they cannot compose by mutual agreement? I reply; if nations can be brought to feel that wars are odious, and criminal, the case will hardly occur in which such controversy might not be amicably adjusted. And even if they could not, the dispute might be settled by a mutual reference or arbitration, as easily, certainly, as in the case of individuals. The mode of settling the boundaries between the United States and Great Britain, at the present time, by referring to a sovereign in Europe, is an example of what I mean. Rational beings may be guided by justice and reason in settling difficulties; but tigers and bears must settle theirs by brutal fightings.

I have not discussed the wars of extermination of the Old Testament; for they were an exception to all wars. They

were ordered by the special command of God, and the Jewish armies were merely executioners in his hand. It would be as proper to burn and destroy, because God does so by his lightnings, and winds, and floods, as to shed blood because he cut off the wicked Canaanites by the sword of man. Let it be clearly proved that you have a divine commission for war, and then we will give you the praise of doing your duty as executioners; and no other praise ought any warrior to have. Neither have I discussed the question of defence; for if we can prevent the wars of ambition, and conquest, and revenge, the whole system of fighting is at an end.

My brethren and friends, you have great encouragement to go forward in your work of love. Your design commends itself to the minds of the reflecting and good in many nations, and is continually going forward and gaining strength. The advance of education will do away these relics of barbarity. The advance of the Gospel will cause men to cease from wars. And the circulation of the Bible will muster "the sacramental host of God's elect", and *the people shall be made willing in the day of Christ's power*, and the Prince of peace clad in the panoply of holiness shall fill the world with peace. Go on, then, spread your publications, hold your meetings, diffuse knowledge, speak to the heads and hearts of Christians, and the disposition for peace will prevail. Thus will you *pursue the things which make for peace*, which is the commandment of God. In this way you will aid in bringing forward the reign of peace, *when nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares—when the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and there shall be nothing to hurt or offend in all God's holy mountain.* I have only to add my fervent prayers with yours, that the river of peace and salvation may extend and flow through all lands, and that all the nations may drink thereof.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SOCIETY OF ALUMNI

OF

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

August 25, 1840.

BY REV. A. K. WRIGHT.

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ADDRESS.

It is said of Coleridge, that his emotions at revisiting the University of Cambridge in his old age, were at first overwhelming. He could not speak for an hour; and yet his feelings were, on the whole, very pleasurable, and the three days which he spent at the hallowed spot, he describes as having been passed in the highest possible enjoyment. Similar emotions may be experienced under similar circumstances generally, even by men of lower pretensions in respect to sensibility and aptness for refined excitement. There are few if any attachments *to place* more strong than that which is felt by the graduates of a beloved College, to the institution to which they are indebted for their literary character, and their introduction into the literary world. The heart may have become, after years of conflict and strife with the adverse influences of earth, ardently alive to other interests, and fastened to other objects; it may cherish with kindling emotions great projects about to be executed, and fond hopes never to be realized; with which things the breast of the man of science and letters is usually surcharged well nigh to bursting,—yet when the doors of his Alma Mater are opened, and the opportunity presents, how joyfully does he leave all behind, and come back to her bosom,

"Like a bird that seeketh its mother's nest,"

choosing not to remember, for the while, that the Spirit of Change has been as busy with those seats of Science as with the wide world around him; and that the favorite halls, though thronged and reverberating still, have become wonted now to other footsteps, and give him a home no longer.

And here are we, the Alumni of this rising Institution, whose anniversary scenes are before us;—not the fiftieth or hundredth generation of her sons, but the first generation—the early *samples* of her work—the first products of her industrious skill; returned once more to the nursery where we were cherished, to greet each other again, and receive fresh impulses in the path of useful effort, and fresh excitement of interest in the welfare, both of each other and the Institution we love to honor. And though we would not be found claiming

for ourselves a prominent place, in connection with these anniversary scenes, we ask the indulgence of this enlightened assembly, while, for our own gratification, and now for the first time in this public manner, we cast our eye back upon the few eventful years that have passed since these halls were opened to receive the oldest of our number; and bring up to our remembrance the faces and forms with which we were here familiar;—some of which are now hidden in the grave, and others scattered throughout the land and world, to meet us here no more. We will detain you with the view, but for a moment.

It is now ten years since this Institution began to send forth her sons; and their number has been yearly increased, by very small additions, to the present time. They have gone forth from her doors hitherto, not with the encouraging influence of a well-tried and famous stamp, to give them an introduction to the cautious public, but with the nobler advantage of being *specimens*, to be used and tried, and with the animating, invigorating conviction that interests beyond their own,—interests valued, as I trust, far higher than the dearest of their own; even the interests of Alma Mater herself,—were to no slight extent dependent on their success.

The band that first went forth was small, but the day of their departure was one to be remembered, especially by the founders and patrons of the Institution, as a time when the fruits of discouraging and laborious toil began to appear. The College had been established under embarrassing circumstances, and consecrated, as its seal bears witness, TO CHRIST AND THE CHURCH: and here were the young men that had been first raised up, now going forth to the world, in whose well-known Christian character, and the vows they had caused to be registered on high, might be read the same seal—TO CHRIST AND THE CHURCH. They went forth, but not all to the field for which specifically they had been trained. At the very door of their entrance upon the work of preaching the Gospel of Christ, two of the four were removed from the church below to the purer one above. The two that survive are about their Master's work.

The second class of graduates was still smaller, consisting only of two, who are yet among the living. Of the third I was myself a member. We went forth like the first, a band of four; and one of our number, on the very threshhold also of the sacred office, has since been called away from earth.

The classes that succeeded have been larger. In 1833, there were seven; two, and perhaps four of whom are preaching Christ,—one among the native tribes of the Pacific coast, beyond the mountains of

the West. The graduates of 1834 were eight in number. One of these, having just entered upon the practice of the Legal profession under promising circumstances, has recently been called away, as we believe, to a better world. The savor of his name will be sweet, and his memory cherished in the College for years yet to come, for he was one of its brightest ornaments. Five of the remaining are employed as preachers of the Gospel of reconciliation, and two are members of the Bar. Of the seven who graduated in 1835, three are in the sacred office, one of whom is a missionary on the other side of the globe. The class of 1836, five in number, are all preachers of the everlasting Gospel. And if a single exception be made, we may say the same of their five immediate successors, graduates of 1837. There is no occasion that I should trace the catalogue farther.*

If it were my object at this time to commend the Institution to the favorable regards of this enlightened assembly, and if I were not myself one of its Alumni, still it would not become me to discuss the character of those who have gone forth from these doors,—or the question whether, through them, benefits have been, or will be, conferred on the public. Much less can such a discussion be admissible under circumstances like the present. Let it be simply suggested, that a period of time by no means sufficient has yet elapsed to determine, whether the fruits produced during the first ten years of the existence of this College, will be, on the whole, valuable, or hurtful to the world. The fact may, however, be noticed, as one that must be peculiarly gratifying to its founders and patrons, that a majority of the whole number of its graduates, have either already entered, or are about entering into that office which it was their prime object to fill,—I mean the office of the Christian Ministry. And the same remark may doubtless be made, after another class shall have been added to our number.

No train of thought could be more natural on an occasion like the present, than that suggested by a consideration of the objects aimed at in the opening of these Halls of Science. To one of these, and the chief, I have already alluded. It was, the promotion of the interests of religion in this newly inhabited region, by increasing the number of her faithful and well furnished advocates. The other, subsidiary, and altogether subordinate to this, was, to elevate the standard of knowledge and intelligence, and create an intellectual atmosphere, that should diffuse an invigorating, healthful influence, throughout at least this portion of our commonwealth and nation.

* See Appendix.

And I shall not be considered presumptuous if I improve the present opportunity by discussing, in a very general manner, these subjects, and considering some of the circumstances which call for especial efforts directed to the attainment of these ends.

I. That the first of these objects demands especial efforts on the part of Christian patriots and philanthropists, no one will question whose eyes have been opened to discover the intrinsic value, I will not now say, of personal piety, but of our National Religion.* We are pledged as a nation to maintain before the world a *Christian character*, and the very basis of our national fabric is found in the system of truth revealed by Jesus Christ. From the first of our national existence we have named the Christian name; aye, and we have been proud of that name. In every National Council and Legislative Assembly, and in every Judicial Court, we have called Christ *our Lord*. Our years are reckoned from the time of his advent. We have drawn our foundation principles and rules of morality from his Gospel. By statutory provisions we have sustained his worship, and protected his Temples. In distinction from Heathen or Mohammedan, we have openly and boldly declared ourselves to be a *Christian* nation, and claimed to be recognized as such, among the nations of the earth:—and this has been our glory.

And in this particular we are not among those "who glory in their shame." If there be ought that may be justly prized in our National Domain, above the inheritance of Pagans, we owe it to this peculiarity of our institutions,—that, instead of being based on shadows and fables, and pervaded by the debasing and lying spirit of superstition, and holding the people under its degrading bondage and withering power, they are based upon the righteous and immutable principles of Christianity, and to a greater or less extent pervaded by its

* Since the delivery of the Address, it has been announced in the public papers that "Mr. Wright's theme was, the blessings conferred by *Alma Mater*, and her sister institutions upon the *Cauch of Christ*," &c.—[Ohio Observer of August 27, also Oberlin Evangelist of September 9.] I regret the occurrence of this mistake, not simply because it is an incorrect account of my theme, but it gives me reason to fear that the chief design of the Address has been misapprehended by those who heard it. It would indeed afford me pleasure to pursue the theme here suggested and attributed to me. But such was by no means my intention on this occasion. I chose to present the claims of *Christianity* as a national inheritance, and the crown of our country's glory, on which every American interest is dependant, and urge the favorable bearing of our literary institutions upon the NATIONAL RELIGION (for it is a foul slander to say that we have none) as an argument for the liberal maintenance of these institutions. I chose to stand for this once as the humble advocate of civil and national interests, and not of those which are exclusively ecclesiastical.

elevating and ennobling spirit—that spirit which alone can properly waken up, and enliven, and clothe with godlike dignity and glory again, the heaven-born soul of man. And it is the same spirit of Christianity, diffused like leaven through our whole civil and social system, that gives us the peace that we enjoy, and the uninterrupted prosperity, both as a nation and as individual citizens. It comes not indeed with outward pomp, and show, and noise; and yet we feel its influence and are glad. It comes in at our windows like the dove with an olive leaf. It meets us at the fireside, and fans us with the breath of Heaven. It allays the tumult of disquieting emotions, and gives a calm serenity and rest to the troubled spirit. It watches over the pillow where we sleep, and gilds with beauty and glory the returning day. It hallows all our social attachments, and renders them the pure sources of our joy; and yet soothes and comforts us when those attachments are broken, and is ever ready in sorrow to wipe away our tears. By a golden chain it binds our social systems together, and gives us our confidence in each other. And scarcely a soul can be found in our land, however sceptical or atheistical in its professions, that is not warmed and sustained, in a greater or less degree, by the hopes which this spirit inspires in respect to the unseen world. Surely if the voice of wisdom can be heard respecting this pervading influence of Christianity, it must say to every citizen—"Guard, guard it well—it is the gift, the richest gift of God—'Holy and blessed, O! guard it well.'"

And does it seem a mysterious thing that there should be those who hear this voice, and are deeply solicitous to preserve from corruption so invaluable a treasure, and increase the multitude of its blessings in the land? Do we view with astonishment the watchfulness and care, the toil and the labor of those who love the Christian cause, and are urged to seek its promotion by the ever-pressing obligations of a deep and sacred self-consecrating vow, when their plans are laid, and in defiance of all ordinary obstacles, carried into execution; plans the chief intent of which is, to strengthen the bonds and increase the energy of the spirit of Christianity, by providing in sufficient numbers advocates of her cause, whose voice shall be heard in her defence, and whose influcnce shall be felt in every portion of the land?—Think you that the enlightening, refining, hallowing influence does already exert its full power over the hearts and destinies of our fellow-citizens? And has the spirit of Christianity no more that it can do for us? Has it pervaded every heart with its burden of peace and love? Has it spread its subduing, softening influence, to the full ex-

tent of its power, over the passions of every breast? And has it actually moulded and fashioned every character into that perfect form which man is fitted to wear, till there is no more to be done for his spiritual purification—no more to render him, in the temper of his affections, altogether like his God? O that it were indeed so! The wearied soul of man, now panting for brighter spheres, should seek no other Heaven!

But it is not so. The Heavenly influence has proved its character, indeed, but it has been met and resisted by the proud Spirit of Iniquity. In every member of the human family a law has been found warring against the law of the Spirit of Life, and holding the world in bondage. And how do blindness, and selfishness, and sensuality, and strife, and envy, and malice, and the spirit and power of death prevail, to loosen the bonds of union, and dissolve the tender attachments of love, on which the peace and blessedness of man must forever depend, and present the cup of sorrow and bitterness to every lip!

Even the land of our inheritance, where the beams of Gospel glory are so bright that we reckon it first among the *enlightened* provinces of the dark world,—our own blessed land, where the very foundations of the existent civil institutions were laid in the fear of God and the name of the Son of God,—presents fearful indications of the prevalence of the Spirit of Iniquity, disseminating the principles which sustain the kingdom of darkness, as if the illuminating influence were hindered. Dark shadows are lengthened upon her plains, as if the Divine glory were departing. And who shall estimate the greatness and lasting character of that calamity which must come upon us and the world, if, having inscribed upon our banner before the nations so holy a name as that of Christ, and enjoyed to so great an extent the refining and elevating influences of Christianity, a spirit from beneath, envious of our prosperity, and maliciously hostile to the Christian cause, should be permitted to rise up, and gain the mastery over the Gospel, and tear away the foundations on which we rest, and from its sublime position of grandeur and glory before the eyes of all nations, bring down to dust and ruin the tower of our strength?

Surely, after having made the professions which have been made, and given the pledges which the world has witnessed, respecting the character of that system which we are joined in sacred confederacy to uphold, we are bound to *maintain* our title to the privileges and glory of the Christian name; and as we would defend our civil institutions from assailing foes abroad, and revolutionary influences and measures at home, with equal carefulness and zeal must we guard the

corner stone on which they all rest, and defend the principles which, whenever they shall be given up, will most assuredly leave us in the very foam and fury of convulsive Anarchy.

And what means, let me ask, can be employed, to keep in perpetual operation the spirit of Christianity among us, with all its conservative and healthful influences, more direct and efficient, than the means furnished by Institutions like this—the result of prayerful and enlightened Wisdom, seeking to multiply channels in which the refreshing streams may flow, and send forth heralds of the cross—Christian patriots, and perchance statesmen, who shall exert a hallowed influence in many a social circle and public assembly, regardful of the honor of God, and the permanent welfare of all?—what means more wise, and well-adapted, than to raise up men, and send them forth, who shall employ their days, and their enlarged, consecrated powers, in the single work of guarding the interests of Religion, and giving it controlling power over the people—the undivided people, in whom, according to our received system, our boasted principle, resides the Will and the Energy—the very soul by which our national character and government are controlled?

II. But, I mentioned another object which the founders of this Institution sought in its establishment. It was—to elevate the standard of knowledge and intelligence, and create an intellectual atmosphere that should diffuse an invigorating influence, especially in this portion of our Commonwealth and Nation. This object I shall consider briefly on this occasion, only so far as it is made subservient to the object which has been already before us. Others may treat of knowledge for its own sake, and commend the advantages which mere intellectual enlightenment, apart from Virtue and Religion, is competent to secure; both to individuals and communities: it will be to my purpose only to direct the attention of this enlightened assembly to the connection of such enlightenment with the interests of our National Christianity.

It may not be true, and is not, that any very high degree of intellectual refinement is requisite, on the part of an individual mind, in order to the admission of the principles and spirit of piety, as implanted by the energy of the Life-giving Power. But it may be true, nevertheless, and unquestionably is, that a good degree of intelligence, especially where democratic usages prevail and the people reject the idea of authority in religious matters, is absolutely essential to the preservation of appropriate religious customs and usages, and

the prevalence of sound religious doctrine among the mass of the people. The experience of the world has proved, that when general ignorance has prevailed, then the received forms of Religion, whether Christian or Pagan, have become more and more corrupt from age to age. If Ignorance is the mother of Devotion, she must also reckon among her children both Error and Corruption. And so in fact she does, and with a mother's carefulness spreads the wing of her protection over them; and with them all the innumerable species of Fanaticism and Delusion.

Now it must be manifest to all thinking persons, that if there are important interests dependent on the maintenance of the Christian system in our land, all deviation from the pure truth of that system, however slight, must to an equal extent endanger those interests; at least unless there be security that the diviations shall never become great. But among us, I ask, where can be found such security? What ground of confidence have we, that if slight deviations are admitted, a long train of deviations, more and more wide from the truth, may not follow, to result in a general corruption of Christianity, and ultimately in an entire abandonment of the system on which we rest? In a nation like ours, where the restraints upon the restless mind are so slight, and the impulses to free inquiry so powerful,—where sentiments newly originated are accounted not only none the worse, but verily the better for that, the tendency to depart from the truth is one of the more obvious tendencies of the popular mind, which every man may notice. We have none of that veneration for platforms and creeds; none of that overawing authority confided to the keeping of Houses of Bishops, and Assemblies of Divines, which in other nations may go far to establish and render permanent modes of faith and forms of worship. Especially is this independence of thought on religious subjects, characteristic of our famous West. And on what, then, shall we rely, for the preservation of the purity of truth, and the suppression of error, if there be not in the people themselves such intelligence, that when they judge, as they will judge, for themselves, with all this inborn independence and kingliness of spirit, they shall still judge right? And who does not know that such a degree of intelligence does not yet prevail? Do I abuse my fellow-citizens and my country, when I say that notwithstanding the favorable character of our Government, and the unusually propitious influences that have been enjoyed for the diffusion of light and knowledge in our land, there is still a degree of ignorance prevalent which bodes evil to our National Christianity, and to the same extent spreads a dark cloud over

the prospects of the Nation itself? If it be not so, what means the extensive prevalence of absurd and foolish systems of delusion, so continually and easily introduced, to which men are drawn from established foundations, by influences intrinsically slighter than a child's rattle? What means the rage for the reforms of empiricism, and the eager panting after novel theories and systems, which so often is manifested even in advance of the march of the Spirit of Change? Why should the crude, half-digested, fresh thoughts of some blustering new-light, be received with such gaping admiration, even though a system of truth adopted in childhood, and cherished by the influences of many years, must be suddenly demolished and swept away to give them room? Such are not the manners of the intelligent. Minds that have been well cultivated are not wont to yield so readily to the arts of Charlatanism, and abandon all the teachings of Wisdom, and Experience, and Discretion, and Common Sense, for the mere gratification of being duped and deluded.

To refine and elevate the popular mind to such a degree of intelligence, that no ground shall be left for the operations of empirics and patent reformers, must indeed require a series of continued and vigorous efforts altogether beyond what the world has ever yet known. The task is one to which centuries must be allotted, and the mightiest human energies consecrated. But in the mean time, and to hasten this grand result, how obviously wise and well-adapted, is the policy of establishing Literary Institutions—kindling up on the high hills, here and there, the lights of true Science, from which may be scattered abundant rays into the surrounding regions, to render apparent the principles of sound Philosophy and divine Orthodoxy so far as the enlightening influence may prevail, and maintain, while the process of intellectual advancement is going on, the unadulterated Truth in the symmetry of its proportions, and commend it to the sober regard, and unshaken confidence of all!

Obvious and essential, however, as this policy is, it can accomplish the desired object, only in proportion as the Institutions sustained do in fact hold up and maintain, a very high standard of intellectual qualifications, to which they will raise all those who seek in them the preparation requisite to enter fields of public usefulness. To send forth with commendatory papers those in whom the Christian world could not safely confide as possessing sound knowledge and well furnished minds, would be only to increase the evil desired to be remedied, by multiplying empirics instead of pouring forth streams of influence against them. And yet all will avail nothing for the object

sought, unless the Literature and Science are sanctified by the Spirit of Religion. The attainments of those whose minds are furnished with knowledge and trained for influence, must be consecrated, and the minds themselves, with all their unfolded energies, to the cause of God, and employed to defend those sublime truths of which I have already spoken, as constituting the basis of our civil institutions, and guard from corruption and final overthrow, our National Christianity itself.

It was with all this in view that the founders of this College projected and executed their plan. Guided by the wisdom which comprehends extensive and permanent interests, they sought to provide, not for the accommodation of embarrassed sectarianism, nor for the making of expensive and very doubtful experiments, nor yet to give notoriety to the names of obscure men, or importance to their otherwise disregarded sentiments and party principles; but rather to meet the natural and inevitable wants of the land and the world, in the way in which the united voice of Christendom demands that they should be met and satisfied. In a word, they sought to provide for the interests, the permanent interests, of CHRISTIANITY, and give more extensive prevalence to its cheering, life-giving spirit, especially in our own land; by multiplying its faithful advocates, and qualifying them for places of influence—to mould and guide the popular character after the Christian model, and while discordant elements are contending, and the srife of parties raging below, "to rule in the higher regions of human thought," and prescribe safe currents to incontrollable passion.

Such, let me say to my fellow associates whom I have the honor to address to-day,—such was the design of the Institution to which we feel ourselves indebted. And our obligations to our Alma Mater will be discharged, only when we exert an active and efficient influence for the furtherance of the same design. It is through her sons alone that she can confer the benefits intended on our country and the world. It is by them that the wisdom of her builders is to be proved, and the practicability of their schemes satisfactorily tested. If there shall not be found on the part of those who go out from this Institution, a character adapted to meet the demands which have now been considered, and exert influences correspondent with those which the Institution was intended to set in operation, they may say of all their work, notwithstanding the hopes that have sustained, and the prospects that now gladden them—"All is vanity!"—And if instead of going forth to employ the acquisitions that have been made, and the

powers that have been enlarged and rendered available, for the promotion of Truth, and the diffusion of the Spirit and Power of Christianity, there are those who go with arrows sharpened and poisoned to wound the Christian cause, and by the use of those acquisitions which were here secured, resist the prevalence of the pure and glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; let them know and feel, not only that their own powers are perverted, and degraded, and fearfully exposed to a withering curse from the Almighty, but that resources consecrated to Christ and the Church, of which they have availed themselves, are perverted also, and an Institution whieh has been sustained by the alms, and nourished by the prayers and and tears, of Christian Piety, is deeply injured, and against her will compelled to be, so far as their influence may reach, a curse to the world.

But such, permit me to say in your behalf,—such shall not be the issue of past results. Like honest men we will cancel the debt we owe, and pursue, as we are bound, such a course before the world as shall sustain the honor, and adorn the character of the Institution to which we feel ourselves indebted. She is as yet without the advantages of celebrity—we will be her letter of commendation. We believe her to be worthy of celebrity and confidence. We believe that even in her earlier days, when the facilities which she furnished for the acquisition of knowledge were vastly inferior to those furnished now, there was felt here, nevertheless, an influence to which it was most refreshing and invigorating to open the heart:—an influence adapted to enlarge the soul that should feel it, and mould into the most desirable form the material exposed to its power. I may not speak very freely of the individuals from whom that influence, in those early days, emanated. Most of them still live, though they move in other spheres. One, however, who was as it were the sun and centre of that influence, has sunk to rest. We will revere his memory. We will here record our testimony to his transcendent worth. Though detraction may have been busy with his name—though it may have seemed to many to have been tarnished and its glory faded, we are not ashamed to confess that we estimate the name of Storrs, as one of the more illustrious names of the sons of men. May the Angel of Peace watch over his grave; and may his memory, and a spirit like his, be cherished in the hearts that were so often kindled to rapture by the fervid eloquence of his lips!

So far, my fellow associates, as we feel indebted to this Institution for what we are, or may hereafter be enabled to become, to the same degree let us confess practically our obligations to do her honor—not

by speaking her praise on occasions like the present,—not merely by speaking her praise abroad; but by pursuing such a course of action and honorable usefulness, that she may be able, like the proud Roman matron, to point to her children and say, "*these are my jewels!*" And let there never be exhibited on our part a spirit so unfilial, and so essentially dishonorable, as they would manifest, who, having enjoyed the fullest privileges, and secured the richest benefits of her maternal care, should go forth to mutter reproaches and calumnies against her, and employ the powers she has almost gratuitously conferred, in rendering her, so far as they should be able, the object of public abuse and scorn:—though, let me assure you, my dear fellows, if we should ever be guilty of all this, yet, like a mother, *she would love us still.*

APPENDIX.

The Western Reserve College was opened for the reception of students in the fall of 1827. Three young men who had been, during the previous year, pursuing the Freshman course on the Reserve, were admitted into the Sophomare Class, viz:—Ellory Bascom, Charles M. Preston, and Orrin C. Thompson. They were joined in 1828 by Joseph W. Barr, from Hamilton College, and graduated in 1830. Messrs. Bascom and Thompson entered, immediately, the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and Mr. Barrr the Seminary at Andover. Mr. Preston was employed in the College as a Tutor. Mr. Barr, after having spent a singe year in Andover, in deference to the wishes of his father, (Rev. Thomas Barr, formerly missionary on the Western Reserve, since deceased) removed to Princeton, where, after another year, he received licensure, and soon after, (Oct. 12,) ordination as a foreign missionary; and was at Norfolk, Va., on the eve of embarking for Africa, in company with Rev. J. B. Pinney, when he was attacked with cholera, and suddenly removed to another world, Oct. 28th, 1832. Mr. Preston, while employed as Tutor, pursued the study of Theology under the instruction of Prof. Green, and Pres. Storrs, and was subsequently licensed to preach the Gospel. His employment, however, was chiefly that of a Teacher, till the year 1834, Oct. 15, when he finished his earthly course, at the residence of his father in Claridon, Geauga county, Ohio. Mr. Thompson is settled in the ministry at St. Clair, Michigan, and Mr. Bascom in the southern part of Ohio.

Silas Coe, of Wayne county, Ohio, entered the Freshman Class in the winter of 1828–9, and graduated in 1832, after which time he was received as a member of the Western Theological Seminary, at Allegheny Town, Pa. Having nearly completed his course of Theological study, he returned to the residence of his father in feeble health, and in June, 1835, relinquished his hold of life.

David O. Hudson, of Ravenna, entered the Preparatory Department of the College at an early age in the fall of 1828, and became a member of the Freshman Class in 1830. In the year 1833 he became united with the College Church, and graduated in 1834, distinguished for his intellectual vigor, and the manliness of his spirit. His piety,

too, was deep and fervent. After leaving College he entered upon the study of law with his step-father, Hon. Darius Lyman, of Ravenna, and was admitted to the Bar in September, 1837. Only one year he was permitted to attend to the business of his profession, till his lungs became diseased, and in June, 1839, after several months of suffering, he died in his own native town.

Since the address was written I have been informed of the death of Caleb H. Bidwell, Esq., of the same class with the above. His demise occurred at Sandusky City, on the 17th of August instant. He was one of the two members of the Bar spoken of in the address.

The papers also announce, still more recently, the death of Mr. Elias E. Carter, as having occurred nearly at the same time, at Springfield, Mass. He was of the clsss of 1839.

And yet another, it is requisite should be recorded.—Nathan S. Benham was of the class of 1835, and immediately after he was graduated, he joined the Theological Seminary in this College and pursued the prescribed course. His habits as a student were those of close and thorough application, and his attainments extensive, solid, and both critical and practical. He early devoted himself to the Missionary cause, and was ordained in the College Chapel, December 25, 1838; under the direction of the American Board, as a missionary to Siam. He embarked from Boston, in the following July, for the place of his destination. Circumstances delayed him for some months at Singapore; and but a short time after his location at Bankok, the place of his anticipated future labors for his Lord and Master, he was suddenly called from his work on earth. He was returning from a meeting of the Monthly Concert by boat, which was overset, and he drowned in the river Meinham, April 6th, 1840. His body was subsequently recovered, and now sleeps among the heathen he had hoped to bring to the Savior.

IT IS EVERY MAN'S DUTY TO READ THIS ADDRESS.

AN ADDRESS

UPON THE

EFFECTS OF ARDENT SPIRITS.

Delivered in the Town-Hall of Lyme, N. H.

January 8, 1827.

BY JONATHAN KITTREDGE, ESQ.

"O, thou invisible Spirit of Wine! if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee——Devil!"—*Shakspeare.*

"Taste not, touch not, handle not!"—*Paul.*

HARTFORD:

PUBLISHED BY SILAS ANDRUS.

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1828.

First read this yourself, and then hand it to your neighbour.

PREFACE.

PERHAPS a few words, to explain the occasion of delivering the following Address, will be necessary. A number of benevolent gentlemen in the town of Lyme, alarmed at the prevalence of intemperance at the present day, requested the Rev. Mr. Perry to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the place, to consider what measures could be taken to prevent it. On the 25th December last this request was announced from the desk, and the meeting was appointed on the first day of January, 1827. On the Tuesday following, the writer was requested to deliver an address on the occasion. The short time for preparation, the novelty of the meeting, together with some personal feelings on the subject, caused him to hesitate; but the respectability of the request, the importance of the object, and the advice of friends, induced him to comply. The address was accordingly prepared; but on account of the severity of the weather on the appointed day, a few only attended, and the meeting was adjourned to the 8th day of Jan. 1827; when a large number of the inhabitants, together with several of the clergy, and other persons from the adjacent towns, assembled, and the Address was delivered. A committee of twelve were then chosen, to report what measures ought to be adopted on the subject. This committe unanimously recommended a total disuse of all distilled liquors, except in cases of sickness, and reported an agreement, on the plan of the Massachusetts Association for the Promotion of Temperance, by which, the subscribers should agree, neither to use such liquors themselves, nor to provide them for their families, their friends, or their workmen; and in all suitable ways to discountenance the use of them in the community. This agreement was immediately signed by many of the most influential gentlemen of the place, and is receiving daily additions. The object is not, particularly, to reform the intemperate, but to prevent the growth of another race to fill their places; and in the next generation, if possible, to render them extinct.

January, 1827.

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS—That intemperance, in this part of the country, is a great and growing evil, all are ready to admit.—When we look abroad and examine into the state of society, we find the number of those who are in the constant and habitual practice of an excessive use of ardent spirits, to be alarming. We see the effects that they produce among our friends and our neighbours, but the evil is so common, and it is so fashionable to drink, and, I had almost said, to drink to excess, that the sight of it has lost half its terror, and we look upon an intemperate man without those feelings of disgust and abhorrence which his real situation and character are calculated to produce. This is the natural result of things.—The mind becomes familiar with the contemplation, the eye accustomed to the sight; we pay but little attention to the object—he passes on—we laugh at the exhibition, and grow callous and indifferent to the guilt. Our pity is not excited, our hearts do not ache, at the scenes of intoxication that are almost daily exhibited around us. But, if for a moment we seriously reflect upon the real situation of the habitually intemperate; if we call to mind what they have been—what they now are; if we cast our eye to the future, and realize what, in a few years, they will be; if we go further, and examine into the state of their families, of their wives and their children, we shall discover a scene of misery and wretchedness, that will not long suffer us to remain cold, and indifferent, and unfeeling.

This examination we can all make for ourselves. We can all call to mind the case of some individual, whom we have known for years, perhaps from his infancy, who is now a poor, miserable drunkard. In early life, his hopes and prospects were as fair as ours. His family was respectable, and he received all those advantages which are

necessary, and which were calculated to make him an useful and respectable member of society. Perhaps he was our school-fellow, and our boyhood may have been passed in his company. We witnessed the first buddings of his mental powers, and know that he possessed an active, enterprising mind. He grew up into life with every prospect of usefulness. He entered into business, and, for a while, he did well. His parents looked to him for support in old age, and he was capable of affording it. He accumulated property, and, in a few years, with ordinary prudence, and industry, would have been independent. He married and became the head of a family, and the father of children, and all was prosperous and happy around him. Had he continued as he began, he would now have been a comfort to his friends, and an honour to the community. But the scene quickly changed. He grew fond of ardents spirits. He was seen at the store, and the tavern. By degrees he became intemperate. He neglected his business, and his affairs went to gradual decay. He is now a drunkard, his property is wasted, his parents have died of broken hearts, his wife is pale and emaciated, his children ragged, and squalid, and ignorant. He is the tenant of some little cabin, that poverty has erected to house him from the storm, and the tempest.---He is useless, and worse than useless ; he is a pest to all around him. All the feelings of his nature are blunted ; he has lost all shame ; he procures his accustomed supply of the poison that consumes him ; he staggers through mud, and through filth, to his hut ; he meets a weeping wife, and starving children—he abuses them, he tumbles into his straw, and he rolls and foams like a mad brute, till he is able to go again. He calls for more rum—he repeats the scene from time to time, and from day to day, till soon his nature faints, and he becomes sober in death.

Let us reflect, that this guilty, wretched creature, had an immortal mind—he was like us, of the same flesh and blood—he was our brother ; destined to the same eternity, created by, and accountable to, the same God ; and will, at last, stand at the same judgment bar ; and who, amid such reflections, will not weep at his fate—whose eye can remain dry, and whose heart unmoved ?

This is no picture of the imagination. It is a common

and sober reality. It is what we see almost every day of our lives, and we live in the midst of such scenes, and such events. With the addition or subtraction of a few circumstances, it is the case of every one of the common drunkards of Lyme. They have not completed the drama, they are alive, but they are going to death with rapid strides, and their predecessors have already gone. Another company of immortal minds are coming on to fill their places, as they have filled others. The number is kept good, and increasing. Shops, as nurseries, are established in every town and neighbourhood, and drunkards raised up by the score. They are made, they are formed, for no man was ever born a drunkard; and, I may say, no man was ever born with a taste for ardent spirits.—They are not the food which nature has provided. The infant may cry for its mother's milk, and for nourishing food, but none was ever heard to cry for ardent spirits. The taste is created, and in some instances may be created so young, that, perhaps, many cannot remember the time when they were not fond of them.

And here, permit me to make a few remarks upon the formation, or creation of this taste. I will begin with the infant, and, I may say, that he is born into rum. At his birth, according to custom, a quantity of ardent spirits are provided; they are thought to be as necessary as any thing else. They are considered as indispensable, as if the child could not be born without them. The father treats his friends and his household, and the mother partakes with the rest. The infant is fed with them, as if he could not know the good things he is heir to, without a taste of ardent spirits. They are kept on hand, and often given to him as medicine, especially where the parents are fond of them themselves. By this practice, even in the cradle, his disrelish for ardent spirits is done away. He grows up, and during the first months, or years of his existence, his taste and his appetite are formed. As he runs about, and begins to take notice of passing events, he sees his father and friends drink: he partakes, and grows fond of them. In most families, ardent spirits are introduced and used on every extraordinary occasion. Without mentioning many, that the knowledge and experience of every man can supply, I will instance only the case of visiters.

A gentleman's friends and acquaintance call upon him. He is glad to see them, and fashion and custom make it necessary for him to invite them to the sideboard. This is all done in his best style, in his most easy and affable manner. The best set of drinking vessels are brought forward, and make quite a display. The children of the family notice this; they are delighted with the sight and the exhibition; they are pleased with the manners, and gratified with the conversation, of the visiters on the occasion. As soon as they go abroad, they associate the idea of drinking together with all that is manly and genteel. They fall into the custom, and imitate the example that is set them Circumstances and situations expose one to more temptations than the rest. Perhaps his resolution, or his moral principle, is not so strong; and, in this way, one out of twenty-five of those who live to thirty years of age, becomes intemperate. He becomes so not from any vicious principle, perhaps, but is at first led on by fashion, and custom, and favorable circumstances, till at last he plunges headlong into the vortex of dissipation and ruin. Our natural disrelish for ardent spirits is first done away—a relish for them is then created. They next become occasional, next habitual drinks. The habit gains strength, till, at last, the daily drinker is swept away by the first adverse gale.—It is on this principle, and let the fact operate as a caution to those who need it, that many men of fair unblemished characters, who have made a temperate, but habitual use of ardent spirits in days of prosperity, have, on a change of fortune, become notorious drunkards; while those who have refrained in prosperity, have encountered all the storms of adversity unhurt. We frequently hear a man's intemperance attributed to a particular cause, as loss of friends, loss of property, disappointed love, or ambition; when, if the truth were known, it would be seen, that such men had previously been addicted to the use of ardent spirits, perhaps not immoderately, and fly to them on such events, as their solace and support. Intemperance requires an apprenticeship, as much as law or physic, and a man can no more become intemperate in a month, than he can become a lawyer or a physician in a month. Many wonder that certain intemperate men, of fine talents, noble hearts, and manly feelings, do not re-

form, but it is a greater wonder that any ever do. The evil genius of intemperance gradually preys upon the strength of both body and mind, till the victim, when he is caught, finds, that, although he was a giant once, he is now a child. Its influence is seductive and insinuating, and men are often irretrievably lost, before they are aware of it. Let them beware how they take the first step. It is by degrees that men become intemperate. No man ever became so all at once—it is an impossibility in the nature of things. It requires time to harden the heart, to do away shame, to blunt the moral principle, to deaden the intellectual faculties, and temper the body. The intemperance of the day is the natural and legitimate consequence of the customs of society—of genteel and respectable society. It is the common and ordinary use of ardent spirits, as practised in our towns and villages, that has already peopled them with drunkards, and which, unless checked, will fill them with drunkards. The degree of intemperance that prevails, and the quantity of ardent spirits used, in our most respectable towns, is almost incredible. Perhaps some facts on this subject will be interesting.

As it regards the degree of intemperance that prevails, it may be safely said, that one out of an hundred of the inhabitants of this part of the country is a common drunkard. By a common drunkard, is meant one who is habitually intemperate, who is often intoxicated, and who is restrained from intoxication neither by principle nor shame. Of such there are from ten to twenty and upwards in every town. There is another class which is intemperate, and many of them are occasional drunkards. This class is more numerous than the former, and one out of about forty of the inhabitants belongs to one or the other class. Is not this a horrid state of society? But any one can satisfy himself of the truth of the statement, by making the examination himself.

The quantity of ardent spirits yearly consumed in our towns, varies from six to ten thousand gallons. It will answer the argument I intend to draw from it, to state the annual quantity in this town to be six thousand gallons, although short of the truth. This would be three gallons to every inhabitant, or twenty-one gallons to every legal voter. The cost of this liquid, at the low price of fifty

cents per gallon, will be three thousand dollars, which will pay all your town, county, and state taxes three years, and is as much as it costs you to support and maintain all your privileges, civil, religious, and literary. In one hundred years you would drink up all the town in ardent spirits, or it would cost just such a town as this, with all your farms, stock, and personal property, to furnish the inhabitants with ardent spirits, at the present rate of drinking, only one hundred years. But should the town continue to drink, as they now do, for fifty years, and should in the mean time suffer the cost of the spirits to accumulate, by simple interest only, the whole town, at the end of the term, could not pay their rum bills. It can be no consolation that all other towns would be alike insolvent.

But this is not all. Add to this sum the loss of time and the waste of property occasioned by it, independent of its cost, and it swells the amount to a monstrous size. Here you have an account of the cost of ardent spirits, calculated within bounds. At present there is a great complaint about the pressure of the times, and the complaint is doubtless well founded. Hard times is in every body's mouth; but, if you had for the last year only abstained from the use of ardent spirits, you would now have been independent and easy in your circumstances. Three thousand dollars, which you have paid for them, divided among you, would pay all the debts you are called upon to pay. I do not mean that no one wants more than his proportion of this sum, but there are some who want none of it, and who would circulate it, by loan or otherwise, among those who do want it, and it would relieve the whole town from the distress they are now in.

If this town had an income that would pay all its taxes, you would consider it a matter of great joy and congratulation. But if it had an income that would discharge all its taxes, and that each man, instead of paying, should receive the amount he now pays, you would consider your situation highly prosperous and enviable. Discontinue the use of ardent spirits, and you have it. Use none; and your situation, as a town, will be as good, yea, far better than if you had an income of three thousand dollars, yearly, to be divided among its inhabitants.

If we carry this calculation farther, we shall find, on

the principle adopted, that there are in the state of New-Hampshire two thousand four hundred and forty-one common drunkards, and three thousand six hundred and sixty-three intemperate, or occasional drunkards—in the whole, six thousand one hundred and four. The state consumes seven hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-three gallons of ardent spirits, annually, which cost, at fifty cents a gallon, three hundred and sixty-six thousand two hundred and forty-one dollars. In the United States, there would be ninety-six thousand three hundred and seventy-nine common, and two hundred and forty thousand nine hundred and forty-nine common and occasional drunkards. That the United States consume annually twenty-eight millions nine hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven gallons of ardent spirits, which cost, at fifty cents per gallon, fourteen millions four hundred and fifty-six thousand nine hundred and forty-three dollars—as much as it costs to support the whole system of our national government, with all that is laid out in improvements, roads, canals, pensions, &c. &c. and is more than one half of the whole revenue of the Union for the last year. It must be remembered that this calculation embraces only the quantity and cost of the spirits, and is on the supposition that Lyme consumes only six thousand gallons, at fifty cents per gallon, and is a fair criterion for the state and nation. As it regards the state, it would be safe nearly to double the quantity, and to treble the cost of the spirits; and as it regards the nation, it would be safe to double all my calculations. In the United States, the quantity of ardent spirits yearly consumed may be fairly estimated at sixty millions of gallons, the cost at thirty millions of dollars, and the number of drunkards of both kinds at four hundred and eighty thousand.

But we all know, and it is common to remark, that the cost of the articles is nothing; that it hardly makes an item in the calculation of pernicious consequences resulting from the introduction of ardent spirits. Were we to embrace the usual concomitants, and estimate the value of time lost, the amount of property wasted, of disease produced, and of crime committed, where ardent spirits are the only cause, it would transcend our conceptions, and the imagination would be lost in the contemplation. The

number of drunkards in the United States would make an army as large as that with which Bonaparte marched into Russia; and would be sufficient to defend the United States from the combined force of all Europe. Convert our drunkards into good soldiers, and one tenth of them would redeem Greece from the Turk. Convert them into Apostles, and they would christianize the world. And what are they now? Strike them from existence, and who would feel the loss? Yes, strike them from existence, and the United States would be benefited by the blow.

But this is not half. I cannot tell you half the effects of ardent spirits. And yet ardent spirits are said to be useful and necessary. It is false. It is nothing but the apology that love of them renders for their use. There are only two cases in which, Dr. Rush says, they can be administered without injury, and those are cases of persons like to perish, and where substitutes may be applied of equal effect. What rational man would use them, for the sake of these two possible cases? As well might he introduce rattlesnakes among his children, because their oil is good in diseases with which they may possibly be afflicted.

The number of deranged persons in the United States I do not know. Probably there are several thousands; and it is ascertained, that one third of those confined in the insane hospitals of Philadelphia and New-York, are rendered insane by the use of ardent spirits. Yes, one third of the poor, miserable maniacs of our land, are made such by the use of that which, in the opinion of some, is a very useful and necessary article, and which they cannot do without. This article has deprived one third of the crazy wretches of our land of their reason, of that which makes them men, of the very image of their God.

Out of the number of the intemperate in the United States, ten thousand die annually from the effects of ardent spirits. And what a death! To live a drunkard is enough, but to die so, and to be ushered into the presence of your angry Judge only to hear the sentence, "Depart, thou drunkard!" Ah! language fails, and I leave it to your imaginations to fill up the horrid picture.

This death happens in various ways. Some are killed instantly; some die a lingering, gradual death; some com-

mit suicide in fits of intoxication, and some are actually burnt up.—I read of an intemperate man, a few years since, whose breath caught fire by coming in contact with a lighted candle, and he was consumed. At the time, I disbelieved the story, but my reading has since furnished me with well authenticated cases of a combustion of the human body from the use of ardent spirits. Trotter mentions ten such cases, and relates them at length. They are attended with all the proof we require to believe any event. They are attested by living witnesses, examined by learned men, and published in the journals of the day without contradiction. It would be unnecessary to relate the whole, but I will state one of them, and from this an idea can be formed of the rest. It is the case "of a woman eighty years of age, exceedingly meager, who had drunk nothing but ardent spirits for several years. She was sitting in her elbow-chair, while her waiting-maid went out of the room for a few moments. On her return, seeing her mistress on fire, she immediately gave an alarm; and some people coming to her assistance, one of them endeavoured to extinguish the flames with his hands, *but they adhered to them as if they had been dipped in brandy or oil on fire.* Water was brought and thrown on the body in abundance, *yet the fire appeared more violent, and was not extinguished till the whole body had been consumed.* The lady was in the same place in which she sat every day, there was no extraordinary fire, and she had not fallen."* This, with nine other cases, related by the same author, was a consumption of the body produced by the use of ardent spirits. The horror of a drunkard's death beggars description. Need I point to yonder grave, just closed over the remains of one who went from the cup of excess to almost instant death? You all know it.

But this is not all. One half of the poor you support by taxes, and individual charity, are made poor by the use of ardent spirits. This has been demonstrated by actual inquiry and examination. In the city of New-York, where there are more poor, and where more is done for them than in any other city of the United States, a committee appointed for the purpose, ascertained by facts, that more

* Trotter on Drunkenness, pp. 78, 79.

than one half of the city poor were reduced to poverty by intemperance. This is also the case throughout the Union. And here permit me to state a case, with which I am acquainted. I do it with a double object. I do it to show, that the use of ardent spirits produces poverty and distress, and the disuse of them restores to wealth and comfort.

A gentleman, in the city of New-York, who carried on ship building on an extensive scale, and employed a great number of hands daily, and paid them all in the same manner, and nearly to the same amount, was struck with the difference in their situations. A few, and only a few were able from their wages to support their families; but these were out of debt, and independent in their circumstances. They always had money on hand, and frequently suffered their wages to lie in the hands of their employer. The rest were poor and harrassed, the former easy and comfortable in their circumstances, and he resolved, if possible, to ascertain the cause of the difference. On inquiry and examination, he found that those of them who were above board used no ardent spirits, while the others were in the constant and daily use of them. He satisfied himself that this use of ardent spirits was the only cause of the difference in their condition. He determined, if he could, to prevail upon them all to abstain altogether from their use. On a thorough and parental representation of the case to them, he succeeded, and they all agreed to make use of none for a year. At the end of the year they were all, to a man, out of debt, had supported their families in better condition, had done more work, destroyed fewer tools, and were hearty and robust, and enjoyed better health. This fact speaks volumes, and needs no comment.—Adopt the same practice in this town, and the result will be the same. What! drink none? Yes, I say, drink none—one gallon for the town of Lyme, is just four quarts too much. In addition to the miseries of debt and poverty which they entail upon a community, they are the parent of one half the diseases that prevail, and one half the crimes that are committed. It is ardent spirits that fill our poor-houses and our jails; it is ardent spirits that fill our penitentiaries, our madhouses, and our state prisons; and it is ardent spirits that furnish victims for the gallows. They are the greatest curse that God ever inflicted on the world,

and may well be called the seven vials of his wrath. They are more destructive in their consequences than war, plague, pestilence, or famine; yea, than all combined. They are slow in their march, but sure in their grasp. They seize not only the natural, but the moral man. They consign the body to the tomb, and the soul to hell.

While on earth the victim of intemperance is as stupid as an ass, as ferocious as a tiger, as savage as a bear, as poisonous as the asp, as filthy as the swine, as fetid as a goat, and as malignant as a fiend. No matter what may be the original materials of the man; his figure may possess every grace of the sculptor; his mind may be imbued with every art and science; he may be fit to command at the head of armies, to sway a Roman senate, to wield the destinies of nations; his heart may be the seat of every virtue—but ardent spirits will strip him of the whole, and convert him into a demon. Need I tell how? Need I point out the change that inebriety produces in the moral and social affections? Need I present the sword red with a brother's blood? It was in a drunken revel that the infuriate Alexander slew his best friend, and most beloved companion, Clytus. And it was in a drunken revel that he proclaimed himself a god, and died.

But have not ardent spirits one good quality, one redeeming virtue? None. I say, none. There is nothing, not even the shadow of a virtue, to rescue them from universal and everlasting execration. But they are good as a medicine. No, not as a medicine. There is no physician, that does not love them, that needs them in his practice. There is no disease that they cure or relieve, that cannot be cured or relieved without them. They add to no man's health, they save no man's life.* It is impossi-

* The writer is aware that spirits or alcohol are necessary in some preparations of the chymist and apothecary. But it is the use of them as drinks which he is combating, and which, he is assured by respectable physicians, are not only unnecessary, but hurtful in sickness and in health. Were they to exist only in the apothecary's shop in the state of alcohol, it would be all that the world needs of them. Some physicians, nevertheless, may think them useful in two or three cases or conditions of the body, but it is apprehended that if they should discontinue the use of them altogether, except in certain tinctures, &c. they would be as successful as they now are. They are often used where they would not be, if they were not the most common thing that could be found.

ble to name a single good thing that they do. Give them to the divine: do they add to his piety, to his zeal, to his faithfulness, to his love of God or man? No, they destroy them all. Give them to the physician: do they increase his skill, his power to discriminate amid the symptoms of disease, his judgment to apply the appropriate remedies, his kind and affectionate solicitude? Nay, verily they destroy them all. Give them to the legal advocate: do they increase his knowledge, his perception to discover the points of his case, his readiness to apply the evidence, his ability to persuade a court and jury? No, they destroy them all. Give them to the mechanic: do they assist his ingenuity, his judgment, or his taste? No, they destroy them all. Give them to the laborer: do they add to his strength? Do they enable him to bear fatigue, to endure heat and cold? Can he do more work, or do it better? No, they are the ruin of the whole. They reduce his strength, weaken his frame, make him more susceptible to the heat and cold, and disorganize the whole system of his labour.

But there are some men, you say, who use ardent spirits, and who get along very well. Admitted. They endure it. So there are some men who get along very well with poor health and feeble constitutions. Are poor health and feeble constitutions, therefore, no evils? Is the prosperity of such to be attributed to them? As much as is that of the former to the use of ardent spirits. Was ever a man made rich by the use of ardent spirits? Never, but millions have been made beggars by it.

Yet some say they feel better by drinking ardent spirits. Let us examine this excuse. It is nothing but an excuse, and he who loves rum and is ashamed to own it, says he feels better to drink it. Let us inquire how. Are they conducive to health? On this subject let the physician decide. One, as great as this country has produced, Dr. Rush, says that the habitual use of ardent spirits usually produces the following diseases: A loss of appetite; sickness at the stomach; obstruction of the liver; jaundice and dropsy; hoarseness and a husky cough, which often ends in consumption; diabetis; redness, and eruptions of the skin; a fetid breath; frequent and disgusting belchings; epilepsy; gout, and madness. This is the train of

diseases, produced by the use of ardent spirits, and the usual, natural, and legitimate consequences of their use. And now, I ask, can that which, of its own nature, produces these diseases, make a man feel better? Reason might answer; and were she on her throne, uninfluenced and unbiassed by the love of ardent spirits, she would unequivocally answer No. And we find that those who say they feel better to drink ardent spirits, are those who are in perfect health, but love rum, and it gratifies their appetite, and this is what they mean by feeling better.

I will examine for a moment the effect, the immediate effect of ardent spirits upon the man. I will take a man in health, and give him a glass of ardent spirits. The effect is to produce derangement, and false notions and conceptions. But one glass will not have much effect. I will give him another, and if he loves rum he feels better; another, and he feels better; another, better yet. By this time he has got to feel pretty well, quite happy. He has no fear or shame. He can curse, and swear, and break things. "He is fit for treason, stratagems, and spoils." He fears no consequences, and can accomplish impossibilities. If he is a cripple, he fancies he can dance like a satyr; if he is slow and unwieldly, he can run like a hart; if he is weak and feeble in strength, he can lift like Sampson, and fight like Hercules; if he is poor and pennyless, he is rich as Crœsus on his throne, and has money to lend. This is all a correct representation. It is what happens universally with the drunkard. I know one man who is intemperate, who is poor, and never known to have five dollars at a time, who, when he is intoxicated, has often, and does usually offer to lend me a thousand dollars. Poor, miserable, and deluded man! But he feels well; he is one of those who feel better to drink. He is deranged, his imagination is disordered. He fancies bliss, and felicity, and plenty, and abundance, which do not exist; and he awakes to misery, and poverty, and shame, and contempt. Yet this is the exact feeling of all those who feel better to drink spirits. He who drinks but a glass, has not the same degree, but precisely the same kind of feeling with the one I have described.

And this is all—this is all that rum does to make a man feel better. If his wife and children are starving, he feels

it not. He feels better. If his affairs are going to ruin, or are already plunged into ruin, he is not sensible to his condition. If his house is on fire, he sings the maniac's song, and regards it not. He feels better.

Let him who likes this better feeling, enjoy it. Enjoy it, did I say? No. Reclaim him, if possible. Convince him that he labours under a delusion. Restore him to truth, and to reason; banish the cup from his mouth, and change the brute into the man.

And now need any more be said to persuade mankind to abandon the use of ardent spirits? The appaling facts, in relation to them, are known to all. Experience and observation teach us, that they are the source of ruin, and misery, and squalid wretchedness, in a thousand shapes. They are the three-headed monster; they are the Gorgons with their thousand snakes; their name is Legion. And shall I yet find advocates for their use? Will this enlightened community yet say they are useful and necessary? All those who have used them, and discontinued the use of them, say they are totally unnecessary and useless. We see that those who live without them, enjoy more happiness and better health than those who use them—that they live longer lives. But, oh the folly, the stupidity, and the delusion of rum drinkers!

But perhaps it may be said, that the effects and consequences that I have mentioned, result from the abuse, and not from the proper and moderate use of ardent spirits; and that on many occasions, in small quantities, they are useful. Let us examine the circumstances and occasions when they are said to be necessary, and perhaps I cannot do it better than in the words of another.

"They are said to be necessary in very cold weather. This is far from being true; for the temporary heat they produce is always succeeded by a greater disposition in the body to be affected by cold. Warm dresses, a plentiful meal just before exposure to the cold, and eating occasionally a cracker or any other food, is a much more durable method of preserving the heat of the body in cold weather." In confirmation of this, the case of the vessel wrecked off the harbour of Newburyport, a few years since, may be adduced. On an intensely cold night, when all the men of that vessel were in danger of freezing to death,

the master advised them to drink no ardent spirits. He told them, if they did, they must surely freeze. Some took his advice, while others, notwithstanding his most earnest entreaties, disregarded it. The result was, that of those who used the spirits, some lost their hands, some their feet, and some perished; while the rest survived unhurt.

"They are said to be necessary in very warm weather. Experience proves, that they increase instead of lessening the effects of heat upon the body, and thereby expose to diseases of all kinds. Even in the warm climate of the West-Indies, Dr. Bell asserts this to be true. Rum, says this author, whether used habitually, moderately, or in excessive quantities, always diminishes the strength of the body, and renders man more susceptible to disease, and unfit for any service, in which vigour or activity is required. As well might we throw oil into a house, the roof of which was on fire, in order to prevent the flames from extending to its inside, as pour ardent spirits into the stomach, to lessen the effects of a hot sun upon the skin." And here, permit me to add, that they are said to be necessary in cold weather to warm, and in warm weather to cool. The bare statement of the argument on these two points confounds itself.

"Nor do ardent spirits lessen the effects of hard labour upon the body. Look at the horse, with every muscle of his body swelled from morning till night, in a plough or a team. Does he make signs for a glass of spirits, to enable him to cleave the ground or climb a hill? No, he requires nothing but cold water and substantial food. There is no nourishment in ardent spirits. The strength they produce in labour is of a transient nature, and is always followed by a sense of weakness and fatigue."*

Some people, nevertheless, pretend that ardent spirits add to their strength, and increase their muscular powers; but this is all a delusion. They think they are strong when they are weak. Rum makes them boast, and that is all. The truth is, it weakens them in body, but strengthens them in imagination. Why was Sampson forbidden by the Angel of God to drink either wine or strong drink, but to increase and preserve his strength? When you

* Dr. Rush.

hear a man telling how strong rum makes him, you may be sure he is weak both in body and mind.

There is no other occasion for using ardent spirits, which it will be proper to examine. They are said to be necessary to keep off the contagion of disease, and are recommended to attendants upon the sick. But the united testimony of all physicians proves that the intemperate are first attacked by epidemic disorders. This is universally the case in the southern states, and in the West-Indies. Experience also proves that those attendants upon the sick, who refrain from the use of ardent spirits, escape, while those who use them are swept away. If facts could convince, the use of ardent spirits would be abolished. But the love of rum is stronger on the human mind than the truth of Heaven.

If, then, ardent spirits are not necessary in sickness; if they do not prevent the effects of heat and cold; if they do not add to our strength, and enable us to perform more labour; when are they necessary? Why, people in health say, they want to drink them now and then—they do them good. What good? If they are well, why do they need them? For nothing but to gratify the taste, and to produce a feeling of intoxication and derangement, slight in its decree when moderately used, as they are by such people, but the character of the feeling is no less certain. It is the same feeling that induces the drunkard to drink. One man takes a glass to do him good, to make him feel better; another wants two; another three; another six; and by this time he is intoxicated, and he never feels well till he is so. He has the same feeling with the man who drinks but one glass, but more of it; and that man who in health drinks one glass to make him feel better, is just so much of a drunkard; one sixth, if it takes six glasses to intoxicate him. He has one sixth of the materials of a drunkard in his constitution.

But it is this moderate use of ardent spirits that produces all the excess. It is this which paves the way to downright and brutal intoxication. Abolish the ordinary and temperate use of ardent spirits, and there would not be a drunkard in the country. He who advises men not to drink to excess, may lop off the branches; he who advises them to drink only on certain occasions, may feel the

trunk; but he who tells them not to drink at all, strikes and digs deep for the root of the hideous vice of intemperance. And this is the only course to pursue. It is this temperate use of ardent spirits that must be discontinued. They must be no longer necessary when friends call, when we go to the store to trade, to the tavern to transact business, when we travel the road on public days—in fact, they must cease to be fashionable and customary drinks. Do away the fashion and custom that attend their use, and change the tone of public feeling, so that it will be thought disgraceful to use them as they are now used by the most temperate and respectable men, and an end is for ever put to the beastly disease of intoxication. Let those who cannot be reclaimed from intemperance go to ruin, and the quicker the better—I speak of the public good; but save the rest of our population; save yourselves; save your children! Raise not up an army of drunkards to supply their places! Purify your houses! They contain the plague of death; the poison that in a few years will render some of your little ones what the miserable wretches that you see staggering the streets are now. And who, I ask, would not do it? What father, who knew that one of his sons that he loves, was in a few years to be what hundreds you can name are now, would hesitate to save him, to banish rum from his premises for ever?

But if all will do it, he is saved; and he who contributes but a mite in this work of God, deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Republic. If the names of a Brainard, of a Swartze, of a Buchanan, have been rendered immortal by their efforts to convert the heathen to Christianity; the names of those men, who shall succeed in converting Christians to temperance and sobriety, should be written in letters of ever-enduring gold, and appended by angels in the temple of the living God. The sum of their benevolence would be exceeded only by his, who had no equal on earth, except him, who has no superior in Heaven. Then banish it. This is the only way to save your children. As long as you keep ardent spirits in your houses, as long as you drink it yourselves, as long as it is polite and genteel to sip the intoxicating bowl, so long society will remain just what it is now, and so long drunkards will spring from your loins, and so long drunkards will wear your names to

future generations. And there is no other way given under heaven, whereby man can be saved from the vice of intemperance, but that of total abstinence.

And, if ardent spirits are the parent of all the poverty, and diseases, and crime, and madness, that I have named, and if they produce no good, what rational man will use them? If he loves himself, he will not; if he loves his children, he will not: and as Hamilcar brought Hannibal to the altar at eight years of age, and made him swear eternal hatred to the Romans; so every parent should bring his children to the altar, and make them swear eternal hatred to ardent spirits. He should teach them by precept and example. He should instil into his children a hatred of ardent spirits, as much as he does of falsehood and of theft. He should no more suffer his children to drink a little, than he does to lie a little, and to steal a little.

And what other security have you for your children? or for yourselves? Yes, for yourselves.—I knew a man who, a few years ago, was as temperate as any of you, was as respectable as any of you, as learned as any of you, and as useful in life as any of you; I have heard him from the sacred desk again and again; but by the same use of ardent spirits, that most men justify and advocate, under the mistaken notion that they were beneficial to him, he has, at last fallen the victim of intemperance. And this is not a solitary example. I had almost said, it is a common example. I could add to the number.

And now what security have you for yourselves? You have none but in the course I have recommended. If it is necessary for the intemperate man to write on every vessel containing ardent spirits, "Taste not, touch not, handle not," and to brand them, as full of the very wrath of God, it is also necessary for the temperate man to do so, to save himself from intemperance.

But the difficulty on this subject is to convince men of their individual danger, that intemperance stands at their own doors, and is knocking for an entrance into their own houses; that they and their children are the victims that he seeks.

But if the places of the present generation of drunkards are to be supplied, whence will the victims come but from your own children? And who knows but that the infant

the mother is now dandling upon her knee, and pressing to her bosom, however lovely he may appear, however respectable and elevated she is, will be selected to be one of that degraded, and squalid, and filthy class, that, in her old age, will walk the streets as houseless, hopeless, and abandoned drunkards? You have no security, no assurance.

But we are apt to think that the wretches whom we see and have described, were always so ; that they were out of miserable and degraded families ; and that they are walking in the road in which they were born. But this is not so. Among the number may be found a large proportion, who were as lovely in their infancy, as promising in their youth, and as useful in early life as your own children, and have become drunkards—I repeat it, and never let it be forgotten—have become drunkards by the temperate, moderate, and habitual use of ardent spirits, just as you use them now. Were it not for this use of ardent spirits, we should not now hear of drunken senators and drunken magistrates ; of drunken lawyers and drunken doctors ; churches would not now be mourning over drunken ministers and drunken members ; parents would not be weeping over drunken children ; wives over drunken husbands ; husbands over drunken wives, and angels over a drunken world.

Then cease. No longer use that which is the source of infinite mischief, without one redeeming benefit ; which has entailed upon you, upon your children, and upon society, woes unnumbered and unutterable. Banish it from your houses. It can be done. You have only to will, and it is effected.—Use it not at home. Let it never be found to pollute your dwellings. Give it not to your friends or to your workmen. Touch it not yourselves, and suffer not your children to touch it ; and let it be a part of your morning and evening prayer, that you and your children may be saved from intemperance, as much as from famine, from sickness, and from death.

GOOD EFFECTS OF ABSTAINING FROM THE USE OF ARDENT SPIRITS.

The following statement is from the *First Annual Report* of the Society for the Promotion of Temperance in Lyme,

New-Hampshire, and affords conclusive evidence of the beneficial and *practical* effects of temperate associations; and a higher recommendation could hardly be given of the value of this address, as Lyme is the town in which Mr. K. resides, and in which it was delivered. Should the author, then, never perform another act for the benefit of mankind, this *one* ought to give him a high rank among public benefactors:

"On the first of January, 1827, forty-four individuals attached their names to a paper, by which they agreed that they would 'abstain from the use of distilled spirits for one year, except as a medicine, in cases of bodily infirmity.' Of these forty-four individuals, twenty-four were male heads of families. So far as it is known, all these persons have adhered to their agreement, and have made no use of spirits, except as a medicine. Many of them have not used it at all on any occasion. And in general, these individuals are satisfied with the course they have pursued, and are determined to practise entire abstinence for time to come. A few are of a different opinion. They believe that a little spirits occasionally may be beneficial to them.

"During the year 1826, the inhabitants of this town consumed 6000 gallons of spirits, which, at 50 cents per gallon, was $3000. The year past, the quantity falls short of 3000 gallons, which, at the same price, would not exceed $1500. Thus making a decrease, in the quantity of spirits consumed in one year, of more than 3000 gallons, and saving to the town, more than $1500, which was worse than wasted.

"It is believed, that no person has suffered either in his bodily or mental health, or in any respect been made worse by this reformation. Those who have abstained wholly, have exposed themselves to the cold, to the heat, and to the wet as much as usual, and as much as others, without the least harm. No man has been sick, or taken cold, or fainted, or tired out in labour, in consequence of his temperance."

The decrease of 3000 gallons in the use of ardent spirits in that town in one year, and the many similar good fruits of temperate associations in the northern and eastern

states, inspire the confidence, that the great object contemplated will yet be attained.

The following resolution was passed unanimously, at an election of officers in the 25th Regiment of Artillery, held in Rochester, March 11, 1828:

Resolved, That we will not furnish, and that we will do all in our power to suppress the use of ardent spirits, at all company trainings, officer elections, officer drills, and regiment reviews.

☞ There are in the state of New-York 310 regiments, cavalry, artillery, infantry, and riflemen; we will say 6 companies to the regiment make 1860 companies; the expences of each per day for ardent spirits will not be less than $5, which will make $9,300 per day; and there will be, upon an average, 5 meetings per year, including officer drill and election, making $46,500 annually for ardent spirits.

Reader, have you perused this pamphlet? and are you still willing to drink, use, or sell, this soul-destroying poison?—If so—if you are willing to risk your own soul, disgrace your friends, and ruin your children by this fell destroyer, then go on,—but remember, that to the drunkard is allotted the "blackness of darkness and despair for ever." But if not, if you feel the evil, if you are willing to do something to correct it, sit not down in hopeless silence, but arouse to action, "resist the devil and he will flee from you"—not only banish it from your houses, but from your stores, your shops, your farms; give it not to your workmen; refuse to employ those who use it; invite, entreat, conjure your friends and neighbours to do the like, never forgetting that the day of final account is at hand; that what we do for Christ, and for the good of our fellowmen, must be done soon; and that those who sacrifice interest for the sake of conscience, and who are instrumental in turning men from their errors, shall not lose their reward.

ADDRESS

TO THE

CLERGY OF ALL DENOMINATIONS,

ON

COLONIZATION.

No enterprise of good can be successfully prosecuted without the favor and advocacy of the ministers of the Gospel. From the very constitution of society, as well as by the appointment of Heaven, they exercise an immense sway over the opinions, and a powerfully controlling influence over the *charities* of their respective congregations. It is a fundamental truth, that the vigor and life of all benevolent efforts, lie in "the preaching of the Word." Whatever is good and great in its conception, and noble and benign in its influence, can be substantiated and enforced by arguments and appeals drawn from the Divine treasury. And whatever enterprise *is not*, or cannot be sustained in this way, must fail of general favor, and languish for the want of support.

One of the most important questions, therefore, which every clergyman has to decide, relates to the schemes of benevolence which he shall make prominent in his administrations of truth, and obligatory upon the consciences of his people. Manifestly, as the field is broad, and the work to be accomplished is multiform, it would be unjustifiable to make any *one single* scheme of operations conspicuous, and expend on it alone all the faith and prayers and energies of the church. A broader and more comprehensive philanthropy is inculcated in Scripture, and demanded by the exigencies of the church and condition of the world.

Every separate denomination of Christians has some particular charities, or private societies, which they have originated and which they support as a matter of course; and all their members are expected to feel in the success of these enterprises a sort of personal pride and an individual interest. Hence they are in duty bound to contribute to their support. It is a part of their religion. They feel for them some-

what of that tender affection and kindly care which a parent feels for his own children, in comparison with the children of strangers.

But there are other charities which belong to no one denomination of Christians; schemes of benevolence which originated in the broadest philanthropy, and appeal to the most enlarged principles of Christianity for support. Such is the enterprise of *African Colonization.* It belongs to no church, to no party. No sect of Christians, casting a complacent look upon it, calls it by the endearing name "*my child!*" No denomination feels bound to support it, at all hazards. It has the same claims upon one that it has upon another. And they all feel at liberty to support their own benevolent societies *first* and *chiefest*, and then, *if* any thing is *left*, it is appropriated to *colonization* as to an "orphan in need."

It is not wonderful, therefore, that the resources of this Society are far more limited than its demands. Though it be not very creditable to the Christians of the present age, yet it is nevertheless true, that the more part of them are less influenced by an appeal resting solely on the broad ground of benevolence, than when it is united with something which is *selfishly* their own, and tends to build up their party, or denomination. Hence it is all important that objects of pure and strict benevolence, should be kept prominently before the minds of men: their intimate connection with the great principles of Christianity clearly exhibited, and their bearing upon the general welfare of society, and the amelioration of the condition of the whole human family constantly enforced!

In view of these considerations, it will not be thought out of place for us to present some reasons which will justify MINISTERS of all denominations in bringing the cause of AFRICAN COLONIZATION distinctly and prominently before their respective churches on or about the approaching 4th of July. If it can be shown that the cause is a great and a good one: that it is intimately connected with all the other blessed schemes of benevolence: that it embraces the welfare of the millions of Africa, and is intimately connected with some of the most important destinies of our own country: that it is accomplishing a train of good results, which no other plan of operations has ever yet been able to achieve: and that no evil follows in its footsteps, and no injury is done to any body or any other cause, then surely it ought to be considered worthy of all confidence and support: and if it ought to be sustained and carried vigorously forward, and there is *no one denomination*, or section of the country, which claims this honor and will perform this duty, then it is incumbent on us to appeal to every friend of humanity and lover of his race, in every section of the country!

We would, therefore, entreat the clergy to give the following con-

siderations that earnest attention which their importance demands:

1*st. The colored people in our own country, whether bond or free, are in circumstances which challenge for them our sympathy.* They are degraded in the scale of human existence. They are in an inferior condition. The very frame work of the society around them tends to depress them still lower. In their present position it is impossible to give them that instruction in the arts and sciences, and that mental and moral improvement which can alone elevate them to that standard of dignity which properly belongs to man. In *this country* they never can rise above the very lowest grade of society. You may say that this state of society is all wrong; may call it *prejudice* that keeps them down; and all this may be admitted without improving their condition in the slightest degree. The facts remain the same. And if we are to wait till the whole constitution of society is remodeled—till every root of evil is eradicated, and every thing is managed exactly right, before we do anything for the elevation of the colored race, how many generations will die unblessed? It may be *prejudice*, but who does not know that *prejudice* is the very last thing that can be destroyed? Who has ever been able to reason it down? The facts stare every body in the face. The colored people in this country are depressed, are lying under political and social disadvantages from which there is no prospect of *their rising;* no probability of others *raising* them. They can never enjoy *here* the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

If it is contended that all the descendants of the African race now found in this country ought to be elevated to equal privileges with the white population, yet the *facts* are not altered. There they are, still depressed, without one single ray of hope to cheer them in any endeavor to throw off the burden which rests upon them; without one bare possibility that they will be ever admitted to the full enjoyment of all the rights and immunities of *citizens* of *this* free and happy country, unless the "leopard can change his spots and the Ethiopian his skin."

This condition, therefore, of the colored man in this country demands our sympathy. It appeals to all the better feelings of our nature. It challenges us to devise some plan of relief, to undo the wrongs that we have done them, and to furnish them the facilities for advancement which their necessities demand. Help and protection they must have from some quarter. Whence shall it come? where shall we plant the fulcrum of that mighty lever which shall elevate their race?

2*nd. No other scheme has yet been devised which promises as much for the colored people in this country as colonization.*

It proposes to rescue them from

their civil, social and religious depression, and place them in a country where the influences which depress them here will be forever removed. Every other plan leaves them surrounded by the same circumstances which now hold them down. They *cannot* rise in the midst of the white race. European superiority interposes a fatal impediment to the improvement of the African race while they are in juxtaposition. Colonization removes this obstacle out of the way, and places them in a country where they can enjoy all the benefits of a free government; and where they are incited to improvement by every thing around them.

We do not propose here to discuss the various theories which have been broached, and the plans which have been adopted for elevating the race. We prefer rather to look at a single principle—to examine the philosophy of a single fact. The colored people have *never* risen to *equality* with the whites in any country where they have been thrown together. They have never been elevated essentially in character and condition on the same soil where they have been in bondage under the whites. Every plan for the improvement of the African which has had to conflict with the prejudices, tastes and selfishness of the more favored race, has been a failure. The two races seem entirely distinct, and the one holds acknowledged superiority over the other, and necessarily stands opposed to its highest interests. It is thus impossible to give the colored man a fair chance, unless you remove him from the contact and rivalry of the whites, where he will not have to encounter the checks and hindrances which have so long awed and kept him down.

Reasoning, therefore, from past experience, we are forced to the conclusion that there is an insuperable impediment in the way of elevating the colored people to the satisfaction of benevolence while they remain in this country. We do not speak of what *ought* to be, but of what *has been*, and is likely still to be the fact. A stifling, strangling incubus seems to rest upon all their faculties. They cannot be roused to that energy and determination indispensable to advancement. Hope, the great and vital element in elevating and ennobling a race, by a social regeneration, dawns not upon their prospects in this country.

In view of this *fact*, and the reasons of it, there cannot be a doubt that the scheme of Colonization promises more for their good than any other which has ever yet been devised. It looks upon things as they actually exist, in stubborn, stern reality, and despairing of any adequate and effectual relief while the two races remain *together*, it proposes to remove the one to the land of their fathers' sepulchres, "where they shall be exempt from the rivalship of the other; to or-

ganize them into an independent empire of their own; to endow them with the blessings of civilization and of Christianity; to invite and call into action all their powers as men; to inspire them with all laudable motives of ambition; to incite in them personal aspiration, and the pride of national character; to rear them to the growth of national sovereignty; to make them men, to respect themselves and to be respected as peers among their fellow men; to secure to them all those rights which are claimed and enjoyed by the most civilized and free states; and finally, to convert, through them, the wide regions of African barbarism, heathenism, cruelty and desolation, into a garden of civilization, and to make it an eminent portion of Christendom; to substitute the songs of freedom and of true religion, for the groans of the slave and the despairing cries of the victims of superstition."

Such are some of the sublime and glorious purposes of good which COLONIZATION proposes to accomplish; and we challenge any other scheme to compare with it in the blessedness of its *promises* to the colored race! The following sentiment was entertained by men competent to judge correctly and to decide impartially: they had tried *both sides:* they had lived in the most favored parts of this country and seen and felt all that could be done for them here, and had done all that they could for themselves in the circumstances; and, despairing of ever reaching the point of their ambition, resolved to make a change, and removed with their families to Liberia; and after several years residence there, at a public meeting they passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the Colonization Society has done for the people of color, and for us particularly; that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of color; and *that we believe it is the only institution that can, in existing circumstances, succeed in elevating the colored people.*"

Testimony similar to this has been borne by all persons who have visited Liberia and seen the actual working of colonization, and the vast promise which it holds out to the colored man here, and to the continent of Africa!

We, therefore, consider our second proposition established—and believe that very few, who look at the facts in the case, will doubt that *colonization* promises more of good to the colored people of this country than any other scheme which has ever yet been devised.

We proceed, therefore, to remark:

3*rdly. Colonization promises more for Africa and her* 150,000,000 *of heathens than any other scheme of benevolence which has ever yet been devised.*

What has ever been done for Africa apart from colonization? Nothing! The best planned missions have accomplished no permanent good. The missionaries have either

died in a short time, or been driven from the country by the severity of the climate, or the barbarity of its inhabitants. The climate is *fatal* to the white man. He cannot endure it. He therefore can never be depended upon to establish civilization and Christianity amid the mountains and in the vallies and all along the shores of that dark land; and every enterprise which depends upon him to carry it forward must fail. If, then, Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be done through the instrumentality of colored men. Where are they to come from? How can they operate in that country, when war, and plunder, and cannibalism, and the *slave trade*, combine and conspire to exclude every thing that will, in the slightest degree, interfere with their unlimited reign!

Manifestly they who would do good in Africa, must go together, and in such number as to afford assistance to each other, and to protect themselves. *Colonies* of colored people are the only means of putting down the slave trade and civilizing and Christianizing Africa. The history of all the efforts which have been made by armed men—by the navies of England and America combined, to arrest the slave trade, is full of defeat and discouragement. We need not here present the facts in proof of this. We have done it often. Our readers must be familiar with the truth, now generally admitted, that the *slave trade* never can be arrested and abolished by the efforts of men-of-war; and that the only hope of ever doing this great work is by planting colonies along the coast, operating upon the minds of the natives themselves, inducing them to abandon the trade in *men*, in view of engaging in lawful commerce, and thus effectually cutting off the supply of slaves.

In proof of this, if proof is demanded, we appeal to the *facts*. It is then a fact that the slave trade has increased in extent and enormity during the time that the British government have been making the most vigorous efforts to put it down. On the contrary it is a *fact* that LIBERIA has suppressed the slave trade for about 700 miles along the seaboard, with the exception of two remaining factories, and that it would put these down if it could raise the means to purchase the territory on which they are situated. It is a fact that the whole region of Liberia was little else than a storehouse and an outlet for slaves before its settlement by the colony; so that it may be fairly estimated that at least 20,000 Africans have been kept back from slavery every year through the instrumentality of our colonists!

In this view of the subject, the colony of Liberia presents a cheering prospect in the midst of surrounding darkness; and shows itself to be of fairest promise to Africa and her children.

But let us look further and contemplate the *interior* of Africa, and as-

certain what can be done *there* apart from colonization and its influences.

Africa is the great market for human beings, and the chains of bondage at this moment bind at least 50,000,000 of her sons on her own soil! From the absence of all wholesome restraints of law, and civilization and religion, their servitude is the most abject, their degredation the most appalling; and their condition the most deplorable! How shall poor Africa be redeemed, that Ethiopia may be brought to stretch out her hands unto God? If you guard and blockade the whole coast by men-of-war, and overthrow the slave factories, the water transportation may *cease;* but the inland transportation still will remain; and domestic slavery, with all its ever accumulating horrors, will continue in its most awful forms, more aggravated than ever by the fact that the foreign demand has partially ceased. If you send missionaries whose lives shall be guarantied to them, they may be instrumental in saving a few under their immediate observation and teaching; but so long as the population is cut up into small tribes, hostile to each other and perpetually engaged in war, there can be but little accomplished in that way. So long as selfishness, unrestrained by any subduing influences of education and religion, is the ruling passion in the heart of the African, so long will the lonely and unprotected missionary be subjected to the destructive intrigues of men who are continually scouring the country and stirring up the jealousies of the natives.

It is true the gospel is the only hope for Africa; it is the only remedy for her multiform and multiplied maladies. And there must be men to preach the gospel—"for how shall they hear without a preacher?" But they must be protected from the hostile machinations of the slave dealers and slave holders, or the redemption of Africa can never be effected. The missionary enterprise, on the *colonial* plan, is the only hope for planting the gospel and the institutions of civilization in the centre of Africa. When we consider the almost unbounded extent of the country, the disorganized and savage state of its society, the universal prevalence of the slave trade, it will not be thought wonderful that the middle regions of 150,000,000 of people should be shut out from the knowledge of the rest of mankind, and be capable of being penetrated only in the most gradual way, and by means of colonies planted along the coast when and from whence the "leaven of Christianity shall leaven the lump," as it works onward. A colony of civilized men, controlled by law, and influenced by a sense of divine obligation on the shore of a barbarous continent, forms a bright and powerful centre of civilization and religion, whose elevating influence and redeeming power will be mighty and far extending amid the surrounding dark-

ness! It will present a heaven-bound bulwark against the men of blood who forge and bind the chains of death. Coming in contact with the strongest powers of earth, and the fiercest machinations of hell, it will vanquish them both! and carry the flag of liberty and the banner of the Cross and plant them in vallies and on promontories which all other arts and devices of men would forever fail to reach! Whoever would operate successfully *on* Africa, must thus *enter into* Africa. *Colonies* of civilized and Christianized colored men must be formed on the coast first, and then in every accessible and eligible point in the interior, by which both the arts and sciences, and the religion of civilized men, shall be brought to bear effectually upon the natives. Thus, and thus alone, can we abolish the accursed slave trade, wake up new life in the suffering sons and daughters of Africa, and introduce the gospel, and the universal dominion of liberty and law, purity and happiness, into that vast continent which deep darkness has covered for uncounted ages.

Who, therefore, can doubt that *colonization promises* more for the millions in Africa than any and all other schemes which have been devised for her good? By its very nature it is adapted to the performance of a work which nothing else can do. Facts have not yet shown the possibility of putting down the slave trade in any other way. Facts have not yet shown that any missionary station can exist, or be sustained in Africa, unconnected with colonial influence, or without colonial protection.

But facts *have* shown that *colonization* can put an end to the slave trade! Facts *have* shown that under colonial protection missionaries are perfectly safe. Facts have shown that for more than 150 miles around Liberia, the influence of the colony is so great and beneficial that missions can be established with the consent, or rather at the request, of the chiefs, head men and the common people, and with every prospect of safety and success!

Colonization, therefore, is the only scheme which gives any fair promise and prospect of reaching, to bless and save, the millions of Africa.

We may therefore proceed to remark:

4thly. That these fair promises of colonization have been fulfilled, as far as the nature of the case would admit.

Thus far the enterprise has been successful. The expectations of its early and enthusiastic friends have been more than realized. It has been compelled to endure troubles and disasters, to meet persecution and unrelenting hostility, to encounter opposition and conflict, from the north and the south; but it has triumphed over them all, and gone steadily onward in the achievement of the magnificent results which it originally contemplated. Already

The very nature of Colonization insures its success.

we can announce an advanced stage in its progress, and point to labors actually done, and ends securely gained, on which the world may look with admiring approbation!

There is *that* in the very plan proposed by the American Colonization Society, which we believe ensures its success, and did from the very beginning. It was something altogether new in the history of human society and human operations. It was indeed a bold and daring experiment. We may search the history of all the colonies which have been planted since the infancy of the world, but we shall search in vain for any thing similar to the means employed to plant Liberia, and the machinery relied upon to conduct it to maturity. It was undertaken in a spirit of dependence on God, of faith and prayer, with reference to the extension of His kingdom and the salvation of men. The good of the persons planting the colony was not *alone* concerned. The enterprise respected also the country in which the colony was planted—the preservation, civilization, and the redemption of its inhabitants, numbering at least 150,000,000 then alive, and increasing with great rapidity. There was nothing grand or imposing, such as ordinarily attends upon a nation's movements. It was a *benevolent society*, numbering as its members a few unpretending individuals, who, looking abroad upon the face of our country, beheld upwards of 2,000,000 of persons laboring under hopeless bondage, and sunk in the lowest degradation, against whose improvement law, and prejudice, and circumstances, had erected an insuperable barrier, and rendered *removal* absolutely necessary to their elevation. And when they cast their eyes abroad over the face of the earth, Africa was at once fixed upon as the place of their future homes, having been the land of their fathers, and being apparently incapable of redemption from its deep debasement by any instrumentality other than its own children. One of the first colonists remarked, in relation to the early history of the colony and the feelings with which the first colonists entered into the measure, "under a conviction that no possible change could make their condition worse, they eagerly embraced *Africa*, with all its proverbial horrors, as an anchor of hope. That the whole scheme was at first contrived by Providence, and that it has been thus far conducted by the same unfaltering hand, there will not remain the shadow of a doubt on the mind of any who will be at the pains to examine it."

In the year 1822, the first emigrants arrived at Cape Mesurado. There was but one *white* man among them. He acted as agent of the Society. Small companies were sent out annually, and some supplies. But the growth of the colony was necessarily slow. There were but few persons among the colored people of this country who had the

energy and determination to be pioneers in such a work as this. And the funds had all to be raised by voluntary contributions, given by persons whose minds had first to be convinced of the propriety of aiding this new and unexampled enterprise. Yet the work went gradually forward. A sympathy was soon created for the colored man, and his elevation made an object of desire and effort. The minds of slave holders were turned to the improvement of their slaves; and hundreds of masters have their slaves now in a course of preparation for freedom, as the direct consequence. Hundreds of slaves have already been set free in order that they might be removed to Liberia. Hundreds more are now offered to the Society, if it will assume the expense of sending them out. Among the colored people themselves a new impression has been produced. They now begin to inquire into the merits of colonization on their own account, not only, but also with reference to their race. An impression somewhat extensively prevails that "the night of their sorrows" is nearing its end, and that soon they are to be placed in better circumstances: that the slave trade is to be eradicated from the face of the earth, and their own land thereby made an asylum for the free and a home for the blessed. There are multitudes now awaiting an opportunity of being sent to Liberia. They are too poor usually to defray their own expenses and hence are obliged to depend upon the Society, whose resources are entirely inadequate to meet the demands made upon it. The publications of the Society are taken and read by many others of them. They are anxious to know the facts relating to the commonwealth of Liberia. They cannot long fail to see that it offers them the best and only chance of rising to importance and equality in the social state, and of acquiring personal wealth and national distinction.

Here it may be proper to meet an objection sometimes urged against *colonization* in consequence of the very slow progress which is made in removing the colored people from this country. We readily grant that *nothing* has been done towards this, as far as *numbers* alone are concerned. But still we assert that every thing has been performed which was promised. We never expected to remove the whole colored population by *voluntary contributions!* The plan was to remove those who were willing to go and could be taken by the means the Society could command, and to locate them in Liberia with reference to further results and ulterior ends. An experiment was to be made. It was to be shown that Liberia holds out brighter prospects to the colored man than are visible in any other quarter of the globe. It was to be shown that he was capable of self-government, and could rise to independent sovereignty and high rank among the nations of

the earth. And when this shall have been accomplished, we shall not have to urge the colored people to go to Liberia; so surely as men are governed by motives, and will go to the place where they can improve their condition, so surely will the Africans in this country go to Liberia at their own expense and for their own ends. "The same reasons which bring the depressed and oppressed Europeans to America; the same reasons which brought our fathers here, and made this country what it is; the same reasons which roll on our population towards the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, creating and adding new states to our union, extending our empire and augmenting our wealth and importance as a nation, *will* attract and impel the colored population of this country to Africa and lead to similar results."

It therefore is important for us to inquire what *colonization* has done in Africa? Whether it is thus opening the country, developing its resources, showing what can be done by the colored race, and preparing an asylum to which whosoever will, may flee and be safe from all the ills that here begirt his path! On this subject we can speak with confidence and with pleasure, for we can point to the *facts*, which all may see if they will, and whose bearing and importance none can fail to understand. *There stands the commonwealth of Liberia*, just of age, and capable of speaking for itself. *There it is*, on the western coast of Africa, in the very central regions of barbarism and the slave trade. There are laid the foundations of a free and happy government, with all the appliances of education and religion. There is the germ of a rising, a prosperous and a mighty empire. *There* are some 3,000 persons removed from this country, organized into a regular republican government, on a model like our own, where all the offices are filled and all the power is held by colored men. *There* are laws and courts of justice, and civil institutions, and all the accompanyments of advanced civilization. *There* are churches, and schools, and Sabbaths remembered and hallowed, and sanctuaries well filled with devout worshipers. *There* is a public press and two newspapers regularly issued. There are towns and villages, agriculture and commerce, comfortable houses and all the accompanyments of industry and wealth! *There* the slave trade has been abolished. Wherever they could obtain the right to the soil, they beat down the barracoons, dispersed the wretches that kept them, knocked the chains from the slaves and set the captives free. The natives around, beginning to understand the nature of the colonial institutions, and regarding the colony as an asylum, have sought refuge within its borders by thousands. The colonists gladly hail them as an accession to their strength, and encourage them in all the pursuits of

an honorable life! In this way the minds of the natives have been changed in regard to the slave trade, and more has been done to remove this scourge of Africa by the little colony of Liberia than by the British nation, with her Spanish treaty, and all the world put together!

The colony has acquired a substantial character, and contains within itself the elements of a permanent existence. They were early warned against the delusive expectation of *being supported*; they were constantly reminded that they must rely on their own resources, and subsist by their own unaided energies. The plan of the government was committed, in all its details, almost entirely to them. They were thus thrown upon their own resources, and made to feel the responsibility of working out the redemption of their race, or of giving to the world confirmation of what had often been said of them and their race, that "they were incapable of any thing great, and designed only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water" to others all their days. They saw at once they must be the arbiters of their fortunes—that their destiny was in their own hand. They saw that every thing was staked on the success of their experiment. And it made them MEN! It inspired them with ardor, and called into active operation all their ingenuity and judgment. And their laws, and courts of justice, and legislative council, and their social, civil and political order, and their domestic comforts and happiness, and all the result of early efforts at self-government, made by men whose last hope was involved in the experiment.

All this is an achievement which has no parallel in history. Not one of the early settlements made in our country, under auspicies far more grand and favorable, and with many more facilities and means of success, ever accomplished so much in so short a period of time!

In brief, then, COLONIZATION has taken some of the free people of color from their depressed condition, and placed them in a country and in circumstances where they have arisen to a high state of respectability and national importance. COLONIZATION has been instrumental in causing many masters to liberate their slaves and has set them up in an independent government. It has presented to the free colored man, the strongest motives for rising in the world; has shown him where it can be done; and how he may reach the highest conditions of society. It has embraced Africa with her millions in its comprehensive benevolence, and has erected the standard of liberty, kindled the lights of civilization, and flung to the breeze the banner of the Cross, on her shores and back towards her mountains!

Surely an enterprise that *promises* so much as this, and that has actually *accomplished* so much, is worthy of all honor, and has a claim upon the sympathies and prayers,

the labors and the contributions of every friend of his country and lover of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

Whatever is great and noble in the various other benevolent enterprises of the age sheds a beauty and a lustre on *this*. In whatever they endeavor for the spread of liberal principles and the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom, this is indissolubly conjoined.

Does the *philanthropist* look abroad over the scathed and torn face of society, and feel a tender sympathy for the woes of his fellow men, and desire to extend them relief? *Here* is an opportunity for him to bless the neediest and most wretched portion of the human family!

Does the *patriot*, while reflecting on the rise and fall of empires, and surveying the elements of evil inwrought into the texture of our own country, feel a trembling of solicitude for the destiny of our republican institutions, and the hopes of the world, as hanging upon them? *Here*, he may give to his patriotism fullest scope. *Here*, he may lay his hand upon one of the most portentious evils which threaten our peace. *Here*, he may touch with his finger the gathering cloud and dissipate its darkness before its "seven thunders have uttered their voices," and before its lurid lightnings have darted upon their work of death!

Does the *friend of home missions* seek how he can most effectually bestow his charities, and best preach the gospel to the destitute in our own country? *Here* is a field which demands his consideration. Who, in our highly favored land, more needs the spiritual teaching, the divine illumination, and the heavenly consolation of the gospel than the colored population. None surely have been less thought of and cared for! None have been more needy and helpless! And how can they be most successfully brought under the means of grace, and the redeeming influences of religion? Not surely by the ordinary process of missionary operations. Their condition is peculiar, and the manner of approaching them must be adapted to it. Present relief may doubtless be rendered them in their present circumstances. But when the next generation comes on the stage, they will be but little, if any, in advance of what the present is now. Unlike the settlement of whites in some part of the west, who need some assistance this year and the next; and very soon will be able to take care of themselves and extend assistance to others situated as they lately were, the colored people while in their present circumstances will need *perpetual* care and attention.

He, therefore, who would most effectually aid them, must first assist in placing them in circumstances where they will be relieved from the civil and social disadvantages under which they labor in this country. To all the friends of home missions we would most respectfully present Colonization as deserving a share of their contributions for the advancement of their favorite object.

Does the advocate and patron of

foreign missions seek a field broad as his benevolence and ripe for the harvest? *Here* it is! Africa with her teeming millions! Every company of emigrants sent out by this Society may be regarded as a band of missionaries. They go to that country with some knowledge of the gospel; they are accompanied by intelligent ministers of Christ; they form there a Christian society where all the advantages of civilized and Christianized institutions are exemplified, and which becomes a bright and powerful centre of civilization and of religion. How mighty must be the influence of such a minister and such a congregation upon the surrounding nations and tribes of heathens! and how rapid will be the triumphs of the gospel in such circumstances!

Does the friend of *Sabbath schools* feel his benevolence stirred within him? *Here* are children to be educated: children whose parents never have known the way of life: children anxious to be taught, and in situations where the first teachings will be like laying the foundations of a new world.

Do the friends of *education*, of the Sabbath, the bible, the tracts and the temperance societies, seek to enlarge the influence and extend the usefulness of these noble and glorious institutions? With what feelings of gratification would their hearts swell to look through the vista of time and see this germ which benevolence has planted on the African shore grown into an extensive and powerful republic, imbued with the principles of liberty, sustaining American institutions, adorned with temples for the worship of Jehovah, keeping holy the Sabbath, gathering thousands of children into the fold, bringing millions of outcast heathens to a knowledge of the Saviour, and giving prosperity, happiness and salvation to hosts of human beings hitherto degraded in the scale of human existence! This may be seen! Such will be the result of untiring and liberal efforts in this enterprise of African Colonization! Nothing is wanting but fervent prayer, enlarged means, increased exertions and unflinching perseverance, to secure this "devoutly to be wished for consummation?"

Shall these be enjoyed? Ministers of Christ, and heralds of salvation to a perishing world, shall this great cause be longer suffered to languish for want of adequate support? have you given to it the thought, and the consideration which its merits demand? have you suitably commended it to the affections, the prayers, and the liberality of your respective churches? Has bleeding Africa had that large place in your efforts which its enormous size and urgent wants demand?

On the coast of that ill-fated continent from which their fathers were torn, has been planted an infant republic, composed of their free and civilized descendants; they have been restored to their own land, and they will be a blessing to that land; from their happy abodes, the light

The work cannot go forward without money.

will shine into its dreary wastes, and "its solitary places shall be glad," and its "deserts shall rejoice and blossom as the rose!" A country scourged and depopulated by the slave trade, will be brought to new life and fruitfulness, and filled with her long-lost children restored through the efforts of Christian benevolence.

But this work cannot go forward without *means!* and the means cannot in any way be so easily and properly obtained as by the clergy, of the various denominations, laying the subject before their people and interesting themselves to have a handsome contribution made to the Society, on or about the 4th of July. Oh what a joyful hour it would be for Africa, if every pulpit in this land were to speak out her wants, and every minister exert himself to arouse in the breasts of his people those feelings of benevolence that have too long lain dormant! Oh, then,

"Do something! Do it soon—with all thy might,"

for the hour of Heaven's mercy is rapidly drawing to a close; and we are all hastening to the land of silence and of death, and the retributions of eternity. What we do, therefore, for the perishing, "must be done quickly."

Could we approach every minister in the land, we would affectionately say to him,

"Go Shepherd, tend thy flock; it is the flock
For which thy Master shed his precious blood,
Chiefly to it thy time and care devote;"

remembering all the while that "the field is the world," and that it is in the power of every minister to send forth from his own church an influence which shall extend all around the globe; to put into action a train of moral causes which shall operate to the end of time; to touch the springs of life in other men, and give direction to their opinions and conduct, and control, in a great measure, their *charities.* And we would then earnestly entreat him to think of this great cause; to bring it before his people; to plead for it eloquently; the more eloquently, if possible, to make some amends for having in past years perhaps forgotten it; and thus send forth streams of mercy and salvation which should make glad the whole garden of the Lord.

"Rouse to this work of high and holy love,
And thou an Angel's happiness shalt know,—
Shalt bless the earth while in the world above,
The good begun by thee shall onward flow
In many a branching stream, and wider grow;
The seed that in these few and fleeting hours,
Thy hands unsparing and unwearied sow
Shall deck thy grave with Amaranthine flowers,
And yield thee fruits divine in Heaven's immortal [bowers."

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ANASTASIS; *or the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, rationally and scripturally considered.* By GEORGE BUSH, Professor of Hebrew, New York City University. New York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1845.

EVERY one who pays much attention to the progress of religious opinion, cannot fail to be struck with the great and rapid changes, which are constantly going on at the present day, particularly in our own country. One needs to be a pretty diligent reader to keep himself acquainted with all the revolutions of opinion which are taking place around him. The religious doctrines which seemed to be a pretty good fit for the public mind thirty years ago, are now beginning to be very uncomfortable in many parts. "The bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it." And not only so, but some of the best minds in almost all the denominations of the Old Church, are constantly discovering new rents in the old garments; and every attempt to repair them by putting in new cloth, only enlarges and makes them worse.

That there is in our day a terrible upheaving of the elements in the religious world, is seen and acknowledged by all. All of every denomination seem to realize that the prevailing church is

experiencing a tremendous shaking, which is felt to its remotest bounds. All things seem to be getting loose from their ancient moorings, and the old foundations to be everywhere giving way. The most venerated dogmas are, one by one, being subjected to the crucible of logical and philological deduction, and little else than dross is found remaining. Multitudes are sensible that the earth is trembling and quaking beneath their feet, and that the heavens are "passing away with a great noise." "For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled." Who that has any spiritual discernment, or that is able to elevate his thoughts above the things of sense, cannot see, in the prevailing church, the progressive fulfilment of these words of the Lord, "And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

To those who look only on the surface, there is something fearfully appalling in this breaking up of old opinions — this wild commotion, and loud roar of the elements. But those who are in the light of the New Jerusalem see that such things must needs be. They see that the Old Church cannot be consummated, and a New Church formed without them. They, too, see the former heaven and the former earth passing away, but they also see a new heaven bending over their heads, and a new earth stretching beneath their feet. They see that it is because the windows of heaven have been opened, that the fountains of the great deep are breaking up. The kingdom of the heavens is struggling violently, and hence the wild chaos into which the old religious world is thrown. The first evidence of a healing process is usually an aggravation of the symptoms of disease. And even death is but the precursor of the resurrection. From dissolution and decay there arise new formations. Confusion must ever precede order. "Before anything is reduced to order," says Swedenborg, "it is commonly provided that there should be a reduction thereof into a kind of confused something, as it were a chaos, whereby the things that do not well cohere together are disunited; and when they are disunited, then the Lord disposes them into order. This may be compared with what exists in nature, where all things both in general and particular are first reduced to something confused, before they are arranged. Unless there were storms in the atmosphere, to dissipate things heterogeneous, the air would never

become serene, but there would be a fatal accumulation of deadly substances therein." A. C. n. 842.

The commotion, therefore, which has been going on in the religious world for many years past, and which still continues with unabated, perhaps with increased violence, is regarded with very different feelings by persons of the Old and of the New Church. To the former it seems as if the very foundations of religion and religious belief were in danger, while to the latter it is but a sign that religion is about to be established on a more secure and permanent basis. The former contemplate it with feelings of apprehension and dread; the latter, with those of confidence and hope. The former see in it only an occasion of lamentation and mourning; the latter, one rather of gladness and rejoicing. In the crumbling to pieces of the Old Church, and the overthrow of its most cherished opinions, a new churchman sees but the orderly and progressive operation of that judgment which commenced in the world of spirits almost a century ago. Swedenborg tells us, that, when that event took place there, "everything was laid bare, shaken, and overthrown to its foundations, and that great fear and trembling seized upon all those who had been reposing in their imaginary heavens;" and similar things must needs take place here, just in the degree that the judgment descends and is performed upon the church on earth. While this judgment is going on, we must expect much "running to and fro," and great noise and confusion upon the surface. But could men hear with the ears of angels, they might hear within and above this tumultuous roaring of the waves of the sea, such music as would gladden every pious heart. This idea is beautifully illustrated by the following spiritual relation.

"There was a numerous crowd of spirits about me," says Swedenborg, "which was heard as something inordinate flowing: they complained, saying, that now a total destruction was at hand, for in that crowd nothing appeared in consociation, and this made them fear destruction; they supposed also that it would be total, as is the case when such things happen. But in the midst of them, I apperceived a soft sound, angelically sweet, in which was nothing but what was ordinate; the angelic choirs there present were within, and the crowd of spirits to whom appertained what was inordinate, was without; this angelic flowing strain continued a long time, and it was said, that hereby was represented how the Lord rules things confused and inordinate, which are without, by virtue of a pacific principle in the midst, whereby the things inor-

dinate in the circumferences are reduced into order, each being restored from the error of its nature." A. C. n. 5396.

How delightful it is to know, that, in the midst of the spirits that are producing such a tumult throughout christendom, there are angelic choirs from whom proceeds a continued strain of "soft sounds, angelically sweet!"

These reflections may seem rather irrelevant here, but we have been led into them from reading the work the title of which stands at the head of this article, and which was referred to in our last number of the Magazine. We have read the whole of the work with great care, and are of opinion that it will eventually perform a very important use in preparing the way for the doctrines of the New Church. The author is a man, who, to use his own language in another work, published about two years ago, "stands pledged to no party, sect, school, or symbol, but who comes to the investigation [of his subject] under the sole prompting of the love of Truth for the Truth's sake, and with the full determination to follow whithersoever its guidance shall lead." He has been favorably known to the student in theology, and to the religious public generally, for many years, through the works he has published. His Commentaries upon the Pentateuch have been extensively used in the Old Church, and have gained for him a high reputation as a writer on theology. It is admitted on all hands, so far as our acquaintance extends, that Professor Bush ranks among the first scholars of our country in the department of Biblical criticism; and in our judgment there is no one who stands before him. His acknowledged talents and learning and his well-established and well-merited reputation as a clear and vigorous writer, taken in connection with the office he has held for several years as Professor of Hebrew in the New York City University, cannot fail to give to the work before us an authority with a large class of minds, in the Old Church, which otherwise it probably would not have had. Doubtless it will be read and believed by multitudes, who could not be induced to look into a work written by a new churchman on the same subject, and containing substantially the same view of it. There is a deep prejudice against the writings of the New Church, which prevents many persons from looking into them at all, and others who do look into them from seeing any light there. Perhaps the work before us may do something towards removing this prejudice, and may also assist those persons who cannot see that TRUTH is its own witness, but who require to have it backed up by the authority of great names; for

there are many in our day, as at the time of the Lord's first advent, who inquire, "Have any of the rulers believed on Him?"

It will interest our readers to learn that the view which Professor B. has taken of the Resurrection, and in support of which he has written the work before us, consisting of about 400 pages, 8vo, is the same as that held and taught by the New Church, though he professes to have "arrived at it by a purely independent process." He takes the ground that the doctrine of the Resurrection which has been generally held and taught by the Christian Church for the last eighteen hundred years, is alike contrary to reason and scripture; and maintains that the testimony of both these witnesses on the subject is, that when man dies he enters the spiritual world, a real man, in a spiritual and substantial body, and that his material body will never be re-assumed. He says, (p. 42) "So far as we are able to apprehend the prevalent sentiments of the Christian world in regard to this subject, they suppose that the same body which is consigned to its native dust, is, at some distant day, and in some unknown manner, to be raised again and re-constructed, and the disembodied spirit, after a long exile, to be restored to its primitive habitation, newly fashioned and furnished by the hand of Omnipotence."

This is the view which Professor B. rejects, and which it is the principal aim of his book to disprove and overthrow.

"The grand point," he says, "which we combat throughout is that which affirms that no true resurrection can take place but by means of the *re-union* of those principles, soul and body, which constitute our being in the present life. We maintain, on the other hand, that neither reason nor revelation countenance the idea of any such re-union. All the purposes of a future existence and a state of retribution, we contend, may be answered without it; and as this view completely disembarrasses the subject of difficulties which are insuperable on any other, we must hold its claims on our credence to be imperative." p. 78.

Again:

"The resurrection body is that part of our present being to which the *essential life* of the man pertains. We may not be able to see it, to handle it, to analyze it, or to describe it. But we know that it exists, because we know that we ourselves exist. It constitutes the inner essential vitality of our present bodies, and it lives again in another state *because it never dies*. It is immortal in its own nature, and it is called a *body* — a spiritual body — because the poverty of human language, or perhaps the weakness of the human mind, forbids the adoption of any more fitting term by which to express it. It is however a body which has nothing to do with the gross material particles which enter into the composition of our present earthly tenements." p. 70.

"It would seem then, on the whole, from a collation of all the grounds on which an opinion is to be formed, that the judgment of reason would be,

that a spiritual body is developed at death. By the development of a spiritual body, we mean the disengagement — the extrication — of that psychical part of our nature with which vital and animal functions are, in the present life, intimately connected." p. 78.

Nor does this writer believe that the spiritual body of which he speaks, is a subtle and formless vapor, but that it is a *substantial* thing, and in human form. In his mind the *material* is evidently *not* the *substantial.* He discards the common notion that the soul, when it leaves the material body, exists as a mere conscious intelligence or bare power of thought, without *any form,* and treats the idea as "sheer hypothesis," having no warrant either from Scripture or sound philosophy. The following are some of his remarks on this point.

"On no subject in the whole circle of human knowledge are we more in the dark, than in regard to what is usually termed *the soul.* It is common to speak on this subject as if the soul were abstract thought — pure intellection — capable of subsisting in another world in the most absolute and isolated state, without any kind of connection with any kind of body. But is thought substance? In order to thought must there not be something which thinks? — something of which thought is the attribute and not the essence? Granted it may be, and must be, that we are unable to detect or define this mysterious substance; but we may still affirm that it must exist, and that no error is greater than to suppose, that, at death, the soul goes forth from the body as a *bare power of thought* — bodiless and formless *mens* — which is, indeed, in our present constitution lodged in a body, but to which a body is not necessary, and to which a body is in fact rather an incumbrance. Now to all this we do not hesitate to reply, that it is nothing more than a sheer hypothesis. It is impossible, on the ground either of revelation or philosophy, to make good the position." p. 72.

So we think; and so we should suppose that all who reflected upon the subject *must* think. But so the great body of the Christian Church have *not* thought; and when they do, the doctrine of the resurrection of the material body will be abandoned by all intelligent and reflecting people.

About 80 pages of the first part of Professor B.'s work is devoted to the rational view of the doctrine of the Resurrection; the remainder of it is taken up with the Scripture argument, together with a treatise on the Judgment, the Second Coming, &c. — subjects intimately connected with the Resurrection. We may have something to say of Professor B.'s views on these subjects in a future number.

The argument from reason against the commonly received notion of the Resurrection, which is presented in the first part of the work, is clear and cogent, although one with which new

churchmen are generally familiar. And we are utterly at a loss to know how it can be fairly refuted. The author writes like a man who has carefully examined his subject, and who feels sure that he has solid ground to stand upon; yet at times he seems to shrink beneath the weight of responsibility which he thinks he incurs by publishing views so contrary to the current belief of the Church for many centuries, and which he is aware will be regarded by many of his brethren as heterodox and unscriptural. For he sees, and knows that others also must see, that, if his views of the Resurrection be correct, several other doctrines of the Old Church which are intimately connected with this, and which have been much discoursed upon from the pulpit, must necessarily be false. He sees that he is here opening a sluice into the Old City, which cannot fail to sweep away many things that have been regarded as treasures, and the loss of which will inevitably draw down upon him the anathemas of many of its inhabitants. The author does not attempt to wink out of sight the consequences which legitimately flow from the truth of his main position, but alludes to them with great candor on the very first page of his book. We quote the paragraph entire.

"It is, I am persuaded, but seldom that a work is presented to the public under a more oppressive load of conscious solemn responsibility than which presses upon my spirit in delivering over to the verdict of the Christian community the present volume. By no possibility can I disguise from myself the fact, that the results which it announces are of very momentous import to the interests of revealed truth. From the inevitable relations of the doctrine of the Resurrection to the cognate announcements of the great scheme of Scriptural Eschatology, or *the doctrine of the last things*, a course of reasoning, or a theory of interpretation which goes essentially to change the established view of that tenet, must necessarily work a correspondent change in our estimate of a whole class of subjects bearing upon the theme of human destiny in another life. Now it is certain that the conclusions to which I have arrived, and which will be found embodied in the ensuing pages, must, if built upon sound premises, present the grand future under an entirely new aspect. The resurrection of the body, if my reasonings are well-grounded, is not a doctrine of revelation.

"I cannot be unaware of the shock which such a declaration is calculated to give to the settled preconceptions of a great portion of Christendom. Nor can I be insensible to the imputation, which it can scarcely fail to draw after it, of an uncommon degree of temerity in thus virtually assuming to arraign and to convict of error the current creed of the Church for the space of eighteen centuries. The severity of judgment reasonably to be expected on this score, I know, can be propitiated only by an overwhelming cogency of proof of the truth of the main position. . . . I beg him [the reader] also to believe, that nothing short of the most intense conviction of the truth of the principles on which my conclusions rest, could have prevailed upon me to stand forth so much in the attitude of an impugner of the fixed belief of good and great men both of the past and the present."

The reader cannot help believing this; for even if he should fail to see the force of the writer's argument, he cannot fail to see that the work is pervaded throughout with a deep earnestness and sincerity which could come from no shallow convictions.

We are also glad of the confession which the author here, and elsewhere makes, concerning the "current creed of the Church for the space of eighteen centuries" upon this subject; because his knowledge of Church history must give to his decision upon this point a good deal of weight in the minds of most persons; and also because there are many in the Old Church at the present day, particularly among Unitarians, who reject the notion of a resurrection of the material body, and who do not know, and are not willing to admit, that the more rational and scriptural view which they hold, has been derived, directly or indirectly, from the New Church.

Although the author says that "his main results have been arrived at by a purely independent process," yet he does not attempt to disguise the fact that the doctrine of the resurrection advocated in his work is identical with that taught in the New Church. He makes honorable mention of Swedenborg and his doctrines, and has several quotations from "Noble's Appeal," which he speaks of as an "able and interesting" work. The following paragraph occurs in a note to p. 75.

"It may be deemed, perhaps, a somewhat presumptuous anticipation of the results which may hereafter accrue from the newly developed phenomena of mesmerism, to appeal to them in connexion with a subject of such grave moment as that under discussion; but as our own observation and experience, in circumstances that precluded the possibility of illusion, have fully established to our minds the leading facts of that science — for science it assuredly is — we have no hesitation in expressing the full belief that very important light is yet to be reflected from that source on some of the profoundest mysteries of our physical and intellectual being. Nor is it any less clear to our convictions that the physico-psychical system of Swedenborg, *in this connexion*, is destined to engage the study of all reflecting minds; for sure we are that no one can institute the comparison that we have, between the facts of animal magnetism and the doctrines of this remarkable man, without seeing that they stand in the same relation to each other as do the laws of gravitation in the universe to the philosophy of Newton. We have learned — and not a little to our surprise — that the system of Swedenborg, so far from being a mere wild incoherent farrago of spiritual hallucinations, is really built upon a profound philosophy of *matter* and of *mind*, and that the question of the truth of his theology must be decided by that of his philosophy; and this, strange as it may appear, is rather receiving confirmation than refutation by the results of scientific research. Nor will a supreme regard to truth allow us to withhold the declaration, that the view of the resurrection advocated in these pages is substantially the same with that taught in his writings,

though arrived at by an independent process, and before we were aware of the features of affinity between them."

It is true that the force of these remarks is in some measure neutralized by what the author says in his Preface, where he speaks of the New Church doctrine of the Resurrection as not the less true for "being found in connection with incidental error," and declares himself unable "to accede to many of his (Swedenborg's) leading views, particularly in the interpretation of Scripture." Still, we cannot doubt that what he has said will be the means of overcoming some existing prejudices against the doctrines of the New Church, and of leading some minds to examine them, who may be able to see that the "incidental error" which the Professor speaks of, is rather apparent than real. We have no fault to find with him or with any one else, for not acknowledging anything beyond what he really sees to be true in the writings of Swedenborg. It would be wrong and dangerous to do so. Swedenborg himself says that "in heaven, no one believes any truth unless he sees or has seen it; for there they say, who can believe that it is so unless he sees it?" Ap. Ex. 242. "The angels have wisdom in consequence of *seeing* truths; wherefore, when it is said to any angel, that this or that is to be believed, although it is not understood, the angel replies, do you suppose me to be insane, or that yourself are a god whom I am bound to believe? If I do not see, it may be something false from hell." Ap. Ex. 1100. All that is required of us is, that we freely acknowledge whatever truth is clearly revealed to us, and that we do not, from a spirit of pride or self-seeking, from love of the world's praises or fear of the world's scorn, refuse to award due credit to such mediums of truth to our minds as the Lord may provide. We have only to be faithful to our convictions — to be honest and frank in acknowledging what we do see, and then we shall be able to see more. What is obscure to-day will be clear to-morrow. "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." Unless we have greatly mistaken the author's character for patient research, thorough investigation, logical deduction and a deep love of truth, we feel quite sure that those things in the writings of Swedenborg which he cannot now accept, and which appear to him like incidental error, will yet appear not less rational and consistent than those which he already receives as undeniably true.

Although Professor B. does not yet adopt the doctrine of the New Church concerning the Sacred Scripture, it is very plain from many passages in the work before us, and especially from his introductory

chapter, that he approximates towards it. His reverence for the Word is evidently much deeper, and his views of its inspiration, much higher and nearer to the truth, than we generally find among biblical scholars of the Old Church. Although there is no evidence that he adopts the principle of *correspondence* between natural and spiritual things, as a rule of scriptural interpretation — indeed there is abundant evidence that he does not — still he often speaks of the *letter* of Scripture as teaching, or *appearing* to teach, something quite different from the real truth; and there are occasional intimations throughout the work of his belief in a more interior and truer sense of Scripture, yet to be unfolded. Thus, in respect to the written Word, the author appears to be *looking* in the right direction — looking upward and inward, not downward and outward. Where this is the case, we have no fear for the results. The eyes cannot fail to be opened to behold the wondrous things of God's law. But from the author's previous habits as a commentator upon the Bible, it would be unreasonable to expect that he could easily or suddenly adopt the doctrine of the New Church concerning the Scripture, how sincere and ardent soever may be his love of truth. Yet we are unable to see how he can rest short of this in the end, if he will but push his inquiries upon the subject far enough, and with his characteristic freedom, independence, and regard for sound logical inference.

We cannot better close this notice, than by introducing some quotations from the work before us, which may serve to illustrate the author's elevated views of the Scripture, and his approximation towards the New Church doctrine on this subject, at the same time that they will show his deep conviction that a mine of truth is yet to be unfolded from the Sacred Oracles, which, at present is scarcely dreamed of.

"We know what has been the final issue in regard to the positions of the Florentine astronomer. The demonstrations of science in establishing the truth of his theory of the solar system, have established a system of transcendent importance in the interpretation of Scripture — that the letter of the sacred writers does not always accord, especially in matters of physical science, with the verity of the sense. This principle geology, at a later date, has strikingly confirmed. We have for ourselves no doubt that physiology and pneumatology are destined to afford another illustration of the same principle." p. 84.

Again:

"The Scriptures, speaking according to appearance, represent the earth as the central body, and the sun and the stars as revolving around it. What shall he [the astronomer] do? Shall he give up his conclusions because the *letter* of revelation is in conflict with them, when at the same time he is just

as well assured of their truth, as he is that there is any sun or earth at all? Yet we know that the time has been when this was required of the astronomer, because he was going counter to revelation, and he could only avow his belief by defying the terrors of hierarchical orthodoxy. Yet the truth has here finally triumphed, and the world reposes in the admission, that, on this subject the Bible was not designed to teach the verities of science." p. 87.

The following are some of the writer's comments upon the text in Matthew, "And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out," &c. The affinity of his own views of it with that of the New Church, as evolved by means of the science of correspondence, would have been readily recognized even if he had not, as he has, quoted from Mr. Noble's Appeal.

"In accommodation to the sensuous ideas of the Jews, He [the Lord] depicts a sensuous imagery, and the whole passage is evidently to be interpreted on this principle. If one part of it is to be taken in the strictness of the letter, every other is also, and consequently it follows that if the *body* here literally means the body, the *right eye* means the right eye, and the *right hand* the right hand, and then we come to the conclusion, that entrance into heaven is facilitated by plucking out an eye and cutting off a hand. But will this be held? Is so gross a sense to be put upon our Saviour's words? If so, must we not hold to the counterpart of the notion, viz. that many enter heaven in their material bodies after having suffered the loss of several of the members? For thus it is said in the parallel passage of Mark, ch. ix. 43-47. "It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, — halt, — and with one eye, than having too hands, — feet, — and eyes, to be cast into hell-fire." What then does the passage, when viewed in connection with the general tenor of the Scriptures, natively teach? "Evidently," says Mr. Noble, (*Appeal* p. 61) "the offending eye and hand are mentioned to denote certain perverse propensities of the mind or spirit, from which alone all the organs of the body act; and as certain organs of the body are thus put for certain disorderly functions of the mind or spirit, which is the real man, to carry on the figure, and to avoid the incongruity of a mixed metaphor, the whole body is naturally, and according to the strict laws of composition, put for the whole mind or spirit, and thus for the whole man as he exists after death." p. 204.

In his introductory chapter on *the progressive development of scriptural truth*, which is written with marked ability, and most of the views contained in which cannot fail to commend themselves to every inquiring mind, the author speaks of "*a deeper insight into the interior soul of revelation*, and a more luminous apocalypse of its shrouded mysteries," as something which will doubtless be ere long granted unto men. His belief on this point, and some of his reasons for it, may be gathered from the following extract:

"We do not hesitate to affirm that many things connected with this mediatorial scheme — many things in its sanctions, many things in its typical shadows, many things in its predicted issues — do admit of, and will doubtless eventually receive, a vastly fuller and clearer exposition than has yet

been afforded to the world. And, in reference to the discussion upon which we have entered in the present volume, we cannot but very sensibly feel that we shall labor in vain to commend to our reader's assent the views advanced, so long as the impression is dominant in their minds that the ultimatum of inspired truth has already been attained, and that scarcely anything new is to be expected in scriptural elucidations. On this point we confess to an extreme anxiety to make our readers partakers of our own convictions. We perceive clearly that, in the course of our ensuing investigations, we shall be obliged to draw largely on any concessions which they may see fit to grant in the outset, that biblical science, like all other sciences, is *progressive;* and what conception can we form of *progress* in this department, which does not modify, and in some cases perhaps supersede established ideas?

"We repeat, then, our main position, that our knowledge of the contents of revelation is destined to be *progressive;* and in support of this position we certainly have the advantage of the argument drawn from the general analogy of Nature and of Providence. Throughout the whole range of creation we recognize the perpetual presence and operation of this great law. The principle of progression advances from the imperfect to the finished — from the rude to the refined — from the infantile to the mature — from primordial elements to elaborate formations — from tender germs to ripened fruits — from initial workings to ultimate consummations — is everywhere apparent; and why should it not hold here also? If progress is heaven's law in every other sphere of observation, the *presumption* certainly is that there is no exception here; and we are at liberty to affirm the fact, unless some adequate reason can be previously assigned for questioning or denying it. But we appeal to positive proof of the point which we have assumed, and advert —

"1. To the fact of actual confessed obscurities remaining at this day in the Word of God, after all the offorts that have been made to remove them. Is anything more obvious than that multitudes of such obscurities occur throughout the pages of Holy Writ? Have we not often had occasion to complain of them, and to exclaim, 'O for some Daniel — some dissolver of doubts and shower of hard sentences — to unriddle the intractable enigmas'! Does not the most casual perusal discover phrases and passages, paragraphs and sections, which to the mass of readers, are shrouded in a veil of triple darkness? . . . It is vain to deny that vast obscurity does rest upon certain portions of the Book of God. Chapter after chapter presents to multitudes of readers little else than a mere dead letter.

"Now we propose the question: whether it is probable that these obscurities will always remain to cloud the lustre of the Word of God? Is there not every reason to suppose that these dark places will be eventually cleared up to the entire satisfaction of every mind that is covetous of the truth? If it were not so, would it not be in contravention of the highest conceptions we can form of the character of God and of the whole analogy of his providence? Can we divest ourselves of the impression, that there is something derogatory to the wisdom and goodness of God in the idea, that perpetual shades are to rest upon large portions of the lively oracles, making them a complete *terra incognita* even to the most ardent explorers in this region of inquiry? Has He filled so large a portion of his Word with matter calculated merely to defy curiosity — to mock research — and to disappoint hope?

"If, as the Psalmist tells us, God has 'magnified his *Word* above all his name,' can we suppose that the mysteries couched in it shall never be solved? Is not the glory of its Author as much concerned in the development of the treasures of revealed truth, as in the illustration of the hidden things of

science? Are we not conscious of as strong an inward moral demand that these obscurities shall be cleared up, as that the secrets of creation shall be disclosed? But in all the departments of *physical inquiry* the progress of discovery is continually and rapidly onward; and we see not therefore why the analogy of Providence does not favor the position that the development of scriptural truth is also *progressive*." p. 16 – 20.

This is clear and cogent. We do not see how any reasonable person can gainsay it. Yet it must appear to multitudes, who have long been confirmed in the belief that all is known about the Scriptures that ever can be known, as a bold and startling announcement, that biblical science is *progressive*, and that there is yet to be such a development of scriptural truth as may "perhaps supersede established ideas." Although the author seems to think that the volume of revelation is to be unfolded in the same way as the volume of nature, that is, by diligent study and research, and is not aware that "the Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed to open the Book, and to loose the seven seals thereof," still we must thank him for having raised the question concerning the fuller unfolding of the contents of Scripture, and for having advocated the affirmative so eloquently as he has in the chapter from which we have just quoted. When men shall have settled down in this conclusion, we feel quite sure that they cannot long rest satisfied with any other key or doctrine of the Scripture than that revealed for the New Church.

The following extracts, though not found in the work before us, are from the pen of the same writer. They occur in the author's Letters to Prof. Stuart on the double sense of prophecy, which were published in the "Hierophant" about a year ago. We quote them as further evidence that his views of the written Word and of the nature and extent of its inspiration, are much higher and nearer to the truth than those which are commonly entertained by the Old Church. He tells Prof. Stuart,

"I am aware that it is your wont to speak about the meaning of Isaiah himself, and of the other prophets, in their annunciations, but I choose to speak of the meaning of the Holy Spirit in those revelations which obviously transcended the limits of all human intelligence, and in which the prophets acted the part of mere amanuenses; for that this was their real character in relation to the utterance of prophetic oracles, is a confident assertion which neither 'all Achaia,' nor all *Germania*, shall hinder me from making. . . You may indeed speak, as you expressly do, of the mind of the inspired writer, and of *his* particular intention, and reject the idea of his being merely an *automaton*, uttering words which he did not understand; but I know nothing of all this. My creed of inspiration recognizes no such personal intelligent, or conscious design on the part of the prophets in their annunciations. I regard them as mere amanuenses of the Holy Ghost, speaking

as they were moved by his mysterious impulse, and made to convey, under a sense which they *did* intend, another and an ulterior sense which they *did not* intend. . . . I shall doubtless betray my 'thrice-sodden simplicity' by speaking much more explicitly of the sense and meaning of the Holy Spirit in his Word, than of the sense and meaning of Isaiah, Daniel, or John. But for this I must crave pardon; the habit has probably become incorrigible of speaking of the Spirit of God as the true author of the Bible, and of its sense as his sense in all and every part." *Hierophant*, p. 176.

This certainly looks as if the author held to a *plenary* divine inspiration of the Scriptures. And if, as he strenuously maintains, there be a *double sense* to the prophetical parts of the Word, the one obvious and literal, the other remote and spiritual, why *may* not the same be true of other parts of the Word also? Why *should* it not, if there be the same order and uniformity in the Word, as in the works of God? Does not all analogy go to sustain the position that there is?

In another place he vindicates the allegorical or *typical* principle of biblical exposition in opposition to the common literal method, and says that he regards it as "a much less vicious mode of interpretation to find Christ *everywhere* in the Old Testament, than to find Him *nowhere*." "I would contend," he says, "that a spiritualizing proclivity is fraught with far less mischief to the interests of scriptural truth, than that cold, skeptical, and rationalistic style of exegesis, which refuses to admit a gleam of gospel light except where the rays are concentrated to the focus of a *jure divino* type. Such an interpreter seems to me to read his Bible as Shylock did his bond — nothing to be admitted but what is there expressly 'nominated.' My spirit is chilled by this iron rigor of requisition. I am impatient of a restriction that binds me down to the bare cortex of the letter, when all the impressions and impulses of my soul assure me, that God designs that I shall go beyond, and feed on the inner succulence of this tree of life." *Hierophant*, p. 131, 132.

Yes: God designs that every spiritual man "shall go beyond" the letter to the spirit of his Word; for "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." After reading such passages as those we have here cited from the pen of this author, we are unable to account for the fact stated in the Preface to the work before us, viz. that he does not accept Swedenborg's interpretation of the Scripture, upon any other ground than this — that he has not given the subject a patient and thorough examination. B. F. B.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE OF NATURAL THINGS TO SPIRITUAL.

NO. 9. *GEOLOGY.*

(Continued from page 112.)

The science of geology, as based upon an examination of the rocky strata of the globe, may properly be said to begin with the first consolidation of its crust. At this period the temperature being very great, the whole mass of water being either unformed from its component gases, or existing in a state of vapor, the refrigeration of the surface was exceedingly slow; and the cooling crusts assumed the highly crystalline structure of the older granites. These rocks are found lying beneath all others; that is, no others are ever found below them; but they sometimes are on the surface, and constitute the summits of the loftiest mountains. They, nevertheless, though generally the oldest formations, are probably of widely different ages; since dikes or veins of one variety of one granite rock, are often found traversing another, evidently injected in a state of fusion; the injected rock being of course the more recent. Deep in the bowels of the earth, where the temperature varies, but even now, slowly, they are probably still crystallizing. Granite, properly so called, is composed principally of feldspar, quartz, and mica. The latter is a shining mineral in lammellar, leaf-like plates or crystals. In some varieties of granite, supposed to be for the most part more modern, the mica gives place to a dark greenish crystalline mineral, termed hornblend; and these varieties are known under the name of sienite. In some of the newer varieties of this rock, the crystals of feldspar and quartz become less and less distinct until it passes, by imperceptible gradations, into greenstone, trap rock, and ultimately into volcanic lava, such as is ejected from the craters of active volcanoes. These rocks differ from each other very little in chemical composition, and are called the *igneous* series, because evidently the result of the cooling of molten matter.

It is obvious, that as soon as the aqueous vapor surrounding the earth could be condensed, the waters would partially suspend, and afterwards deposite in layers the rapidly accumulating debris, or fragments of the then existing rocks. This deposit of debris, when acted upon by the intense heat of the subjacent rocks or influent dikes, might be partially fused, and subsequently cool, with-

out destroying the original layers, or stratification, and in cooling, assume the appearance of stratified granite. The rocks formed in this way are gneiss, mica slate, &c., and lie immediately over the granite, and are generally next in point of antiquity. Above the gneiss, and therefore of subsequent formation, are others, such as clay slate, chlorite, grauwacke, shale, sandstone, limestone of various ages, chalk, oölite and diluvium. These formations have evidently been deposited from water, and are therefore denominated stratified or aqueous. The older varieties, especially those next the igneous series, and those of every age, when in contact with the former class, or traversed by them, exhibit evidence of the action of intense heat, and are therefore termed metamorphic or altered rocks; being the result of the combined agencies of *heat* and *water*. The stratified rocks, except the most ancient, abound with the remains of animals and vegetables, which must have flourished and been entombed during their formation. And these remains are termed by geologists, fossils. The more modern of the igneous series also contain fossils, which were probably imbedded when the molten mass was in a liquid or plastic state, and resting upon or flowing over the locations where these vegetables and animals grew and lived.

The more ancient rocks, both aqueous and igneous, contain the fewest fossil remains, and in the most ancient they are entirely wanting. Some of the earliest portions of the series were probably formed before the temperature was sufficiently reduced to permit the existence of animal or vegetable organization; and in others all traces of organic forms have been obliterated, and their substance consumed or converted into the older varieties of plumbago.

The earliest fossils are of a comparatively low order of organization; consisting for the most part of shell-fish, crustacæa, &c.; many of them of extinct genera. Vertebral animals occur comparatively late in the series; and no remains of man or his works have yet been discovered in any other class of formations, than those now in progress: facts which, so far as they go, clearly indicate the order of creation.

The fact that regeneration, or spiritual creation is a progressive work, necessarily implies, from the laws of correspondence, as has been stated, a corresponding progression in the development of "vegetable and animal organization." But theories of progressive development in nature, are matters of controversy, and have been opposed by some of the ablest naturalists of the age. The views which we entertain, and are endeavoring to illustrate, do not, how-

ever, seem to have been conceived, or at least have not been hitherto distinctly set forth in works of science, and of course, could not have been controverted directly. Much of the reasoning which has been urged upon the subject, has related to speculations that have resulted from false interpretations of the Word, and with which we have no sympathy. A few we have already taken some pains to disprove, and many others are regarded as equally absurd. But however irrelevant these speculations may be to the views we really entertain, the high authority of the philosophers who have been engaged in the controversy, from whom we would not, willingly, even appear to dissent hastily, and a belief that our principles may be illustrated by discriminating between what are, and what are not, legitimate inferences from them, induce us to notice, somewhat in detail, arguments which we might otherwise pass by as foreign to the subject.

Mr. Lyell complains that "many naturalists are guilty of no little inconsistency, in endeavoring to connect the phenomena of the earliest vegetation with the nascent condition of organic life; and at the same time, endeavoring to deduce therefrom, the greater heat of the ancient climate." "Since, if it be maintained," says he, "that the standard of organization was raised successively, we must ascribe the numerical preponderance, in the early ages, of plants of a simpler structure, not to the heat, but to those different laws which regulate organic life in newly created worlds." However cogent or decisive this reasoning may be, as regards the particular modification of the theory, with reference to which it was urged, it does not invalidate our conclusions, as we understand them, at all; for, as has been already stated, (vol. 13, page 338,) it is necessary that "*physical causes and effects correspond in succession to the spiritual causes and effects, through which they are produced.*" The history of our planet takes cognizance of facts, which we suppose to be more especially effects of the creation and regeneration of the man of this earth. So far as our race is peculiar, so far our geology must be characterized by differences in contradistinction to that of other planets, and no farther. It was here that the divinity became incarnate; that the Lord descended into the lowest principles of our nature, and of the material world; and our particular race is therefore eminently in the use of ultimating interior things. With us is the written Word or divine truth, clothed, by correspondence, in imagery from the events and circumstances of society, and the things of the natural world. Our highest excellence and use to each other, and, perhaps, in the "Grand Man," consists

in incorporating its most interior teachings into our lives, and thereby bringing them down and preserving them in ultimates, and illustrating them in our own minds, in such a manner that they may be rendered appreciable to the finite understandings of the men of this earth, and also it may be of other planets. While we may be capable of being elevated to some of the highest heavens, we begin our regeneration from a very low plane. Now, as the use of the material world is to develop the beginnings of human character, the ultimate or fixed principles of the mind, our planet may also be, so to speak, peculiarly in ultimates, or fixed and permanent in its condition; for in the economy of the mind, that may be regarded as comparatively fixed and permanent, which has been *ultimated* or incorporated into the life. But as humanity is everywhere in generals the same, as all men were everywhere created so that they may become images and likenesses of the Lord, it follows that the general development of man, must be similar upon all the earths, and, by consequence, that there must be a general similarity in the geology of all planets. Could it be shown that, upon any of them, there has never existed such a thing as the "greater heat of the ancient climate," we should of course infer, that there must have obtained a very essential modification in the order of organic development. But such a state of things could only exist as the effects of peculiarities, which it would not be very difficult to describe partially, in the mental structure and uses of the inhabitants, in the Grand Man, and corresponding modifications of mental growth and organization. That any such peculiar race exists, we have no evidence; and the hypothesis of any such anomaly in the formation of systems and planets, is at variance with the known facts and favorite theories of science.

We derive our notions of the former condition of our planet, since its solidification commenced, and of the nature and order of succession of the various types of organization which have covered its surface, at different periods, by a study of the character and relative position of its rocky strata, and of the fossils which they contain. If an aqueous or stratified rock is found superincumbent upon another, or containing fragments thereof, we infer generally it is of posterior origin; and if an igneous rock is found traversing, by dikes or veins, another of any class, it is thereby proved to have been ejected subsequently to the formation thereof. Having thus obtained some idea of the relative ages of rocky formations, we are prepared to reason respecting their organic contents, and to assign approximately the geo-

logical epochs to which they respectively belong, and reciprocally, by means of their organic contents, to compare widely distant formations.

We are aware that the chain of evidence on this subject, in some respects incomplete, or merely negative, presents a few seeming anomalies: and we would by no means contend that it is possible to assign the precise period of its earliest existence to any fossil. But enough is known with sufficient definiteness to authorize a few general conclusions, and the anomalies, particularly those cited by Mr. Lyell and others, as objections to theories of progressive development, are precisely such as the doctrine of correspondence requires. For it follows, as has been intimated in another connection, as a consequence of this doctrine, if we understand it correctly, — *not* that each epoch should be limited to the development of particular organizations, to the entire exclusion of all others, but the very reverse. And we are not, therefore, at all surprised or disconcerted at the occasional occurrence of individuals of particular species in strata different from, or anterior to, those in which cognate genera abound. Each period of human life has its characteristics, but we do not find that it is therefore limited to the exclusive development of them alone. And as this is the case with man, so it may be with the earth which corresponds to him.

A very early geological epoch may be said to have been devoted to the consolidation of our planet, to the development of the frame-work of the globe, or, as it were, of its lowest and most ultimate or fixed principles. Yet even here important changes were going on, which continued long afterwards, and though more slow in their operation, and seemingly resisted and modified by what has already been done, some of them are still in progress. The child, and we believe that the two facts in some sense correspond, is at first much occupied in the development of his physical organs, in learning to use and interpret the indications of his physical senses, and in preparing to construct, and in constructing, as it were, the frame-work of the mind, in laying a foundation for the future mental superstructure, and in preparing, as it were, a substratum for the soles of the feet, upon which the future man may rest and walk. Yet is it doubtful whether the perfect developments, of even the physical man, of the senses, and of the lowest sensual degree of the mind, are ever entirely completed. They are going on, certainly long after the higher degrees of the mind have been opened.

The memory, or the "power of acquiring and retaining truth," and particularly the internal as well as the *most* internal memory, or that under the especial care of the angels, is characteristic of a very early period of human life. Perhaps it is at no time commonly more active than in childhood or early youth. Yet this faculty partakes of every subsequent change in the man — as the "gathering together of the waters" and the formation of clouds is effected by every modification in the relative level of different portions of the earth's surface, and every change in the aspect and electric state of mountain and valley.

The reasoning faculties, distinctively so called, the powers of induction and generalization, pertain rather to riper years, yet there are incipient manifestations of them very early, and more frequently as the period approaches to which they appropriately belong. A similar remark might be made respecting the several stages of regeneration, — and man, in his progress, would be regarded as natural, spiritual and celestial, from the successive predominance of distinguishing features, — though much of the past should remain, and become sometimes operative, and coming states, in the effort to flow in, be occasionally manifested before they could exist in fulness.

Something of the same kind is also true of the several dispensations in the church. The perceptions and conscious intercourse with heaven, of the Most Ancient Church, were lost by degrees. The first Christian dispensation was gradually ushered in, and has been gradually passing away. And the New Jerusalem has, hitherto, been openly acknowledged by comparatively few. In every age there have doubtless been individuals, things, and states, seemingly more appropriately characteristic of those which had preceded, or were to come after.

While therefore, in the development of the merely mineral kingdom, and of the human mind, in the progress of regeneration and in the history of the church generally, one degree seems to pass into, or rather to be *partially* contemporaneous with, another, it follows, from our principles, that, in the development of vegetable and animal organization, there must have been an analogous *partial contemporaneousness* and gradation in the existence and succession of different types; or, in other words, because that elsewhere the past exists and sometimes becomes distinctly manifest in the present, and "coming events cast their shadows before;" and that is, because that all growth is gradual, it follows that the principles of correspondence, indicate, and require, and

would lead us to infer, the existence of precisely such anomalies as those which Mr. Lyell and others have urged as objections to the theories of progressive development. To my mind, their existence confirms, at the same time, the scientific theory and the doctrine of the church. To deny these so-called anomalies, would, by correspondence, be equivalent to pronouncing the several stages of regeneration instantaneous, in which case man could not be "created anew" in freedom.

It is objected, by the authors of the "Fossil Flora of Great Britain," Lindley and Hutton, "that in the strata of the 'Carboniferous era'* no traces have been discovered of flowerless vegetation, such as fungi, lichens, hepaticæ or mosses, while ferns, lycopodiacæ, and supposed equisetacæ, among the most perfectly organized cryptogamic plants," abound; — that the "remains of monocotyledons of the same strata, consist of palms, dracenas, bananas, and the arrow-root tribe, which are the most perfectly organized plants of that class." "But supposing," say they, "that it could be demonstrated, that neither coniferæ nor any other dicotyledonous† plant existed in the first geological age of land, still the theory of progressive development would be untenable, as it would be necessary to show that monocotyledons are inferior in dignity, or, to use a more intelligible expression, less perfectly formed than dicotyledons. So far is this from being the fact, that if the exact equality of the two classes were not admitted, it would still be a question whether monocotyledons are not the more highly organized of the two."

Now, with all due deference to the opinions of these eminent and learned botanists, it seems to us very evident that monocotyledons are *not* "the more highly organized of the two," and that they are therefore inferior in dignity to dicotyledons. The one-lobed seed of the former, and the two-lobed seed of the latter, from which these classes are named, indicate peculiarities of structure in the organization of the plant.

* The "Carboniferous era" is that in which the coal measures were for the most part deposited, and seems to have been characterized by an astonishing luxuriance of vegetation, mostly of tropical monocotyledons, or grass-like plants.

† The terms "Monocotyledons" and "Dicotyledons," derived from the character of the seed, are applied to designate two great classes, into which *vascular* or *flowering* plants are divided according to the natural system. They are synonymous with endogenous and exogenous, terms derived from the peculiarities in the mode of growth which these two classes exhibit. To the former class belong all the grasses and similar plants; to the latter, forest and fruit trees, they having a distinct central formation of wood.

Monocotyledons, or endogenes, differ from dicotyledons, or exogenes, in points of organization which may be said to be superadded to the former. The latter is distinguished by distinct depositions of pith, wood, bark, and medullary rays. In the former these are confounded or wanting. Each additional organ or structure indicates a peculiar and distinct use or function; and the individuality or peculiarity of use or function, as we shall have occasion to show somewhat at length in the sequel, because it indicates the degree of complexity or perfection of development, is the proper criterion of relative dignity in vegetable and animal organization.

That "coniferæ" "existed in the *first* geological age of land," would, we think, hardly be contended by any one acquainted with the subject, and that a few representatives of this or of any class of dicotyledons, should have made their appearance comparatively "very early," is not, according to what has been shown in the preceding paragraphs, an objection.

We suppose it to be true, that "traces of the simplest forms of flowerless vegetation, such as fungi, lichens, hepaticæ and mosses" have seldom, or never been noticed, in some of the earlier fossiliferous strata. So far as the writer's knowledge extends, no mention is made of their remains as occurring in any but comparatively recent formations, "along with dicotyledonous plants resembling those of our own times." If they were really unrepresented in the early flora of the globe, of which, notwithstanding the appearance, we are by no means fully assured, the anomaly is certainly a very interesting one, and may have important bearings, and lead to valuable results, in connection with our subject and with the theories of science. At the present day plants of this class occur in all latitudes, and in all climates, and at every elevation to where the last traces of organized life disappear. They are "the first that clothe the barren rocks of the ocean," and the "last to disappear from the sandy desert when the atmosphere seems incapable of nourishing vegetation." "How they find their way to such places, and *under what laws they are* CREATED, are mysteries which human ingenuity has not yet succeeded in unveiling." Most of the varieties of muscoidæ, and aphyllons, or leafless, or merely vascular plants, are represented as more common in the temperate zones than within the tropics. This may be true, and, if so, — it would seem that they were ill adapted to the "greater heat of the ancient climates," and their absence, in the earlier ages, may be physically due to this cause.

Or their supposed infrequency, in tropical regions, may be merely apparent, and owing, in part, at least, to the "fugitive nature of some," to the "difficulty of preserving others," "and perhaps to the incuriousness of travellers." It is hard to reconcile the opinion that every variety of these genera was wanting when the earlier vegetable fossils were entombed, with the common, and in most respects, just ideas of the "uniform operation of the laws of nature." Most of them have not hitherto been much noted, at least to the knowledge of the writer, among fossils of any date. Many of them are evanescent in the extreme, and not unlikely to be obliterated by numberless causes in operation, in the primitive condition of the globe, or confounded with accompanying forms. Composed entirely of cellular tissue, and devoid of woody fibre, in many cases, exceedingly compressible, disappearing sometimes almost entirely by evaporation, and often closely or slightly enveloping other forms, their remains would seem to be ill adapted to be permanent among the jostling and heated elements, and little likely to be so preserved as to attract attention, or to be easily distinguished.

It would be difficult, at this time to understand and illustrate satisfactorily the correspondence of these genera, and of these seemingly singular circumstances, connected with them, at least, until the merely physical facts are better known. It may be remarked, however, that, although the development of the church, both generally and in individual men, is progressive, there is reason to believe, that there are principles commonly regarded as holding a comparatively low, or exterior place, which are not much manifested until a somewhat advanced period. Something of this sort, obtains in our physical frame, and we must necessarily, according to the principles under discussion, infer the existence of something analogous in the successive appearance of vegetables and animals, and it may be, we might say, must be, that this very absence of muscoidæ, lichens, hepaticæ, or mosses, &c. from the more ancient vegetation, is, if real, in accordance with such an analogy.

On the other hand we know that there are many incipient states, which are never fully ultimated, — which never acquire, so to speak, *solidity* and permanence, and whose effects are so interwoven with, and as it were entwined around, or superimposed upon others, that, when seen in the retrospect, they seem to constitute a part of them, as a fossil moss might be confounded with the plant or rock upon which it grew; and there are views of

truth, which like merely watery vegetable fluids, are soon evaporated because they have not been decomposed and appropriated, or incorporated into the living structures. T. H. P.

LETTERS FROM A PASTOR TO HIS SOCIETY DURING HIS ABSENCE IN THE COUNTRY.

No. II.

August 26, 1844.

Dear Brethren, — I wrote you not many weeks since upon the subject of *prayer*. Permit me now to address a few thoughts to you upon *the reading of the Word*. I trust that none of you are in the neglect of this. None *can* neglect it who are seeking first the kingdom of God and his justice — who are regarding their own regeneration and consequent salvation as a matter of supreme concern. And yet there are so many influences constantly operating to withdraw our minds from the Lord and the things of heaven — there is so much and so strong opposition in the natural man to the requirements of the Word of God, that we all of us need to have our dangers frequently set before us, and our duties pointed out and urged upon us. It is only through line upon line and precept upon precept — here a little and there a little, that the Lord is able to keep us from following the strong tendencies of the natural mind, and to lift us up from the pit.

I suppose that regeneration is the grand concern of each one of our lives; that the desire to put away our evils and to become conjoined to the Lord through a life of obedience to the divine precepts, is paramount to every other desire of our hearts. And if such be really our grand aim, we have a genuine affection for the truth, and for the good of truth, and are, therefore, in a state to receive illustration from the Lord when we read the Word. Swedenborg, speaking of the way in which man may come into a state of illustration as to truth, and a state of affection as to good, says, among other things, and *in the first place*, "*Let him read the Word every day, one or two chapters.*" (Ap. Ex. 803.) But in order that we may be benefited by reading the Word, or have our minds illustrated by its light, it is necessary that we should desire truth for its own sake, or be in the desire and effort to shun evils as sins. For Swedenborg again says; "Illustration is from the Lord alone, and with those who love truths because

they are truths, and make them uses of life; with others, illustration in the Word is not given." T. C. R. 231.

Thus, in order that we may receive heavenly instruction from the Word, we ought to approach and read it under the influence of heavenly desires and feelings. And if we would make steady progress in the regenerate life, we ought to read the Word daily. How can we pray, "*Give us this day our daily bread*," while we neglect to go daily to the Fountain of living waters to drink, or while we neglect to eat daily of that Bread which, coming down from heaven, giveth life unto the world.

Who are they who seldom or never read the Word, and who are those who read it most and oftenest? The impious, the profane, the licentious, the proud, those who are most under the influence of the loves of self and the world, and who are the worst specimens of humanity — such persons do not read the Word; they hate it and shun its light, because it opposes and condemns their evils. "Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil." "He that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." And on the other hand the meek, the lowly, the sincere, upright man, the pure in heart, those who have been least selfish and most devoted to the good of others, and who, by their virtuous and holy lives, have most adorned the annals of history; such are they who have read most and have loved to read the Divine Word, and have cherished the profoundest reverence for it. As it is written, "He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be manifest that they are wrought in God." And not only have the pure and the good loved to read the Word, but they have felt themselves strengthened and confirmed by it in all their good and pious resolutions, and have acknowledged themselves chiefly indebted to its influence for whatever of good they have possessed or done.

Does not this alone prove that the Scripture is indeed the Word of God? and ought not this consideration to be a sufficient answer to every objection which the infidel can urge against its divinity? It shows us that the Word contains something divine and heavenly which does not belong to any human composition, and which only heavenly people can delight in. There is a sphere of heavenly love and wisdom about it, which affects with delight and draws to itself all minds which feel any love or desire for heavenly things, and which as invariably repels from itself all

who are opposed to the laws of God — who hate the good and love the evil.

But I am not writing to those who have any doubt about the divinity of the Word; yet what I have here said may enable us to see what class of spirits are with us and influencing us, when we feel inclined to turn away from, or neglect reading the Word. It will show us that they are spirits who hate the light, and therefore do not wish to come to the light, — who hate all the things of heaven, and who will inevitably lead us to hate and turn from them too, unless we withdraw ourselves from their society.

But I am writing to those who have a profound and intelligent reverence for the Word of God; who believe it is divine and holy in every part — in every word and syllable. And I wish to call your attention to the importance and necessity of frequently reading the Word, if you really desire that the church should make progress in yourselves or in others.

There are numerous considerations which cannot fail to press the great importance of this upon the mind of every intelligent receiver of the heavenly doctrines. We know that it was one of Swedenborg's rules of life, found written among his manuscripts after his decease, "to read often and meditate well on the Word of God." This shows us what was the practice of our illuminated author in relation to this subject. And in the Apoc. Ex., the passage that I have already cited, he says of the man who desires to have his mind illustrated in respect to the things of heaven, "Let him read the Word every day, one or two chapters." And the reason why this is recommended is plain from the many things that we are taught concerning the Word in other parts of the Heavenly Doctrines. Thus we are taught that the angels of heaven have all their wisdom from or by the Word; that they see and acknowledge this, and that "so far as they are in the understanding of the Word, so far they are in light." T. C. R. 242. We are taught that the Word is the divine medium of conjunction with the Lord and of consociation with the angels, (ib. 234); that by it the Lord is present in the whole world, and heaven is conjoined to the human race, (ib. 267). We are taught that when a man, who accounts the Word holy, is reading and understanding it in its literal sense, the angels of the Lord's celestial kingdom are present and understand what is read in its celestial sense, and the angels of his spiritual kingdom are present and understand it in its spiritual sense, (ib. 234). "The Word in the letter," says Swedenborg, "is like a cabinet in which

lie in order precious stones, pearls and diadems ; and when a man accounts the Word holy, and reads it for the sake of the uses of life, the thoughts of his mind are, comparatively, like one who holds such a cabinet in his hand, and sends it to heaven, and it is opened in its ascent, and the precious things therein come to the angels, who are interiorly delighted with seeing and examining them. This delight of the angels is communicated to man, and makes consociation, and also a communication of perceptions," (ib. 238.)

But I need not tell you these things, for your minds are already familiar with them. They suggest certain duties and obligations on our part, which I pray, brethren, that you may all carefully consider, and regulate your practice accordingly.

If I were asked to name any one doctrine, which, more than others, distinguishes the New Church from the Old, I should perhaps say that it is the doctrine concerning the Sacred Scripture ;— it is the more clear, rational and elevated views of the Word, which our doctrines teach, than can be found anywhere else. Then must all genuine new churchmen feel a love and reverence for the Word as much more profound than that of others, as their views of it are more elevated. Then will they also, if they are consistent, read it with more diligence and delight than others, in proportion as they are able to discover in it more of divine and heavenly wisdom.

Do we believe, brethren, that the Word is the medium of conjoining our minds with the Lord ? That the Lord is present with us through the reading of the Word, as Swedenborg declares, and, as it were, converses with us in it ? If, then, we neglect the frequent reading of the Word, do we not thereby show that we have turned our backs upon the Lord, and have no desire for conjunction with Him ? If any of us are guilty of this neglect, it may be well for us to think seriously upon this. If we love to have the Lord draw nigh unto us, we shall love and endeavor to draw nigh unto Him ; and if we love this, we shall love to draw nigh to him in His Holy Word, and hold communion with Him there. Do we believe that through the Word, we have consociation with the angels of heaven ? — that, when we are reading it reverently, the angels are present, understanding it in its higher senses, and imparting their blessed influences to our minds ? Then have we not reason to fear, if we neglect to read the Word often, that we are in no state to enjoy the society of the angels — that we have no desire, indeed, for consociation with them ? And if

we have no desire for angelic society in this world, we shall not desire it when we enter the spiritual world. Do we believe that the angels have all their wisdom from the Word? Then if we really desire to be made like the angels — truly wise — we must not, we *shall* not, neglect to read the word often, that so our minds may become imbued with its heavenly wisdom.

I trust that you are all desirous to see the Lord's New Church extending and prospering in our great city. But what is the extension of the Church, but an extension of the goods and truths with which the Word is full? And if we really desire to see these extended, and the minds of men brought under their influence, we shall desire them for ourselves, and for their own sake; and we shall go often to the Word, that our minds may be filled with them. As one effectual means of extending the Church among us, therefore, I would recommend the frequent and devout reading of the Word by all receivers of the Heavenly Doctrines. The tendency of this practice will be, to withdraw us continually from that cold, dead, and worldly state into which we are ever tending, and to keep our minds in an elevated, warm and heavenly sphere. It will tend to make us, what we all ought to be, more truly devout and religious. It will do much to weaken and overcome within us whatever there may be of narrowness, bigotry, party feeling, or prejudice, and will give to our love something of the expansiveness as well as the purity of the Divine Love. It will tend to make us more meek, humble, kind, and forbearing, and less disposed to see or talk about the faults of others. In short it will tend to draw us nearer to the Lord, and fill our hearts more and more with that brotherly love which flows from the Lord. These things the frequent reading of the Word will tend to do for us and in us, because all these and many more such things reside in its bosom. Its sphere is altogether opposed to all that is from hell, and, therefore, the more we read it and endeavor to imbue our minds with it, the more will it oppose in us all that is contrary to heaven and the church.

I send you these few thoughts, my brethren, upon a most important subject, which have occurred to me here in my quiet retreat. And may the Lord lead you to give to them that consideration which they deserve, and may the church in yourselves and others be promoted thereby.

Yours in the bonds of christian affection.

ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

[We take from the London Intellectual Repository of November, the following extracts from Lectures, delivered before *the University of Oxford, by the Rev. Edward Burton, Doctor of Divinity, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church.* They are an interesting example of the influence of the New Church, in quarters which might seem wholly inaccessible to it. The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, is a part of the primitive doctrine of the English Church, established by law. And here we find a dignitary of that Church, a Professor of Divinity in its principal University, delivering and publishing a Lecture, approaching, (with some errors) very near to the doctrine of the New Jerusalem, on this subject.]

"It is undeniable that most, if not all, the Fathers, did literally and strenuously maintain, that we shall rise again *with our bodies.* But I cannot help thinking, that their desire to establish the resurrection led them to hold a language, and to inculcate a doctrine, which is nowhere expressly revealed in Scripture. It is nowhere asserted in the New Testament, that we shall rise again *with our bodies.** Unless a man will say, that the stalk, the blade, and the ear of corn are actually the same thing with the single grain which is put into the ground, he cannot quote St. Paul as saying that we shall rise again with the same bodies: or at least he must allow that the future body may only be like to the present one, inasmuch as both come under the same genus: *i. e.* we speak of human *bodies,* and we speak of the heavenly *bodies;* but St. Paul's words do not warrant us in saying that the resemblance between the present and future body will be greater than between a man and a star, or between a bird and a fish.† Nothing can be plainer than the expression which he uses in the first of these two analogies, *Thou sowest not that body that shall be.* (xv. 37.) He says also with equal plainness of the body, *It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body: there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.* (44.) These words require to be examined closely, and involve remotely a deep metaphysical question. In common language the terms *Body* and *Spirit* are accustomed to be opposed, and are used to represent two things which are totally distinct. But St. Paul here brings the two expressions together, and speaks of a *spiritual body.* St. Paul therefore did not oppose *Body* to *Spirit:* and though the looseness of modern language may allow us to do so, and yet to be correct in our ideas,

*It appears from a remark of Celsus that the resurrection *of the body* was not believed in its literal sense by all Christians.—Origen. c. *Cels.* v. 14. p. 587.

†Cor. xv. 36, 41.

it may save some confusion if we consider *Spirit* as opposed to *Matter*, and if we take *Body* to be a generic term which comprises both. *A Body* therefore, in the language of St Paul, is something which has a distinct individual existence. If we were to call it *a substance*, the expression might again be liable to indistinctness; because *Substance* in modern language conveys the idea of materiality, or at least of tangibility. But the language of metaphysics might allow us to call spirit *a substance*. St. Paul, as we have seen, would have called it *a Body;* and Tertullian in the same manner says that the Soul may be called a Body, though he adds that it is a body 'propriæ qualitatis et sui generis.'* [Of its own proper quality, and of its own kind.] His expressions seem still more extraordinary in another place, where he asserts that God is a body: 'Quis enim negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus Spiritus est? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie.'† [Who then will deny that God is a body, although God is a Spirit? For a spirit is a body of its own kind, in its own form.] St. Paul tells us, that every individual, when he rises again, will have a spiritual body; but the remarks which I have made may shew, how different is the idea conveyed by these words from the notion which some persons entertain, that we shall rise again with the same identical body. St. Paul appears effectually to preclude this notion, when he says, *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* (50.) The Fathers felt the force of this text, when they were defending literally the resurrection of the flesh: Nothing, however, can be plainer, than that St. Paul asserts in this place, that the bodies with which we shall rise at the last day, will not be bodies of flesh and blood; *we shall be changed:* (52.) *and Jesus Christ shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.* (Phil. iii. 21.) Upon the whole, I should conclude, that though the Gnostics entirely mistook the doctrine of the Resurrection, the Fathers also did not represent it in its proper light. The former error perhaps led to the latter; and while the notion entertained by the Gnostics concerning matter, made them shrink with horror from a reunion with the body and soul, the Fathers insisted more strongly upon a resurrection of the body, in order to maintain the belief in a future judgment, which was denied by the Gnostics. Neither party seems to have been aware of the full meaning of the expression, *there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body;* an expres-

* De Anima, c. 9. p. 269. † Adv. Praxeam, c. 7. p. 504

sion which allows us to believe that we shall rise again with a consciousness of identity, but which leads us also to conclude, that the bodies with which we shall rise, will not be material. Origen appears to have approached much nearer to the truth in this particular, than any other of the Fathers; and he certainly did not believe, that the same material body of flesh and blood would rise again unchanged:* for which opinion he incurred no small share of reproach; and Epiphanius labors at great length to prove it to be heretical.† There are few persons, however, who would not allow that the arguments of Epiphanius are miserably weak."

INTELLIGENCE AND MISCELLANY.

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 14, 1844.

To the Editor of the N. J. Magazine:

Dear Sir,— From the circumstance of the Michigan and Northern Indiana Association of the New Church having connected itself with the General Convention, (if for no other reason,) it seems proper to give to the Church, through the medium of the Magazine, some account of our state and prospects. The proceedings of our last annual meeting, held at Battle Creek, have already appeared. I shall confine myself, therefore, more especially to those things in which I have been more individually concerned within the bounds of the Association. Having previously sent an account of my peregrinations in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to the *Retina*, I shall now start from Chicago, after having delivered a course of fourteen lectures there, on the following subjects:— On the Divine Attributes, or Genuine and Apparent Truths; On the First and Second Coming of the Lord; On the Resurrection of Man; On the Resurrection of the Lord; On the Last General Judgment, (two lectures); On the Jewish and Christian Sacrifices; On the Style of the Sacred Writings; On the Representative Character of the Jewish Economy; The Standing Still of the Sun and Moon; The Miracles of Egypt, (two lectures); The Blood of Christ, and the Christian Life. In leaving Chicago, I travelled round the head of Lake Michigan in a buggy, to Niles, in Michigan, where I arrived on Wednesday evening, September 13th, 1843, and delivered five lectures in that village, and four in Edwardsburgh, (ten miles distant) delivering them in each place every other evening. The attendance was but small at each place. I left Edwardsburgh on Monday morning, September 25th, for Goshen, (twenty miles distant) where I delivered a course of ten lectures, which were very well attended.

Whilst in Goshen, I went to see our friend, Judge Blackman, who lives some twenty or thirty miles south of Goshen, the way being through heavy timbered land and a *very* rough road. To present some idea of the simple and rustic manners here, I will give an illustration. "Aint you A —— B——'s preacher?" I do not know. "Well, he wants you to go over and see him." Finding him absent from home, whilst waiting for him, I was introduced by a third person to a fourth, who came in whilst I was staying, thus, "Here are the books, [presenting two or three New Church books,] and you are to explain your religion to this man, he's come on purpose, but perhaps you don't know him; he's A—— B——'s neighbor, and this, (pointing to me,) is his man." Whilst in Goshen, a meeting was held for the purpose of establishing a New Church Library, by shares of one dollar each. A constitution was framed, and soon about thirty shares taken, and arrangements made for getting books. I left Goshen on Monday, October 9th, and proceeded to Elkhart, (ten miles distant,) where I delivered a course of seven lectures, which were very well attended. I started from Elkhart one week after my arrival, for Battle Creek, where I again arrived on Tuesday evening, October 17th, after an absence of more than

* Cont. Celsum, v. 18. p. 590.

† Hær. lxiv. p. 528, &c.

five months. I stayed here only a few days, and gave five lectures, and baptized three children, Thomas, Edmund and Hannah Astley. Proceeded next to Marshall, and North Marshall — delivered in the former place seven lectures, and in the latter two. I remained in this place but one week, and then returned to Battle Creek, remained one day, and then passing through Marshall, went to Albion, where I arrived on Wednesday morning, November 8th, and delivered eight lectures to attentive and intelligent audiences, and on the morning of the 18th started for Jackson, and the next day commenced a course of eight lectures at Porter's Hall. These lectures were very well attended, the hall being crowded every evening, and before their close a committee was appointed to request me to extend the course, to which I consented.

But this plan of operations not being satisfactory to the *orthodox* portion of the community, I soon began to feel its opposing influences. Part of my lectures were attended by the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist preachers, — some of whom made *open* manifestations of their hostility. The Presbyterian minister asked leave to propose a few questions, which being granted, he turned himself to the audience, and declaimed against what I had said — still as it was done in courteous language, and was nothing more than a persuasive and deprecatory address, I made but a brief reply to what he said, reminding him that he should have addressed *me*, and that too *interrogatively*, and renewed his opportunity, but which he thought proper to decline. I afterwards learned that he had been urged to speak by the Methodist preacher, who sat beside him, who was unwilling to hazard a word himself. Not so, however, with the congregational clergyman (Mr. Harrison,) he wanted no other prompter than his own zeal, which manifested itself in a great deal of loudness, tongue-work, and acrimonious declamation. Again and again would he speak; conceiving himself well armed for battle, he manifested a most belligerent spirit, his principal weapons being Pike's celebrated pamphlets and the positive assertion which he made of Swedenborg's insanity and blasphemy. Every possible effort appeared to be made by each section of the old church to represent the dragon, in the act of expelling water from her mouth as a flood, to destroy the man-child as soon as born. The hall in which the first course of lectures was delivered, being engaged but for one week, was refused for the subsequent course, in the following expressive note, sent to one of our friends, who sought to re-engage it. "Mr. Thielson — you cannot have the use of my hall any longer for your lectures, — respectfully yours, B. Porter. Sabbath evening, November 26th, 1843." This note was received about an hour before the time of meeting, and in consequence of which the Court-house was used; and every seat and table was occupied; perhaps there were not less than four hundred persons present. The subject was on *the Person of the Lord.*

Other means having failed to divert the public attention, recourse was had to the public press, and in the "State Gazette" for November 30th, appeared an article occupying more than two columns, headed "Swedenborgianism," commencing thus — "We are requested to publish the introduction to a work by J. G. Pike, author of 'Persuasives to Early Piety,' 'Guide for Young Disciples,' &c. It is proposed to publish next week, the entire work, in pamphlet form, if sufficient encouragement is given. The title is, 'Swedenborgianism Depicted in its True Colors:' or a contrast between the Holy Scriptures and the writings of Baron Swedenborg, on a variety of subjects. The pamphlet contains some curious extracts from Swedenborg's writings, which it is presumed, will not be contained in the lectures now being delivered in town." In the extract, the writer, after lamenting that he should have to sacrifice his personal feelings to his christian duties, says that he "obeys the call, and while obeying it, indulges no desire to wound the feelings of any of his fellow-beings to eternity, who may be the disciples of Baron Swedenborg. He attacks not them, but the system they maintain. Their delusion is pitiable. Not a few of them are probably ignorant of many of the abominations contained in their prophet's writings." Then he goes on to show that the subject discussed is unlike any between the different sections of the Old Church: — but that "the present question stands on an entirely different footing; on exactly the same ground as a question discussed between Christians and Mahometans. In a discussion of that kind, the inquiry would be, is Christ or Mahomet the divine Teacher, to whom we should listen, and whom we should obey? The question in this case is exactly similar. It is, is the Lord Jesus Christ, or Swedenborg, the prophet we should revere, and the Teacher whose religion we should embrace? This shows the important nature of the question, and this is the correct view of it; for the two systems of the Lord Jesus and Swedenborg are, as will here be manifested, so diametrically opposed, that it is as impos-

sible to adhere to them both, at the same time, as it is at the same time to be a Christian and a Mahometan, or a Christian and a heathen." The extract goes on to say much more to the same purpose, all of which is so stale to every new churchman, that it cannot be necessary to present it here. But past experience tells us what weight such assertions and denunciations must have, with those who are just being drawn towards the church, and doubtless the anonymous correspondent who furnished the article, anticipated its effects, and calculated upon ample encouragement to republish the above pamphlet in Jackson. But even this effort was abortive.

In the next Gazette, (bearing date December 7th,) was inserted the following reply from me. "Sir, I have just seen your paper of the 30th ult. in which appears a lengthy article, furnished by an anonymous correspondent, headed 'Swedenborgianism.' That communication would not require any answer, but for certain parts, which are recorded as *facts*, and unless noticed, might leave an impression with some, that they really were so. I have, during the last two weeks, been engaged in delivering a series of lectures, on the Creation, Deluge, Language of Scripture, and other subjects, interesting to our common welfare. These lectures appear to have given offence to some persons, who, being desirous of nullifying any influence it may be supposed they might have, in leading to a deeper investigation of these important subjects, a correspondent has favored you, and the public generally with the communication above referred to. Instead of controverting or disproving any of the positions, facts, deductions, &c. advanced by me, the object is to prove that Emanuel Swedenborg was a madman, or an impostor! If the latter assumption were fully sustained, in what manner, I would inquire, would it affect the positions taken by me, since I have never quoted Swedenborg as authority for any one of them? Though I freely and gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Swedenborg for the views I have had the pleasure of presenting to this community, yet I have in every instance sustained them on their own merits, and the testimony of history, scripture, reason, philosophy, and profane writings generally; until these are impeached, the sanity or insanity of Swedenborg is an irrelevant question. Yet it may be proper to say a few words in reference to the remarks made upon Swedenborg. The pamphlet referred to by your correspondent, entitled 'Swedenborgianism depicted in its true colors,' was published many years ago in England, by the Rev. J. G. Pike, of Derby, for a similar purpose to that in which it is now presented in your paper. An answer was soon after prepared and published by the Rev. R. Hindmarsh, entitled, 'A Vindication of the character and writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg, against the slanders and misrepresentations of the Rev. J. G. Pike, of Derby,' &c. If your anonymous correspondent is desirous that the *whole truth* on this subject should be presented in a published form, before this community, would it not be proper to present both sides of the case? and if this be his object, I will furnish him with a copy of Hindmarsh's answer for that purpose. It may be proper here to say, that Mr. Pike is not the only person who has thought our *delusion pitiable*, or has supposed us 'ignorant of many of the abominations contained in our prophet's writings.' We have had many such friends, who in a similar manner have warned us of our danger, so that we may be said to be without excuse in this matter. But it has uniformly happened that the very persons, who have thus affected to pity us, and warn us, had no proper knowledge of the subject themselves, nay, did not know so much about it as those they cautioned! This has in every instance been proved. We shall always take it kindly, if any person, knowing at least as much on the subject as we do ourselves, will show us where we are in error. Now in reference to your present communication, your correspondent calls Swedenborg a '*Prophet*;' we do not regard him as such. He says there is as much difference between 'Swedenborgianism' and christianity, as there is between infidelity and christianity, and that it is no more possible to believe in the writings of Swedenborg and the Scriptures, than at the same time to be both christian and heathen! It may not be easy to know how to designate assertions like these; they try our patience somewhat, but they are more painful than true. The best way is to let Swedenborg's own writings answer for themselves; those that really desire to know the Truth, will here find the best way of discovering it. We believe that Swedenborg has presented the only real antidote to infidelity, and one which I think the infidel will not attempt to controvert, although it demolishes every argument he has used against the Scriptures. If we are at issue with other denominations of the christian world, we will *not* appeal to Swedenborg to settle the difficulty, but to the Scriptures themselves. Will our objectors refuse us the light we may obtain from Swedenborg in doing this? If the doctrines of Swedenborg be

true, does it signify whether he had communication with the spiritual world or not? Why should this continually oppress the minds of our opponents? Why so solicitous to show that there have been *false Christs?* Does this prove that there has not been a *true Christ?* Or does the showing that Israel, Mahomet, Joanna Southcote, Reeve, Brothers, &c. were impostors, prove that Swedenborg was? As well might it be urged, that because Ptolemy, Tycho Brahe and others, taught a false astronomy, therefore Copernicus and Newton did. Is the mere assertion of being a 'Teacher sent from God,' *prima facie* evidence, that such a person must be *insane?* If so, how many will there have been in this deplorable condition?

"In reply to similar charges made many years ago, in the city of Norwich, England, by the Rev. G. Beaumont, permit me to quote the following by the Rev. S. Noble, of London, extracted from his 'Appeal in behalf of views of the eternal world and state,' &c. 'You however, call to your aid Mahomet, the old false prophet, and the more recent ones, Reeve and Muggleton, who supply you with the following pointed argument: Mahomet was a false prophet — so were Reeve and Muggleton — *therefore* Swedenborg was another. But, sir, in order to make us see the force of your *therefore*, you ought to show in what respects Swedenborg resembled your false prophets.' 'Every one who professes to have received a Divine commission is insane; Mahomet, Muggleton, all the apostles and prophets, with Swedenborg did this; therefore Mahomet, Muggleton, all the apostles and prophets, with Swedenborg, were insane. But, sir, you should have known, that neither Mahomet nor Muggleton have been ranked as false prophets, simply because they pretended to Divine Revelations, but because their pretended revelations contained nothing worthy of the source to which they ascribed them. That Mahomet's system is in many respects, diametrically opposite to Holy Writ, is well known. Nor will the parallel you would institute between Swedenborg and Reeve and Muggleton, hold in any other way than in the way of contrast. More disgusting stuff cannot be conceived than fills the pages of those ignorant drivellers; yet though nothing bordering on such rubbish is to be found in the writings of Swedenborg, you are not ashamed to represent him, and this you affirm seriously, as treading exactly in the steps of Reeve and Muggleton, not abating an atom of their fanaticism and delusion! And yet you profess yourself ready to abide by my appeal to his works! Read them first, sir, and learn what they are. At least read some one of them straight through, giving a candid attention to every part of its contents, not looking only for such things as may be distorted into subjects of ridicule, as infidels have treated the Bible.' P. 266 — 2d Eng. Ed.

"Who among our adversaries will accuse Paul of insanity for speaking of the 'abundance of his revelations'? or John, for being 'in the spirit' and seeing and hearing the wonderful things recorded in his 'Revelations'? or Zechariah, Ezekiel, and others? Has Luther been accused of insanity because of his recorded conference with the devil? Wesley, Mrs. Fletcher, or others, who have in a similar manner testified to their visions of the spiritual world? Did not Wesley himself declare that '*We may now burn all our books of theology; God has sent us a Teacher from heaven, and in the doctrines of Swedenborg we may learn all that is necessary for us to know*'? Some of the most eminent of Wesley's preachers, as well as Clergymen from the Church of England, and from other denominations, became receivers and preachers of Swedenborg's doctrines; and although Wesley afterwards circulated the report of Swedenborg's insanity, he did it, not on any knowledge of his own, but 'on the authority of a Mr. Brockmer, as well as of Mathesius; this however was only because Mathesius *told* him (Wesley,) that he derived his information from Brockmer, but this Brockmer *totally denied*.' And it was nearly forty years afterwards that Mathesius 'fabricated the tale with which he imposed on Mr. Wesley.' And more remarkable still, the very man, (Mathesius) who propagated the story of Swedenborg's insanity, died himself a *lunatic!* It will easily be seen that the friends of Swedenborg have not, and do not allow, that he ever called himself the 'Messiah,' or any of the ridiculous stories propagated respecting him — they are all false. Want of room prevents my saying more; but if any persons wish to state *all the facts of the case* to the public, I can assist them with many documents which may be necessary.

I am very respectfully yours,

GEORGE FIELD."

There was no reply made to, or any notice taken of this letter. I have since been to Jackson, but there has generally been a difficulty in getting a room to preach in. The last time, when we held our quarterly meeting there, we met in a school room, on one side of the village, and we had the room full.

After leaving Jackson, I went to Detroit, and delivered a course of Lectures there, at the City Hall, but the Court was sitting at the time, and frequently interfered with

our announcements, by requiring the use of the Hall in the evening. However they were respectably attended, and, I think, produced a favorable impression. I went from Detroit to attend our last annual meeting at Battle Creek, of which you have published an account. I proceeded thence to Marshall, where I delivered a Lecture in the court house, to a good and an attentive audience, and then proceeded to Albion, where I delivered a course of seven or eight Lectures, which were respectably attended. On leaving Albion, I by request delivered one Discourse at Smithfield, which was very fully attended. I next went to Lima, Dexter and Jackson, and thence to Ann Arbor, in which latter place I delivered a full course of Lectures, to large and very attentive audiences. There almost everything yielded to the popular move, which was to go and hear the Lecture. A Methodist minister who had the use of the Court house for three evenings of the week, compelled me to use during those evenings, the basement of the Methodist church — an ineligible place — but Mr. Frazer, the gentleman referred to, could not obtain an audience whilst I was lecturing, so he came himself to hear me — and at my last lecture, wished to ask me some questions publicly, which I permitted. His latent desire appeared to be to ridicule; but he had no success, and retired discomfited, with a general expression, on the part of the audience, of disapprobation. I have no doubt but that he felt hurt that he could not obtain an audience. I have preached several times since at Ann Arbor, and to large and attentive audiences. We have just started a New Church Library Society there, similar to the one in Goshen.

On my return to Detroit, (to make it my permanent place of residence) I was requested to repeat the course of Lectures I had delivered in the winter, which I did, but the audiences were not so large as before.

I have just returned from Goshen, where I have been to attend our quarterly meeting. We had a very pleasaut time. I had the pleasure of meeting our brother H. N. Strong, who with his family have come to reside in this village. Having received a formal application, as directed in the Rules of Order, signed by twelve persons, to institute them a Society, I proceeded to do so accordingly, and baptized thirteen adult persons — administered the Sacrament to sixteen, and assisted in the *organization* of a Society of fourteen persons, who will have the pastoral services of the Rev. H. N. Strong. The necessity of re-baptism into the New Church was by almost all here, a short time since, thought to be unnecessary. I have had much conversation and correspondence with many on the subject, and at Goshen preached a sermon on Baptism, when all but one admitted its propriety, and this one appeared in equilibrium. One old lady, 70 years of age, and for twenty-three a member of the Episcopal church, came forward to be introduced by the gate, into the Lord's New Church — another person, an old gentleman, 60 years old, and for thirty years a member of the *New* Church, now came forward to be baptized. It is pleasant to see this desire to come into a state of order, even when our prejudices stand so strongly in the way. And it is also very pleasant to know that much of the hostility which first assailed us is disappearing. Only one year ago, when application was made for the use of the Presbyterian church for us, we were refused with the observation, "Why, if Mr. Field was to use that pulpit, I don't believe that Mr. Boughton would ever go into it again — he would not stay with us." Now, both Presbyterians and Methodists, invite us to use their pulpits. For want of room, I must abridge what I now have to say. We meet regularly for worship in Detroit every Sunday morning — have Social meetings in the afternoon — are slowly but gradually increasing in numbers, in order, and we hope in the regeneration — in all these things we feel encouraged — but there is so much to contend against, and so little means to go on with, that it sometimes seems as if the present effort could not be sustained. Most of our brethren here are poor, and can scarcely pay the travelling expenses of a missionary visit — but a very few can do something more than this, and thus with the best desires, we often lack the means to carry them out — still much has been done, and all seem willing. We are in the hands of Providence. Very sincerely, Yours,

GEORGE FIELD.

To the Editor of the N. J. Magazine:

DEAR SIR: — In an allusion to some remarks made by me at the last meeting of the Maine Association, noticed at page 130 of the Magazine, the number "sixteen," is a mistake. As they were not reduced to writing, a part of the statements made by me were probably blended with those made by another gentleman. For a correct account of the state of the church at the Cape of Good Hope, I would beg leave to refer the readers of the Magazine to the correspondence published in Volume 15, pages 28 to 30, 1842. I perceive that a donation of books has since been made by the London Printing Society to a gentleman about to remove to the Cape

I remain, Yours, faithfully,

T. H. PERRY.

South Abington, Nov. 1844.

New Periodical. — We are requested to state, that a new periodical, on New Church principles, will be commenced at Cincinnati, in January next, the title of which will be, "*The Mirror of Truth.*" It will be a sheet containing eight pages, imperial octavo, each page having three columns; and it will appear semi-monthly, on the first and third Saturdays of each month. Its price will be one dollar and a half per annum. The first number will appear on Saturday, the fourth of January. This periodical is to succeed the *Retina*, which will cease at the close of the present volume. The publisher is Mr. Adams Peabody, at the New Church Book-store, Cincinnati.

New Discovery in Africa. — Some time since a very important memoir was forwarded by Captain Harrison, then on a mission to Shiva, in Abyssinia, to the Bombay government, relating to a magnificent river, said to disembogue itself about two degrees north of the line, on the east coast of Africa. Lately an intelligent young officer of the Indian navy, (Mr. Christopher) was despatched by Captain Haines, from Aden, for the purpose of surveying that part of the coast. He has discovered a river to the northward of the river Jub, which he entered, and traced 130 miles from its mouth; as he advanced, he found it increased in width and depth, which, from the report of the natives, whom he found civil and obliging, it continued to do for 400 miles higher up. The breadth was from 200 to 300 feet, and the depth about 60 feet; a clear, meandering stream, with the banks in a high state of cultivation, and grain of all kinds plentiful, and very cheap. It was named by Mr. Christopher the Haines river, after the able superintendent of Adin. — *Colonial Gazette.*

Arab Bigotry. — "I remember (says Mr. Drummond Hay) on one occasion, travelling in this country (Western Barbary) with a companion who possessed some knowledge of medicine: we had arrived at a door, near which we were about to pitch our tents, when a crowd of Arabs surrounded us, cursing and swearing at the 'rebellers against God.' My friend, who spoke a little Arabic, turning round to an elderly person, whose garb bespoke him a priest, said, 'Who taught you that we are disbelievers? Hear my daily prayer, and judge for yourselves.' He then repeated the Lord's prayer. All stood amazed and silent, till the priest exclaimed, "May God curse me, if ever I curse again those who hold such belief; nay more, that prayer shall be my prayer until my hour be come. I pray thee, Nazarine, repeat the prayer, that it may be remembered, and written amongst us in letters of gold."—*New Church Adv.*

New Church Magazine for Children. — It will be recollected, that at the last Convention, the Committee on "Moral and Religious Instruction" were authorized to issue a prospectus for the second year of the New Church Magazine for Children, and a number of persons were named, who were requested to act as agents in procuring subscribers. This duty has been attended to, and returns from most of the agents have been received by Mr. Clapp. The Committee regret that the number of subscribers as yet obtained does not seem to be sufficient to warrant the recommencement of the work. It would require, to defray the actual expense, without paying the writers, about five hundred subscribers; and it appeared to the Committee that it would not be well to commence with less than four hundred names. The number obtained so far as heard from, is about three hundred, viz., from

Michigan,	6
Illinois,	6
Ohio,	28
Rhode Island,	10
Maryland,	10
Maine,	21
Massachusetts,	125
Pennsylvania,	20
New York,	20
Miscellaneous,	34
	280

Those agents who have not yet made returns to Mr. Clapp are requested to do so without delay.

Swedenborg's Spiritual Diary. — We noticed in our last number, that it was proposed to publish in England a translation of the Diary, by Rev. Mr. Smithson. We learn from the November number of the *Intellectual Repository*, that it "will be printed with similar type, and on similar paper, to that of the *Animal Kingdom*." We refer to the subject again at this time, partly for the purpose of raising the question, whether it is expedient to adopt so expensive a form. This would, no doubt, be very agreeable to those who can afford the expense of it; but when it is recollected how large a portion of the readers of Swedenborg's writings are in very moderate circumstances, and the great object of their being well furnished with books, we have been strongly inclined to favor low-priced editions.

New Jerusalem Magazine

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Addresses and essays

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